ESPON

TiPSE

The Territorial Dimension of Poverty and Social Exclusion in Europe

Applied Research 2013/1/24

Work Package 2.8

Analysis of Conceptual Implications of Social Exclusion Maps

Gergely Tagai in collaboration with Márton Czirfusz and Katalin Kovács (Ch. 1,2,4,5)

Authors of macro-regional sub-chapters (Ch. 3.):

Atlantic and Central European region – Andrew Copus, Sabine Weck

Nordic and Baltic region – Christian Dymén, Anna Berlina, Petri Kahila

Mediterranean region – George Kandylis, Thomas Maloutas,

Nikos Souliotis, Kostas Vakalopoulos

East Central European region: Gergely Tagai

in collaboration with Katalin Kovács

April 2014

This report is one of the deliverables of the TiPSE project. This Applied Research Project is conducted within the framework of the ESPON 2013 Programme, partly financed by the European Regional Development Fund.

The partnership behind the ESPON Programme consists of the EU Commission and the Member States of the EU27, plus Iceland, Liechtenstein, Norway and Switzerland. Each partner is represented in the ESPON Monitoring Committee.

This report does not necessarily reflect the opinion of the members of the Monitoring Committee.

Information on the ESPON Programme and projects can be found on www.espon.eu

The web site provides the possibility to download and examine the most recent documents produced by finalised and ongoing ESPON projects.

The ESPON TiPSE Project:

The TiPSE project has been commissioned by the European Observation Network for Territorial Development and Cohesion (ESPON) programme. It is concerned with the issue of poverty and processes of social exclusion in Europe. The project aims to improve the evidence base for policy which promotes inclusive growth, within the context of the EU2020 strategy.

One of the key challenges in Europe is to address regional or local concentrations of poverty and social exclusion. This remains a national responsibility within the context of EU strategic guidance. In practice it is often regional or local administrations which face the challenge of implementing national policies to ameliorate deprivation and exclusion. At a higher level, the EU defines its role as identifying best practices and promoting mutual learning.

The ESPON TIPSE project aims to support policy, both by enhancing the evidence base and by identifying existing good practice. Poverty and social exclusion are essentially relative concepts, arguably meaningful only within a specified geographical context. This underlines the central importance of observation, measurement, and careful data analysis as an essential preparation for intervention.

A central aim of the project is to generate a regional database, and associated maps, of poverty and social exclusion indicators. The project will thus establish macro and micro-scale patterns of poverty and social exclusion across the ESPON space. Such quantitative analysis of geographical patterns is considered a crucial part of the evidence base for policy.

In addition, in order to better understand the various social and institutional processes which are the context of these patterns, a set of ten case studies are to be carried out. These are more qualitative in approach, in order to convey holistic portraits of different kinds of poverty and social exclusion as experienced in a wide variety of European territorial contexts. An important goal for the project will be to identify policy approaches which can effectively tackle exclusion, and thus strengthen territorial cohesion. The case studies are intended to further this objective by exploring local policy processes and highlighting good practice.

The TiPSE research team comprises 7 partners from 5 EU Member States:

No.	Partner	MS	Principal Researchers
LP	Nordregio - Nordic Centre for Spatial Development	SE	Petri Kahila
2	UHI Millennium Institute	UK	Philomena de Lima
3	Newcastle University	UK	Mark Shucksmith
4	Institute of Economics Hungarian Academy of Sciences	HU	Katalin Kovács
5	ILS - Research Institute for Regional and Urban Development	DE	Sabine Weck
6	EKKE - National Centre for Social Research	EL	Thomas Maloutas
7	James Hutton Institute	UK	Andrew Copus

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ARoP	At risk of poverty (rate)
EC	European Commission
ECE	East Central Europe
ECHP	European Community Household Panel
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ESF	European Social Fund
ESPON	European Observation Network for Territorial Development and Cohesion
ESPON CU	ESPON Coordination Unit
ESRC	Economic and Social Research Council, UK
EU	European Union
EU-SILC	European Union Statistics on Income and Living Conditions
HBAI	Households below average income
IMD	Indices of Multiple Deprivation, UK
ISCED	International Standard Classification of Education
ISCO	International Standard Classification of Occupations
LAU	Local Area Unit
LFS	Labour Force Survey
MDM	Most Disadvantaged Microregions, Hungary
MS	Member State of the European Union
NAP	National Action Plan
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NUTS	Nomenclature of Territorial Units for Statistics
OMC	Open Method Coordination
ONPES	Observatory on Poverty and Social Exclusion, France
P&SE, PSE	Poverty and social exclusion
S80/S20	Income quintile share ratio
SCP	Netherlands Institute for Social Research
SE	Social exclusion
SIMD	Scottish Indices of Multiple Deprivation
TiPSE	Territorial Dimensions of Poverty and Social Exclusion
TPG	Transnational project group
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
WP	Work package

Abbreviations for Country Names used in the report

BENELUX	Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxembourg
DE	Germany
EL	Greece
FYROM	Former Yugoslavian Republic of Macedonia
HU	Hungary
SE	Sweden
UK	United Kingdom
USSR	(the former) Soviet Union

CONTENTS

TABLES

FIGURES

MAPS

East Central Europe and Balkan region

Europe-wide maps

Executive summary

The aim of work package 2.8 (Analysis of conceptual implications of social exclusion maps) in ESPON TiPSE project was to explore and analyse the patterns and spatial trends revealed by the set of thematic maps produced in work package 2.6 (Development and mapping of social exclusion indicators). While the work package generally completes the tasks fulfilled during social exclusion mapping, it also establishes linkages towards further work packages of the project. Findings of the report support the task of work package 2.9 (Typology of countries) which identifies groups of countries with similar profiles of vulnerability to exclusion. Outcomes of WP2.8 also feed the tasks of work package 2.10 (Develop policy recommendations matrix) with inputs by presenting the divergent patterns of social exclusion across Europe, which need different spatial targeting in policymaking. Work package 2.11 (Proposal for poverty and social exclusion monitoring) also relies on the findings of the report as it aims at exploring the perspectives and possible directions of monitoring processes related to social exclusion analysis by reflecting on indicators used in work package 2.6 and 2.8.

The report generally follows a procedure of analytic induction with the systematic examination of similarities between the spatiality of symptoms of exclusion related to various social phenomena across Europe in order to understand the features of these patterns. The tasks of the work package are related to the following basic issues:

- to carry out a detailed cross-European spatial analysis on the basis of indicators related to the risks of social exclusion by following the domain and dimension structure defined in the conceptual report on social exclusion (WP2.1);
- to eltablish a synthesis of the patterns revealed by the exploration of the differences and similarities of divergent spatial aspects of exclusion;
- to review and discuss the indicators used in policy context by European countries in order to have an insight into how different domains and dimensions appear in national (and Community level EU) policies concerning social exclusion.

The report uses a macro-regional approach in the analyses and in the review of policy indicators. This choice ensures a deeper analysis focusing on the specifities of macro-regional zooms beside a general Europe-wide frame, in order to have an adequate image on spatial patterns of social exclusion symptoms. Macro-regional division in this work package was not considered as an organic structure; it is more related to geographical contiguity and the local knowledge of TiPSE project partners (both on social processes and policy indicators) that significantly supported this stage of work.

Macro-regional analyses were integrated as sub-chapters of the study. These brief reports are illustrated by a selection of maps prepared in work package 2.6 which are mainly based on census 2001 data – constrained by the unavailability of harmonised census data with adequate coverage in 2013, during the drafting of the report. Nevertheless, regional analyses carried out by partners present a much broader context. The interpretation of social processes and the

revealed spatial patterns of the risks of and vulnerability to exclusion reflect actual social and economic conditions and spatial processes of the past decades as well, while the analysis of the usage of national indicators of social exclusion is based on actual policy documents.

The findings of the macro-regional chapters feed a cross-European thematic summary on the domains and dimensions of social exclusion outlining spatial differences across the continent. Besides, a synthesis on main exclusion patterns (such as differences between group of countries, urban–rural disparities, patterns of peripherality and place specific patterns of exclusion) was also carried out with a focus on the exploration of the differences and similarities of the spatial appearance of exclusion symptoms across Europe.

As a part of operationalizing social exclusion (from conceptualization to mapping), work package report 2.6 makes comments on availability, coverage and usability of indicators related to different risks of exclusion. Macro-regional and synthetic analyses of this study (WP 2.8) also reflects on these issues in order to avoid the improper description of characteristics of social exclusion in Europe, as the comparability of measures significantly affects the interpretation of patterns. As a conclusion, the paper ends with a summary of observations on the indicators used in the project to give a representation and illustration of the phenomena related to exclusion, and on the measures used in national policy contexts.

As for March 2014, illustrative maps of the report are mainly based on census 2001 data. Knowing the current engagement of EU Member States on publishing census 2011 data, ESPON TiPSE project group intends to make an update of this report. Data collection for 2011 from national statistical institutes is in progress and on the basis of that an update of the maps, macro-regional analysis and thematic synthesis can be carried out for the Final Report of the project.

ESPON TiPSE basically identified indicators related to the symptoms of social exclusion as separate proxy variables. Complex mathematical-statistical measures and analyses were not applied during the interpretation of the phenomena. However, the idea of analysing the defined domains and dimensions of exclusion in a common model (where overlapping or different layers of exclusion patterns can be examined) is considered, and a proposal on a representation of multiple effects of social exclusion is produced as an appendix of the report.

1 Introduction

The report “Analysis of Conceptual Implications of Social Exclusion Maps” of ESPON TiPSE project aims at analysing in details the spatial patterns and trends of social exclusion in Europe revealed by the maps provided by the earlier tasks of the project. The structured, multiple-aspect interpretation of these patterns is essential to have an established knowledge on the European spatial characteristics of the phenomenon, and findings of the work package report also serve as inputs for the subsequent tasks of TiPSE project.

A methodological introductory section of the report (Chapter 2.) gives a description on the role and the methodology of social exclusion mapping and analysis of ESPON TiPSE project by defining the linkages between social exclusion mapping tasks and other work packages, by summarizing the process of operationalization of social exclusion from conceptualization to mapping indicators and by introducing a so-called macro-regional approach of analysing spatial patterns of exclusion proposed by TiPSE TPG.

The paper is divided into two main parts of analysis. The first section (Chapter 3.) analyses patterns of social exclusion across macro-regions. Every sub-chapter introduces a macro-region in Europe (Atlantic and Central European, Nordic and Baltic, Mediterranean, East Central European and Balkan regions) and they follow the same thematic analysis of dimensions of social exclusion covering the four domains of exclusion defined in the project (earning a living, access to services, social environment, political participation).

The second analytic part of the report (Chapter 4.) makes an attempt to synthesize information on European spatial patters of social exclusion. The first sub-section in this part of the paper provides a synthetic picture on social exclusion by dimensions following the same thematic structure of analysis as the macro-regional chapters. The second section of this synthesis focuses on the interpretation of different types of spatial exclusion patterns across Europe. It reveals the macro-regional differences and similarities of spatial patterns of exclusion. The report ends up with a short conclusion by reflecting on indicators used for analysing social exclusion.

2 The role and the methodology of social exclusion mapping and analysis in the overall project

2.1 Linkages with other elements and work packages of the ESPON TIPSE project

The aim of the work package 2.6 (*Development and mapping of social exclusion indicators*) is to develop 'mappable' indicators of social exclusion at NUTS 3 level, with the help of TiPSE database generated in WP 2.3 (*Review and acquisition of regional data which is potentially useful for Territorial Indicators of Poverty and Social Exclusion*) and with establishing an explicit link to the operational definition of social exclusion developed in WP 2.1 (*Review of concepts of poverty and social exclusion*). A simple proxy indicator approach is followed in the task, namely, each indicator (or group of indicators) reflects a specific aspect of exclusion defined by the domains and dimensions identified in WP 2.1. Maps generated in WP 2.6 cover as much of the ESPON space (and EU candidates from the Balkan) as the data allows. Where harmonised data does not supply a sufficient coverage – and is only available for individual countries or groups of countries – the mapping is illustrative rather than comprehensive. Methodology of mapping (describing the indicators/database, how it was put together, etc.) is presented in a methodology paper of WP 2.6.

In the work package 2.8 (*Analysis of conceptual implications of social exclusion maps*) TIPSE TPG analyses the patterns and trends revealed by the series of thematic maps produced in WP 2.6. The methodology is dominantly quantitative supported by some qualitative elements too. People's place-based and context-dependent perceptions on social exclusion are not part of WP 2.6 or WP 2.8, but are discussed in detail in ESPON TiPSE's case studies (WP 2.4).

Findings of WP 2.6 and 2.8 help the task of WP 2.9 (*Typology of countries*) when it seeks to identify groups of countries sharing poverty as well as social exclusion indicators of similar profiles, and showing overlapping directions related to social policy context. Outcomes of the work packages dealing with the operationalization of social exclusion and the analysis of macro-regional and Europe-wide patterns also serve as inputs for the WP 2.10 (*Develop policy recommendations matrix*), which is basically concerned upon the overall implications of the research for policymaking. Furthermore, findings of work packages 2.6 and 2.8 might feed into WP 2.11 (*Proposal for PSE monitoring*) as well, by reflecting upon the strengths and limitations of the data resources used in the preceding tasks in order to identify gaps which should be filled and render the task of monitoring social exclusion more effective.

2.2 Introducing the operationalization of social exclusion in ESPON TiPSE project; dimensions and indicators

(by invoking the main findings of WP 2.6 methodological report)

Within the social sciences' research practice several methods exist how to measure multifaceted social phenomena. As already outlined in WP 2.1, social exclusion is mostly understood in a logocentric way in the literature. This means that social exclusion 'as such' is thought of to be existing in an ordered world which can be fully accessed by scientific method. This is practised in TiPSE by extensive research and quantification (WP 2.3 and WP 2.6), a more qualitative interpretation of the extensive research phase (WP 2.8) and by intensive research (WP 2.4's case studies). TiPSE used a deductive way of thinking by drawing on the domains of social exclusion identified by the academic and policy literature, before the data collection and mapping exercise started (with some fine-tuning during the data collection process). WP 2.1 also defined social exclusion as a multidimensional phenomenon (or process) the dimensions of which are intersecting, i.e. there are certain overlaps and/or causal relations between them. The dimensions should be measured by several indicators in the course of any project dealing with multifaceted phenomena.

ESPON TiPSE follows a multiple proxy variable method. In this, the deductive way of thinking starts with conceptualising a phenomenon by constructing several dimensions. These may be hypothesised as being interlinked or being separate and showing separable aspects. Dimensions might be measured by one single indicator per dimension, or several indicators might be considered for each of the dimensions. The approach of identifying different dimensions and several indicators for each of them is followed by ESPON TiPSE, as it was described in WPs 2.1 and 2.6 in detail. The considerations for this choice are that it is more complex than a simple variable method (thereby offering a more nuanced understanding of social exclusion), and that it is still simple enough to implement in social policies at the EU, national and regional scales. (The reason for not using more complex mathematical-statistical analysis during the interpretation of the dataset is that this is more viable for applied projects with policy relevance.) This approach leaves a considerable room for manoeuvre in the further course of the project regarding interlinkages captured across dimensions and indicators.

In order to operationalize social exclusion the following issues were considered and performed:

- to find specific indicators throughout the ESPON space which cover domains and dimensions of social exclusion, decided earlier in WP 2.1;
- to collect data at the lowest possible regional scale from different official sources (see also WP 2.3), integrate and map them (thereby offering a meaningful starting point for macro-regional and cross-European comparisons in WP 2.8);

- to reflect on the usability of the database in understanding the territorial dimension of social exclusion in Europe.

WP 2.1 identified four domains of social exclusion for the TiPSE project to be used in the mapping exercise (1. Earning a living, 2. Access to basic services, 3. Social environment, 4. Political participation). To operationalize these four domains, several 'dimensions' were selected. Following the identification of domains and dimensions of social exclusion for ESPON TiPSE, key indicators or variables of the different dimensions were chosen after detailed considerations by project partners regarding relevance, policy implications and data availability. Major criteria for finding suitable indicators were the following:

(i) the indicator should represent a given dimension of social exclusion in a meaningful way; it also reflects dimensions of social exclusion that are inseparable from each other but interact in complex ways and on different geographical scales;
(ii) the chosen indicator is most possibly an established or potential key variable in social policies throughout Europe (this aspect is important for the policy-implications of the ESPON project);
(iii) data is available at least at NUTS 3 (or NUTS 2) level.

Following these considerations the below structure of domains, dimensions and indicators was defined (for a detailed description of indicators, see WP 2.6 methodological report on "Development and mapping of social exclusion indicators"):

Domain identified by WP 2.1	*Dimension recommended by WP 2.6*	*Number of indicators (LFS and Census 2001 data)*
Earning a living	Income earned by tax payers	2
	Employment	27 (17 Census / 10 LFS)
Access to basic services	Health	3
	Education	2
	Housing	6
Social environment	Age	3
	Ethnic composition	1
	Immigrants	1
	Household structure	4
Political participation	Citizenship	1

Table 1: Domains, dimensions and the number of mapped indicators in social exclusion analysis

Because of the moderate availability of regional data for the recent years (2010–11) – as indicators can mainly be covered by census variables – data collection and subsequent tasks were decided to realise in two rounds, that of the 2001 and the 2011 rounds.

Harmonised Eurostat (and Eurostat Census) data is prioritised during the course of data acquisition, other census data is gathered if they were not available in harmonised sources. Activity and labour market indicators/variables were collected both from Eurostat LFS and census databases. The former dataset is more comparable among countries as it is harmonised, but its regional coverage is quite low. Censuses provide a much better coverage (except for gender related data for Germany), but definitions and data interpretations potentially hold (slight) differences.

If NUTS 3 level of a variable (in a country) was not available, but NUTS 2 coverage was possible to collect, a mixture of NUTS 2-3 levels was represented on maps. Similarly, if indicators collected from Eurostat (e.g. for income and health dimensions) were not available at NUTS 3 levels, NUTS 1 and NUTS 2 level is were gathered.

At this stage of TiPSE, the main conclusions on possibilities, limitations and comparability issues of the indicators are as follows.

- Eurostat covers some dimensions of social exclusion with comparable data with limitations. (see also WP 2.3).
- Census data is indispensable for some of the dimensions of social exclusion, as they are collected only in the decennial censuses (or other data sources are not as reliable as censuses). Standard realms in this group are demographic data (age, employment, country of birth), educational attainment, employment, housing and country of citizenship.
    - Several variables will be available from the 2011 census round on NUTS 3 level (such as immigration, housing, country of citizenship). The serious limitation is generated by that fact that comparable Eurostat data will only be provided as late as March 2014 and onwards. National statistical offices are not expected to publish these ‘hypercubes’ earlier either. TiPSE partners will collect these data in the further course of the project.
    - Several variables will not be available from the 2011 census round on NUTS 3 level from Eurostat (such as the education and employment dimensions). This results in a problem for ESPON TiPSE, as data might only be collected from national statistical sources which have different policies of publishing territorial data. Availability is not expected until early 2014 in this group either.
    - Exercises with the 2001 round data collection and the subsequent tasks were useful, because cross-European (or at least cross-macro-

regional) comparisons were made possible for many aspects. Nevertheless, collecting 2001 data is indispensable for interpreting changes over time (between the two censuses), underlining the process-based understanding of social exclusion.

- For some "census" dimensions, non-census Eurostat data is available, as for employment – standardised data using LFS methodology is available for a longitudinal comparison as well.
- "Non-standardised", national level statistical sources were not used by this WP of ESPON TiPSE. The most important concerns here were the scarce and / or difficult availability, also the geographical cross-comparability of data (not only methodologically, but also whether these variables capture social exclusion in a same way throughout Europe e.g. voting). Case studies of the TiPSE project reflect on these omitted dimensions in some aspects.
- Some theoretically generated indicators were listed in WP 2.1, but further considerations in WP 2.6 opted for not considering them, either because of theoretical-ethical issues (dimension of crime and safety) or because of limited geographical cross-comparability of data (such as municipal revenue from property taxes). Some indicators have been reformulated or redefined in WP 2.6 (such as household structure).

2.3 The macro-regional approach of analysing social exclusion (reasoning, expectations and the selection of macro-regions)

Instead of simply analysing social exclusion patterns in a Europe-wide frame in work package 2.8, a deeper analysis was carried out on the level of selected macro-regions of Europe. These macro-regional zooms are more adequate to identify the fine structures of patterns of social exclusion dimensions – drawn at NUTS 3 level but often covered by continent-wide differences – and they are also able to stress efficiently the similarities and differences between the different parts of Europe. This approach results in an information intensive phase of research on the interpretation of patterns of social exclusion by macro-regions of Europe, since it is basically supported by the local knowledge of project partners.

More delicate knowledge of partners is used in other ways too, as it delivers background information on how different indicators of social exclusion are used in the policy context in a country or group of countries. Macro-regional analyses are elaborated in a form of brief reports (following a standard structure) integrated into WP 2.8 project report as sub-chapters of it.

Macro-regional division of Europe in this task follows the former divisions of work in the information and data collection phase of the project based on geographical contiguity. This allocation of countries can also reflect to language proximity and – what is more important – might also capture some broad differences in welfare policy

approaches. Nevertheless, these macro-regions are not considered as organic and uniform areas, just as only groups of countries. Therefore differences between the countries of macro-regions are also represented.

Macro-region	*Countries*
Atlantic and Central European region	Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Ireland, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Netherlands, Switzerland, United Kingdom
Nordic and Baltic region	Denmark, Estonia, Finland, Iceland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway, Sweden
Mediterranean region	Cyprus, Greece, Italy, Malta, Portugal, Spain, Turkey
East Central Europe and Balkan region	Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Czech Republic, FYROM, Hungary, Kosovo, Montenegro, Poland, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia

Table 2: Macro-regions of the TiPSE Project

An important deliverable for WP 2.6 and WP 2.8 related to the macro-regional approach of the tasks is a set of maps which visualises all indicators throughout the ESPON space. Until now, from Eurostat and census 2001 data 50 (50-50 Europe-wide and macro-regional) maps of the ESPON space was prepared. The maps use different categorisations, but mostly follow the equal interval method (if not, the maps ensure a better representation of the distribution curve). Apart from that, separate maps with the same categorisation were prepared to ensure integration of the mapkit into macro-regional descriptions of WP 2.8. These were used in the exploratory phase in WP 2.8, i.e. to study the inner territorial differentiation of social exclusion in each macro-region; and also as illustrations in this paper.

Maps with census 2011 data will be prepared after a second round of data collection – both from Eurostat and national sources –, which is envisaged for the next phase of the research project, as census 2011 reaches the dissemination phase throughout Europe.

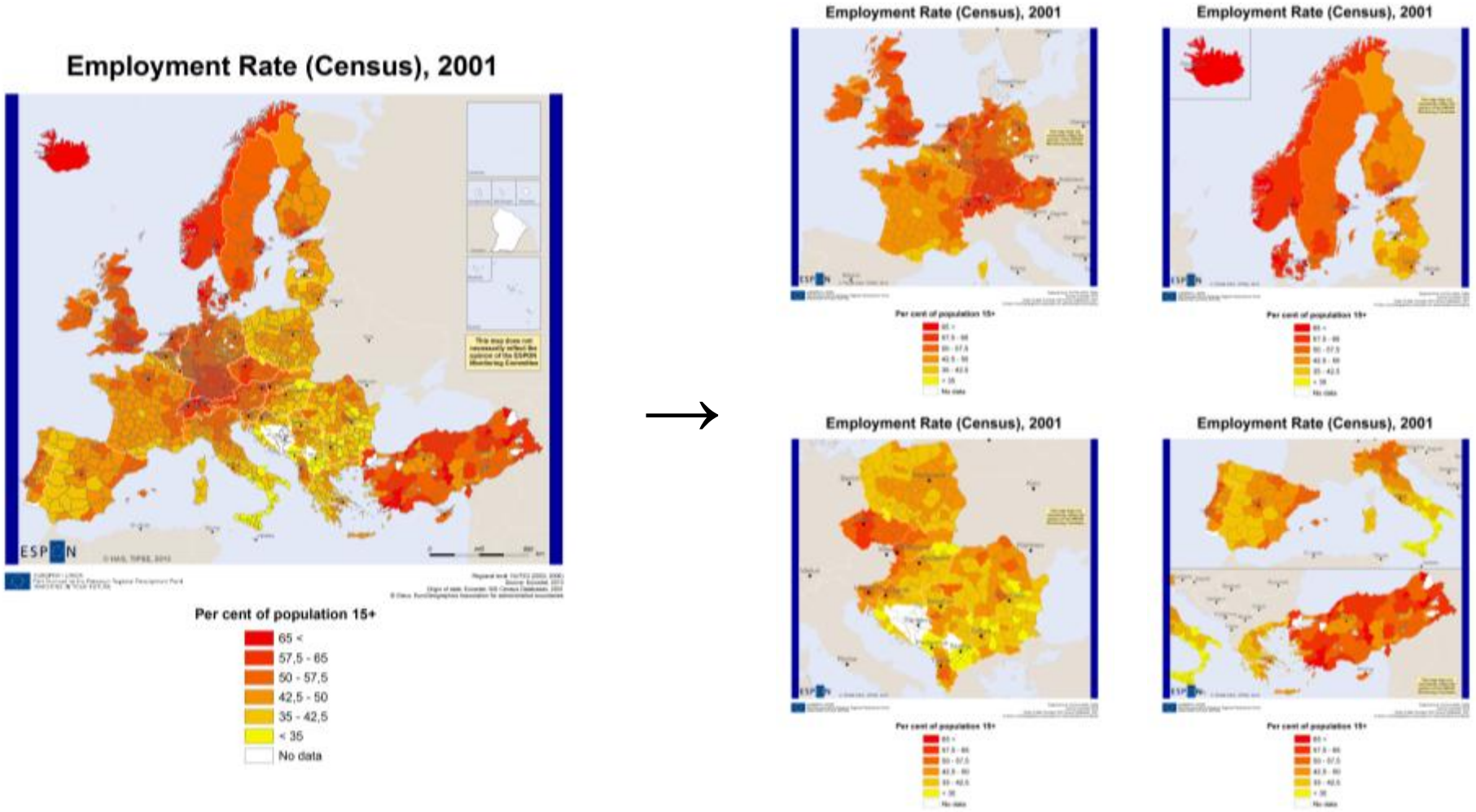


Figure 1: ESPON space map and macro-regional zooms: an example

3 Patterns of social exclusion across Europe: a macro-regional approach

3.1 Patterns of social exclusion across macro-regions of Europe: thematic analysis of dimensions of social exclusion 2001 (and 2011 in the second round)

3.1.1 Atlantic and Central European region

by Andrew Copus (James Hutton Institute) and Sabine Weck (ILS Dortmund)

Introduction

This discussion of patterns of social exclusion in the Atlantic and Central European macro-region is structured according to three main subsections. The first deals with some background issues. It begins by briefly considering the difficulties and pitfalls implicit in the analysis of regional indicators for what is essentially a dispersed, relational and micro-spatial phenomenon. It then notes a range of background issues, relating to data and to policy context, which are specific to the macro region. A brief explanation of the structure and approach of the remaining two subsections follows. The first of these provides a systematic description of available indicators for the four domains of social exclusion, highlighting those which seem most useful, and briefly considering conceptual implications. The final section presents a selection of examples of (social exclusion related) indicators generated within a national context within the macro region.

Some background issues

Before considering issues which are specific to the macro-region it is perhaps helpful to reiterate some of the points raised in the first TiPSE Working Paper (Talbot et al 2012), which presented the conceptual framework. These are very important as "health warnings" with respect to the consideration of the maps of NUTS 3 indicators which follows. Talbot et al show very clearly that Social Exclusion is a contested concept, both in academic and policy circles. However it is generally agreed that it is a multi-faceted phenomenon, and that it is difficult, if not impossible, to separate it from the narrower concept of poverty. One helpful distinction is that whilst poverty relates to the distribution of wealth or other resources, social exclusion considers relations between mainstream community/society, (however defined) and minority groups, or individuals. They conclude (p2):

"*Our review of theories and concepts have shown that that poverty and social exclusion are multi-dimensional and relational. Therefore, they should be studied in a*

multi-dimensional and multi-sectoral analysis, in which economic, social and political aspects of vulnerability and exclusion are all taken together into account, and how their compounded effect may find expression in spatial concentrations of disadvantage and vulnerability."

The limitations of available data, across the ESPON space, particularly for 2001, render such an aspiration deeply challenging, as the discussion below will illustrate. In part this is due to gaps in the datasets, but also, more fundamentally, that the indicators capture a range of potential "covariates" of social exclusion, whilst at the same time raising questions about how they interact, or whether/how they compound to cause exclusion. Talbot et al (2012, p11-13) also point out that social exclusion is often dispersed, and that when it is geographically concentrated it tends to be within areas much smaller than NUTS 3. Again this is a fundamental issue for the kind of regional analysis presented below. We will return to these questions after reviewing the available indicators and maps.

There are some further considerations, specific to the Atlantic Central macro region, which should be mentioned before proceeding:

- With regard to the NUTS 3 geography, the regions of Germany and the Benelux countries tend to be much smaller than those of (for example) France or the UK, even taking account of their higher population density. Some researchers have combined NUTS 2 regions for the former with NUTS 3 for the latter, denominating the resulting map "NUTS X". Although we have not thusfar adopted this approach it is important, when interpreting the maps below, to take account of this difference in "resolution".

  In addition there were some minor changes in NUTS 3 boundaries between 2003 and 2006 which mainly affect Scotland. This explains some instances of "no data" in a few of the maps.

- Very few of the Member States within this macro-region undertook a conventional population census in 2001. The notable exceptions were the UK and the Republic of Ireland. In the case of the former it is important to be aware that separate censuses are conducted in England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland, and that there are some small variations between these in terms of Census questions, and data tabulation. Several of the other countries which make up the macro-region, such as Belgium and the Netherlands assembled data from registers and administrative sources, with the result that some variables have not been made available at NUTS 3. France carried out a full Census in 1999, but since then has adopted a three year rolling cycle, sampling one third of the population in each year. Germany did not carry out a census in 2001 (the 2011 census will be the first since the late '80s.
- Despite being a relatively compact and contiguous group of countries the macro-region is far from homogeneous in terms of welfare policy approach,

spanning two of Esping Anderson's types (Anglo Saxon and Coorporatist Statist). This is likely to have implications for the comparability of some indicators, particularly in the labour market sub-theme.

Having noted these provisos, the following discussion of available social exclusion indicators for the Atlantic Central macro-region in 2001 will be structured according to the four domains and dimensions presented above (Table 3). Within each domain a review of data availability and perceived quality will be the basis for identifying a selection of indicators upon which to base a consideration of the overall geographical pattern which manifests itself for that aspect of social exclusion. This will be followed by a brief review of apparent relationships between dimensions and domains, and associated theoretical or policy implications.

The final subsection will present a selection of examples of how Member States within the macro-region assess social exclusion, and how they use the findings in terms of targeting or evaluation of related policies.

The four domains – map assessment and commentary

The four domains established in Talbot et al (2012); Earning a living, Access to Basic Services, Social Environment and Political Participation, are further subdivided into eleven more focused "dimensions". The search for appropriate indicators and data as a starting point for a cartographic review of spatial patterns of social cohesion yielded a total of fifty potential indicators, each of which has been mapped, generally at NUTS 3. These fifty indicators are rather unequally spread between the four domains and eleven dimensions. The employment dimension, for example, provides 26 maps, whilst at the other extreme the political participation domain is represented by a single map. The dominance of the employment dimension reflects, in part, longstanding policy preoccupation, but also the availability of two parallel data sources, the Census and the Labour Force Survey.

In the interests of clarity and brevity it will not be appropriate to comment upon all fifty maps. Some form of "screening" is required to identify the most reliable and informative maps. In the context of the Atlantic Central region a simple "traffic light" assessment was carried out, based upon four criteria; coverage, harmonisation, discrimination and ease of interpretation. For each of these four criteria each map was (subjectively) given a red, amber or green assessment, where red indicated that (for a variety of reasons) the indicator/map was considered unsuitable to be included in the review, green that it was considered acceptable, and amber that its assessment lay somewhere between these two extremes. After reviewing the four criteria an overall "score" was assigned, determining whether the map should be included in the review, and broadly speaking, how much weight should be placed upon it. Of course this is very much a qualitative approach, and though it is "systematic", we do not claim it is objective.

Domain	Dimension	Indicator	Coverage	Boundary/ Definition issues (between countries)	Discrimination (within country)	Interpretation	Retain?
EARNING A LIVING	Income	Net disposable household income					
		Ratio of employed persons in elementary occupations					
	Employment	Economic activity rate, LFS					
		Male economic activity rate, LFS					
		Female economic activity rate, LFS					
		Employment rate, LFS					
		Unemployment rate, LFS					
		Male unemployment rate, LFS					
		Female unemployment rate, LFS					
		Activity gender gap, LFS					
		Unemployment gender gap, LFS					
		Economic activity rate, Census					
		Male economic activity rate, Census					
		Female economic activity rate, Census					
		Inactivity rate, Census					
		Male inactivity rate, Census					
		Female inactivity rate, Census					
		Employment rate, Census					
		Male employment rate, Census					
		Female employment rate, Census					
		Unemployment rate, Census					
		Male unemployment rate, Census					
		Female unemployment rate, Census					
		Youth (15-24) unemployment rate, Census					
		Activity gender gap, Census					
		Inactivity gender gap, Census					
		Employment gender gap, Census					
		Unemployment gender gap, Census					
ACCESS TO BASIC SERVICES	Health	Hospital beds per 100000 inhabitants					
		Health personnel per 100000 inhabitants					
		Healthy life expectancy at birth					
	Education	Ratio of population with low qualification					
		Ratio of population with high qualification					
		Dijkstra-Poelman urban-rural typology					
	Housing	Ratio of housing units without water supply system					
		Ratio of housing units without inside toilet					
		Ratio of housing units without bath or shower					
		Ratio of housing units without central heating					
		Number of occupants per room					
		Useful floor space per occupants					
SOCIAL ENVIRONMENT	Age	Total dependency rate					
		Child dependency rate					
		Old age dependency rate					
	Ethnic composition	Ratio of population Roma					
	Immigrants	Ratio of foreign-born population					
	Household structure	Ratio of lone parent households					
		Ratio of lone parents					
		Average household size					
		Ratio of households with 6 or more persons					
POLITICAL PARTICIPATION	Citizenship	Ratio of population not citizens of the country					

Table 3: Summary of the review of the 50 indicators, by domain and dimension

It will be helpful to explain he four criteria in a little more detail:

1. Coverage is simply defined as the proportion of regions/countries for which there is no data. Green means there are few, if any, gaps, and the spatial pattern is not masked by missing data, red means that there are many regions coloured white, and for this reason it is not easy to discern any pattern.
2. Harmonisation issues reflect poor definitional standardisation between countries, so that national boundaries show up as discontinuities. Of course it is sometimes hard to say if such discontinuities are caused by differences in definition between neighbouring member states, or whether there is a genuine difference in the underlying phenomena, due, for example, to policy. A classic example is unemployment rates, which can vary due to differences in how people without jobs are treated by the welfare system, in particular how quickly, and for how long they are taken into employment related training schemes.
3. Discrimination is assessed in terms of the degree to which the maps show a degree of variation between regions and within countries which provides a meaningful picture of an aspect of social exclusion.

4. The Interpretation criteria assesses the extent to which the map can inform us about patterns of social exclusion. Here a red colour coding might reflect ambiguities in the indicator, or a chaotic pattern on the map which is not easy to explain. To some extent it will be conditioned by the preceding three criteria.

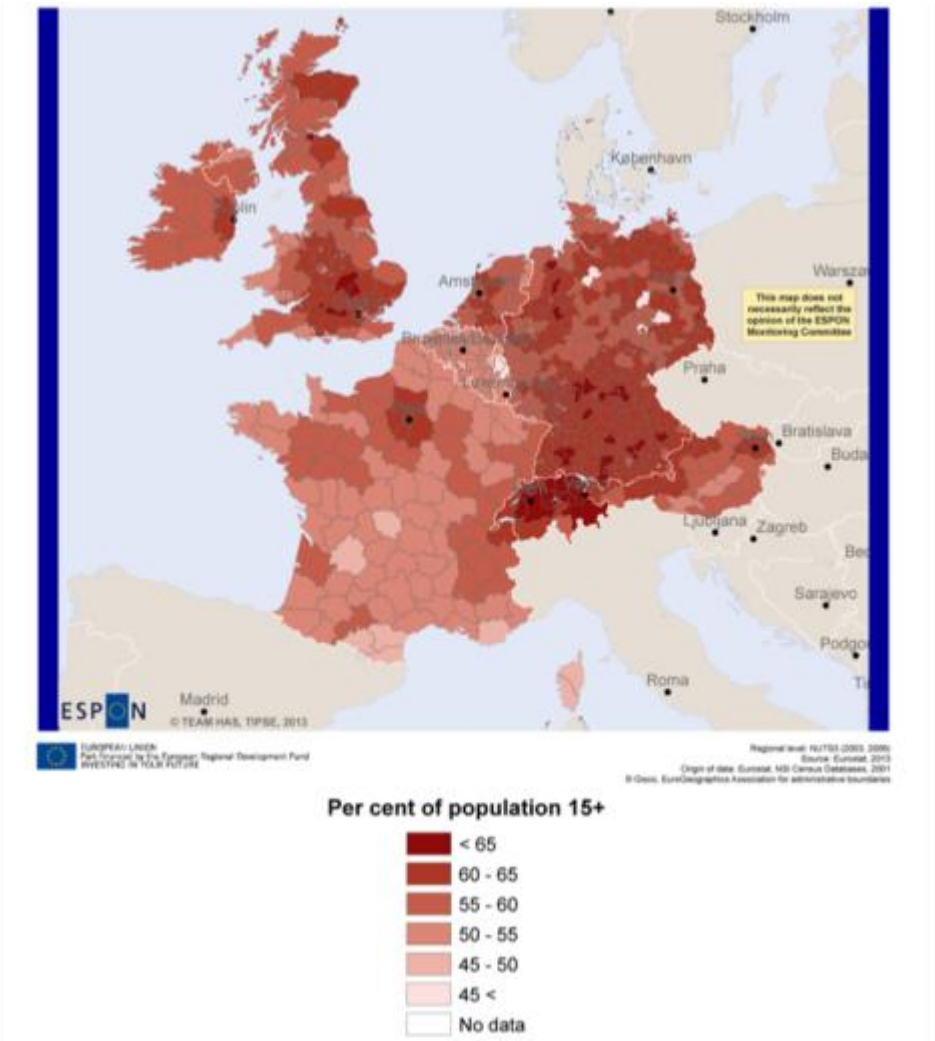
The overall assessment, whether to retain the map in the assessment is not a mechanical function of the number of red and green ratings across the four criteria. It also reflects the availability of alternative indicators within the dimension concerned.

Earning a living

The first dimension in this domain, “income”, is represented by two maps. The map of persons employed in elementary occupations is not included in this commentary as it is affected by harmonisation issues, (between France and Germany, for example) and does not discriminate very well between regions, several Member States having all their regions in the same colour. The second map, (Net Disposable Income) is at NUTS 2 only and for this reason is coded red for the Discrimination criteria. However across the Atlantic Central macro-region there is some evidence that the highest average net disposable income is associated with larger cities, whilst more modest levels are found in rural and peripheral areas. Nevertheless crude regional averages may mask as much as they reveal; the literature cited by Talbot et al (2012) points to micro-spatial concentrations of social exclusion in the same large cities.

About a third of the maps in the employment dimension are based upon Labour Force Survey (LFS) data, and the rest derived from Population Census data. The LFS maps duplicate some of the Census-based maps, and since the latter generally have superior coverage, we will restrict our remarks to them.

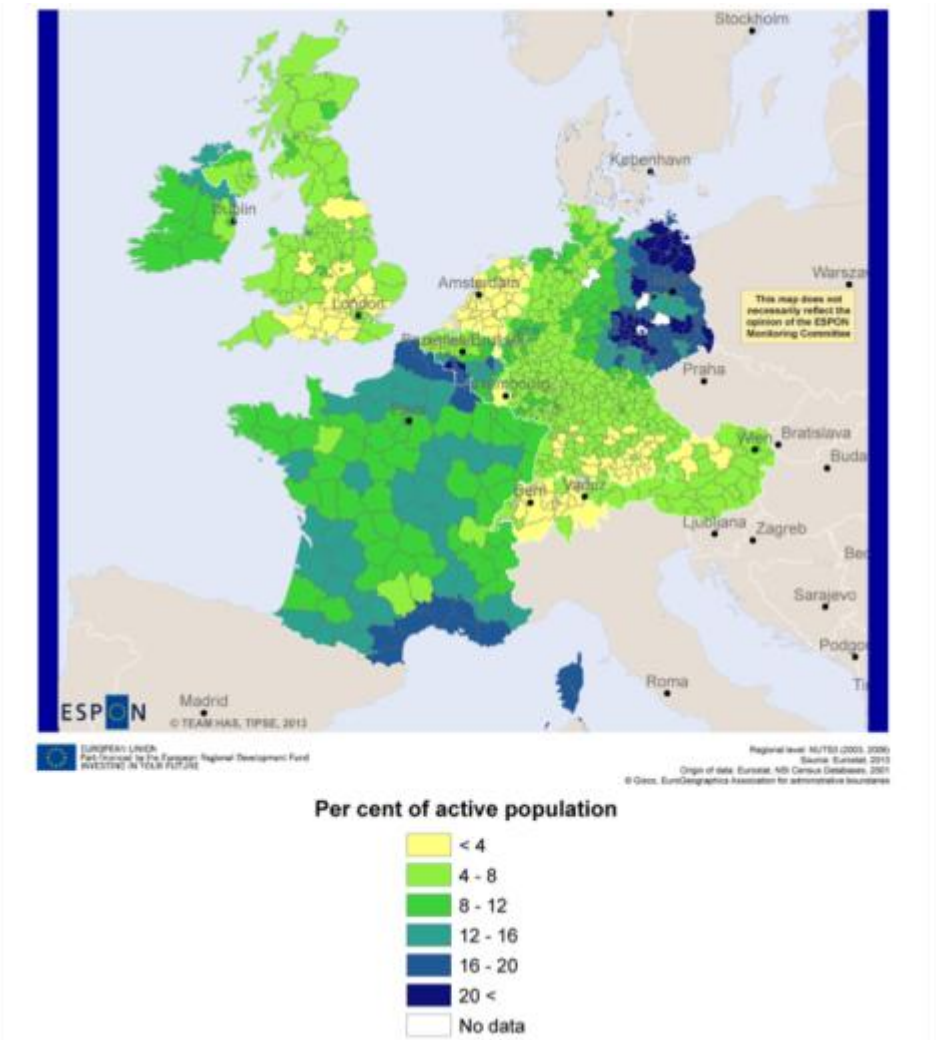
Of the labour market indicators, perhaps the most meaningful in the Atlantic Central macro region are the Economic Activity/Inactivity rates, which are essentially mirror images of each other. They capture the broad regional differentiation in terms of participation in economic activity. In the UK, Ireland and France the regions which stand out as those with relatively low participation rates are generally coastal or peripheral (W. Wales, Cornwall, N. of Northern Ireland, parts of the S of France). There are also some “rural interior” regions in France which have very low rates of participation. In Germany, the Benelux, Switzerland and Austria, rates are generally higher, notable exceptions being the Dutch regions along the border with Germany, and Alpine Austria.



Map 1: Economic Activity Rate (Census) 2001 - Atlantic Central Macro Region

Employment rates and unemployment rates are much more vulnerable to definitional and border effects, due to the influence of differences in welfare systems. Nevertheless the unemployment rate maps suggest a tendency for low participation rates to be exacerbated by high unemployment (low employment) rates along the French Mediterranean coast, the Franco-Belgian border, and in East Germany.

Gender effects within the labour market seem to vary considerably more *between*, rather than *within* countries within the Atlantic Central macro-region. There are some complex and difficult to explain relationships, however. For example whilst economic activity/inactivity and employment gender gaps are fairly similar in the UK and France, the latter shows a substantially higher gap in terms of unemployment.



Map 2: Unemployment Rate (Census) 2001: Atlantic Central Macro Region

Taking all the employment dimension maps together, (and keeping in mind the proviso that NUTS 3 maps probably mask considerable, and theoretically important, local variations) what broad conclusions may be drawn about patterns of social exclusion?

(i) There is a tendency for participation in the labour market to be lower in rural, remote, coastal and upland environments. Whether this is a consequence of social exclusion, or of demographic differences (associated, for example, with early retirement migration) is not clear. This could be described as a "rural focussed" pattern.

(ii) There is some evidence of concentration of exclusion from employment (unemployment) in border regions and in the former East German Lander. The first of these could be termed a "border region" pattern, whilst the latter is "place specific".

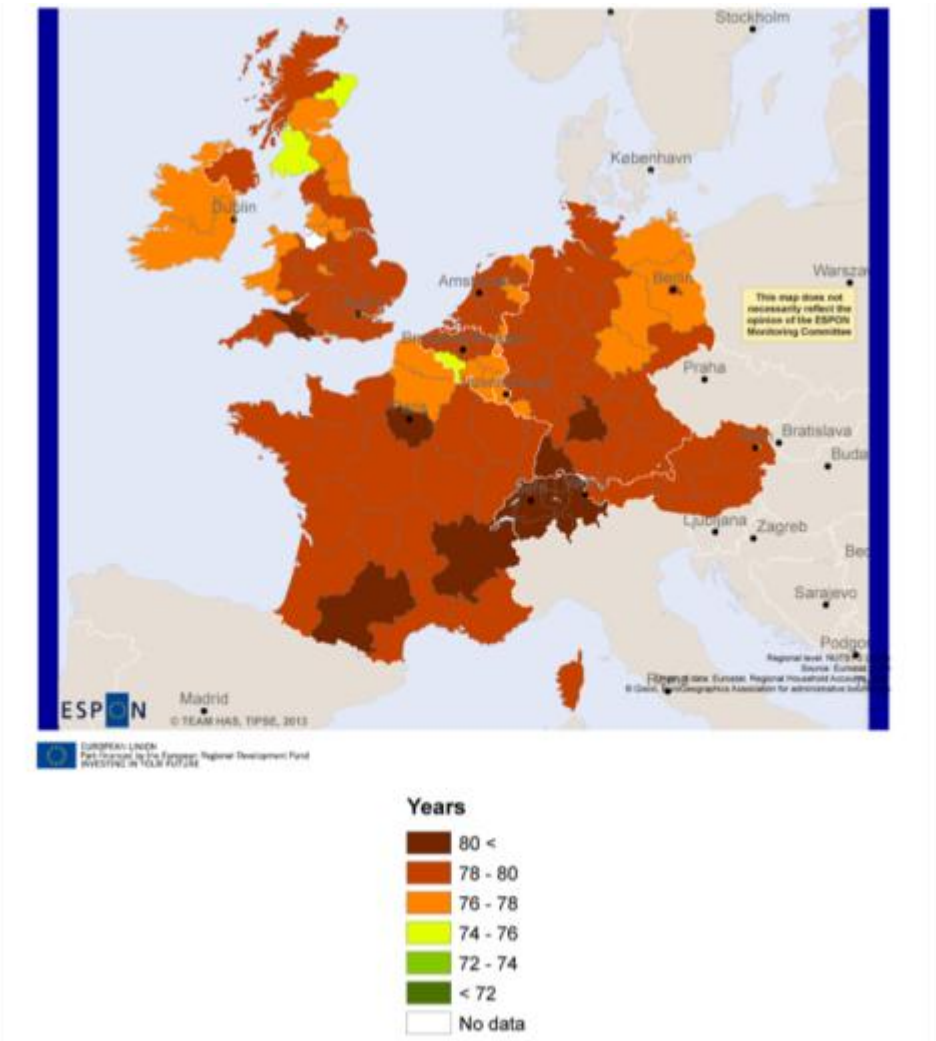
(iii) Patterns of differential economic activity rates and unemployment according to gender are complex and very difficult to interpret. However it is reasonable

to hypothesise that fairly uniform participation rates, combined with significant variations according to unemployment is indicative of a combination of ubiquitous societal attitudes to participation by women, but at the same time, significant geographical variation in the (gender specific) barriers to securing employment.

Access to Basic Services

Three dimensions in this domain (Health, Education and Housing) have generated acceptable maps[1]. All three health maps are at NUTS 2, and therefore coded red for discrimination. The indicators relating to hospital beds and personnel are both likely to be affected by harmonisation issues due to differences in the way in which health services are organised in different Member States. As a consequence the maps relating to health personnel and to hospital beds are not considered sufficiently reliable to tell us much about regional patterns of social exclusion across the Atlantic Central macro-region. The third Health indicator – life expectancy at birth, despite being at NUTS 2 only seems more informative, highlighting, for example, lower life expectancy in the former East German Lander, along the Dutch-German and Franco-Belgian border regions, in Luxembourg, the Irish Republic, the North of England and Southern Scotland. It is not immediately clear why these areas stand out, although in the last three named there is considerable popular concern and public health evidence regarding the role of poor diet in health.

[1] The transport and communication dimension is represented only by a rural-urban typology. The conceptual justification seems weak, and difficulties in interpretation rather problematic, hence this map has not been included in our review.

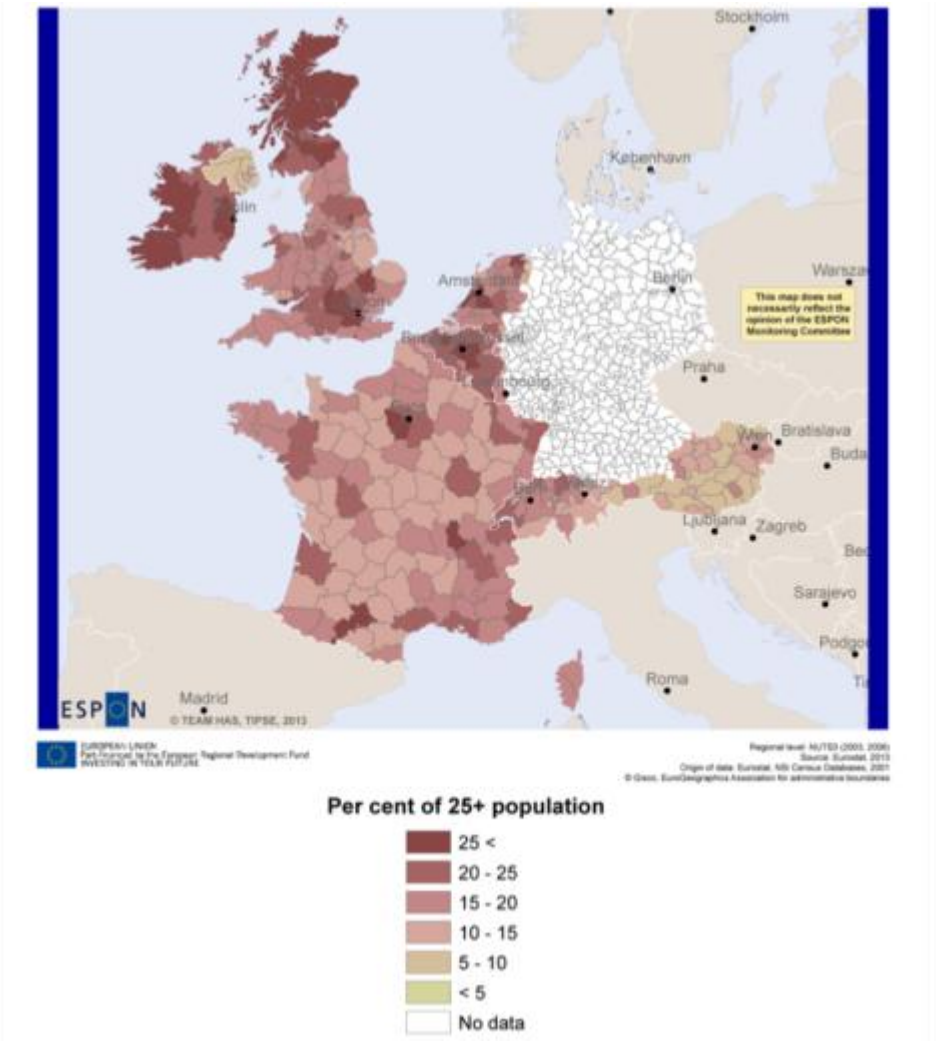


Map 3: Life Expectancy 2001: Atlantic Central Macro Region

In the Education dimension two maps are provided, showing the proportion of population with only Lower Secondary (ISCED 2) or Primary (ISCED 0-1) attainment, and the proportion with a tertiary (ISCED 5-6) qualification. As regards the low attainment map the differences between countries raise considerable concerns about harmonisation, and as a side effect tend to suppress within-country discrimination. The tertiary qualification map shows a more consistent pattern, though even here there are significant border effects which may fall within the range which could be accounted for by differences in national education systems. To the extent that the pattern is interpretable two features may be remarked upon:

(i) A tendency for higher rates of tertiary education in capital cities and university towns, and lower rates in rural regions without universities.

(ii) Cultural differences, such as the traditional emphasis upon higher education in Scotland, compared with England and Wales.



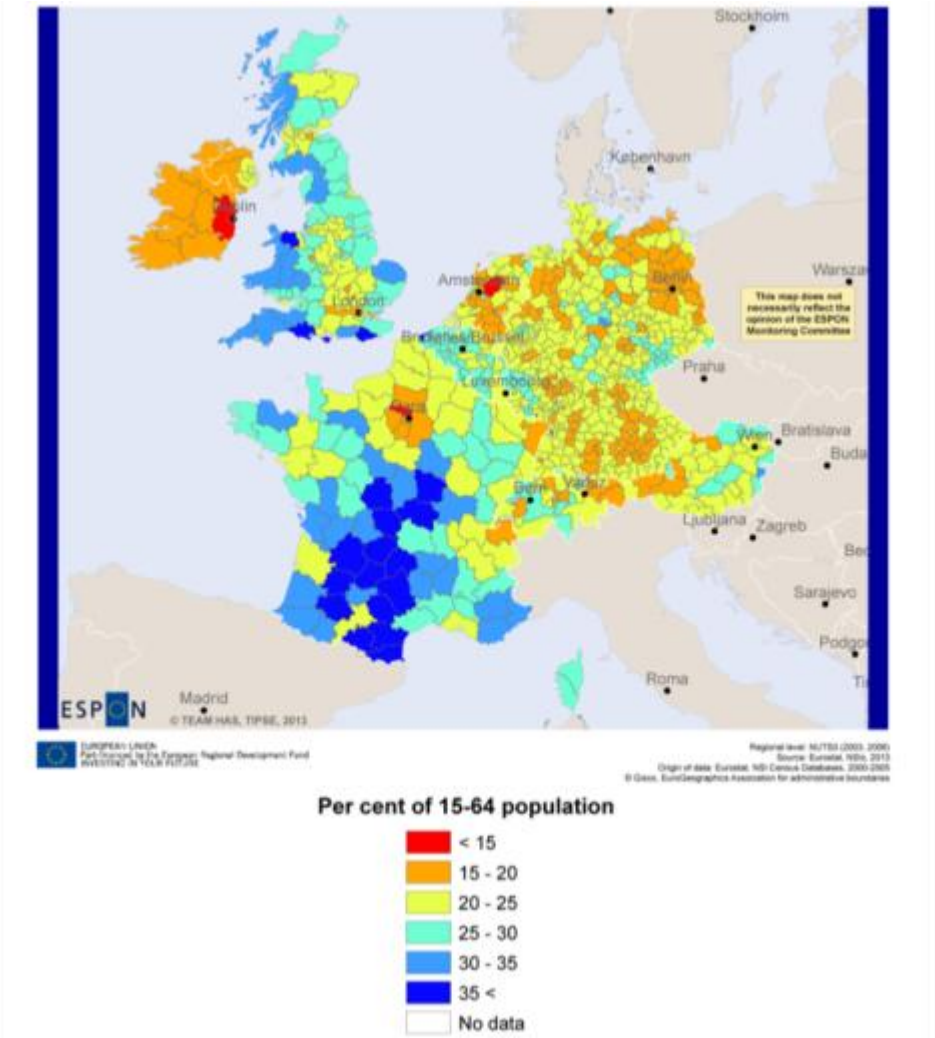
Map 4: Tertiary Qualifications: Atlantic Central Macro Region

None of the six housing indicators have sufficient coverage within the Atlantic Central macro region to allow any conclusions to be drawn about the role of housing in the geography of social exclusion in this part of the ESPON space. Indeed, from a conceptual point of view, measuring the contribution of accommodation is complicated both by temporal change in what might be considered minimum standards, and by latitudinal differences in the relevance of heating systems or water supply. In conceptual terms the “occupants per room” and “floor space per occupant” indicators are perhaps the most satisfactory, though poor coverage again presents a barrier to any meaningful interpretation of the maps.

In summary the maps for the Access to Basic Services domain are very much affected by data availability, harmonisation and discrimination issues, of the three dimensions we have discussed only in the Health and Education areas are we able to observed anything approaching systematic and interpretable patterns. If anything these suggest a combination of “place specific” and “urban focused” patterns.

Social Environment

The first dimension in this domain relates to age structure, and is framed in terms of dependency rates. Of the three maps (total, child and old age dependency) the old age dependency rate seems to be based upon almost complete and reliable (harmonised) data. The absence of child dependency rate data for France seems to have a "knock-on" effect on total dependency, causing substantial boundary effects. From a conceptual perspective it seems reasonable to assume that having a large ageing cohort is more likely to result in exclusion than a high proportion of larger families.

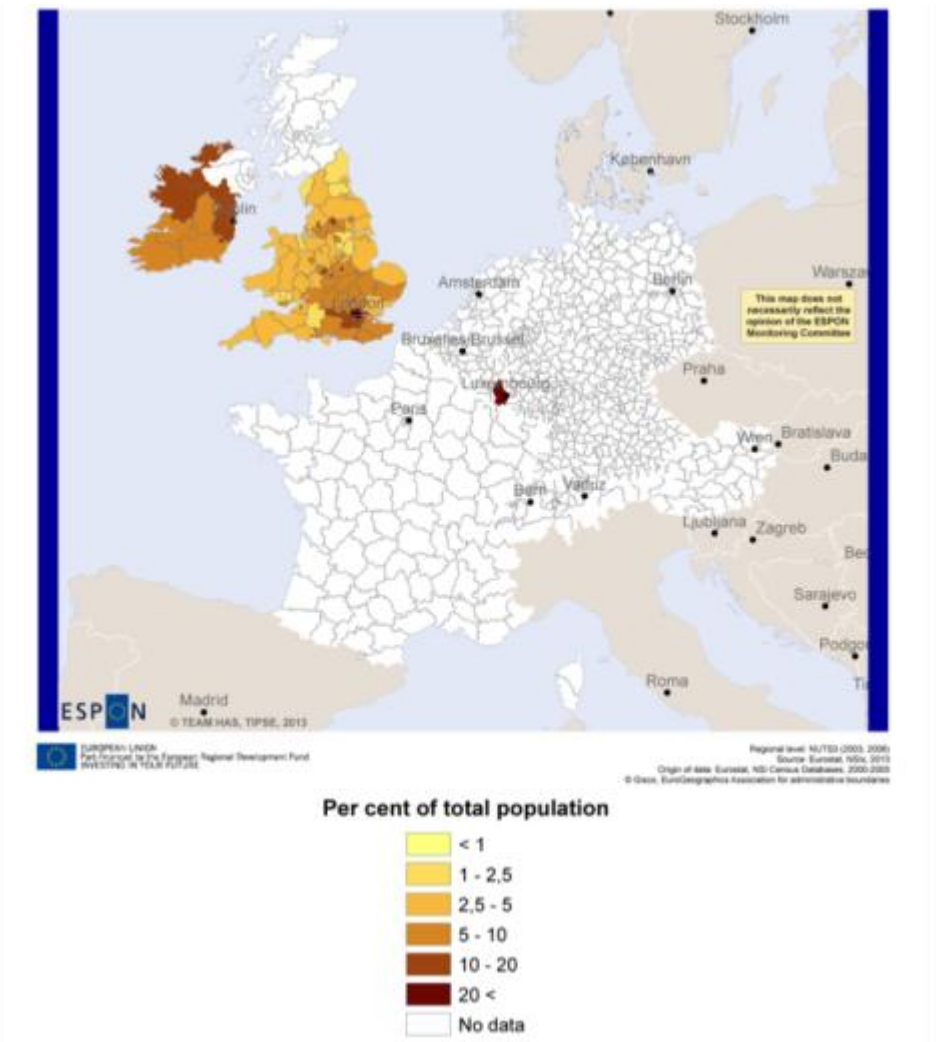


Map 5: Old Age Dependency Rates (2001): Atlantic Central Macro Region

In the UK and France the old age dependency rate is higher in rural, coastal, and peripheral regions. This is probably partly a consequence of historic and recent age-selective rural-urban migration, partly of return migration, and partly a result of lifestyle motivated retirement (and early retirement) migration. These patterns are far

less evident in the BENELUX countries, Germany, or even the Irish Republic. One conspicuous feature of the child dependency map is the high level of dependency in the former East German Lander.

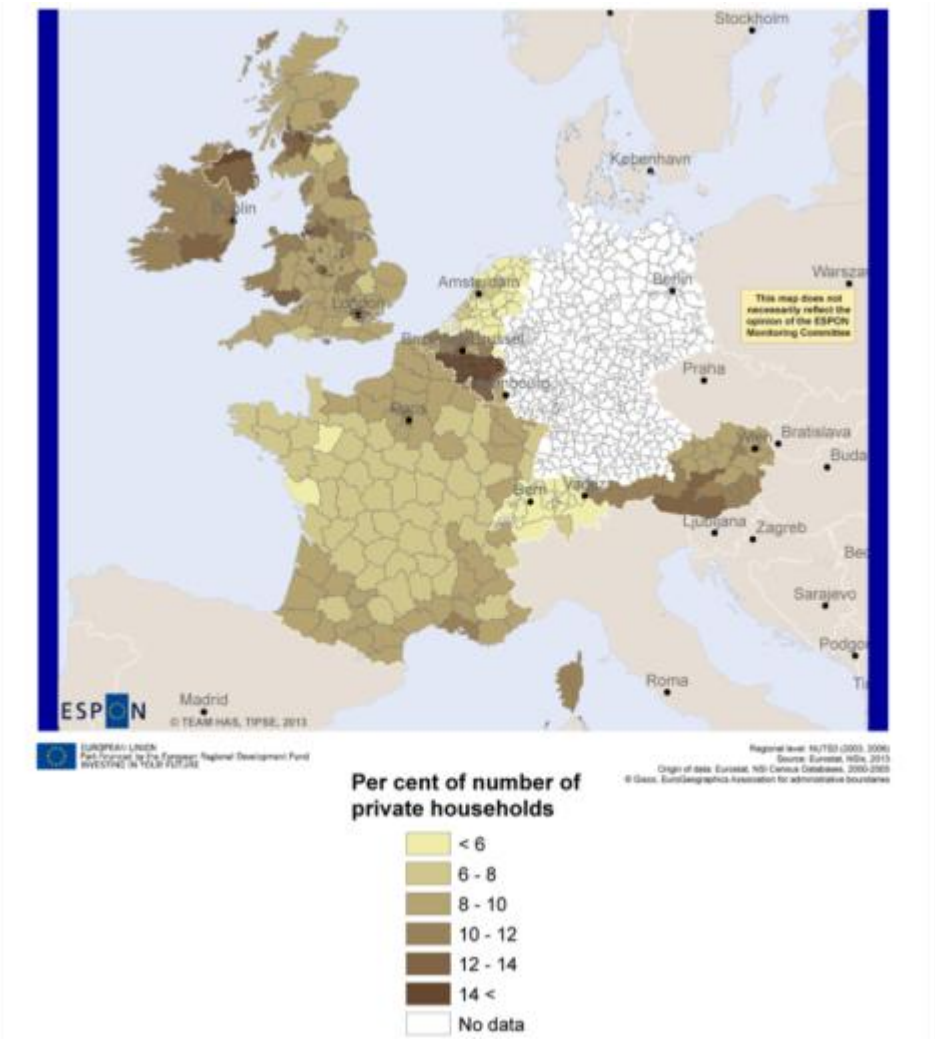
The second dimension relates to indigenous ethnic minorities. The main group on a European level is the Roma – which are not significantly represented in the Atlantic Central macro region. A similar indigenous minority group in the Irish Republic, known as “travellers” are not related in terms of ethnicity, but are similar in some ways in terms of their role in society. This group is present as a small percentage (less than 1%) throughout Ireland, but are concentrated in the Midlands and West, where the proportion rises to 1-1.75%.



Map 6: Foreign born citizens (2001): Atlantic Central Macro Region

The immigrant dimension is represented by a single map (ratio of foreign born population, which is, in the Atlantic Central macro-region, blank, except for England and Wales, Ireland and Luxembourg. Even this limited coverage, however, highlights the importance of capitals and major cities as “gateways” for immigrants.

The final dimension in the Social Environment domain relates to household structure. Here the two maps relating to lone parents suggest that families with a single parent tend to be concentrated in larger urban areas, perhaps due to the greater availability of childcare, rented accommodation, or part time employment. Whether this pattern exists in Germany too is unclear, due to the absence of data. The two maps relating to household size highlight the cultural tradition for larger families in Ireland, but otherwise do not discriminate well within countries.

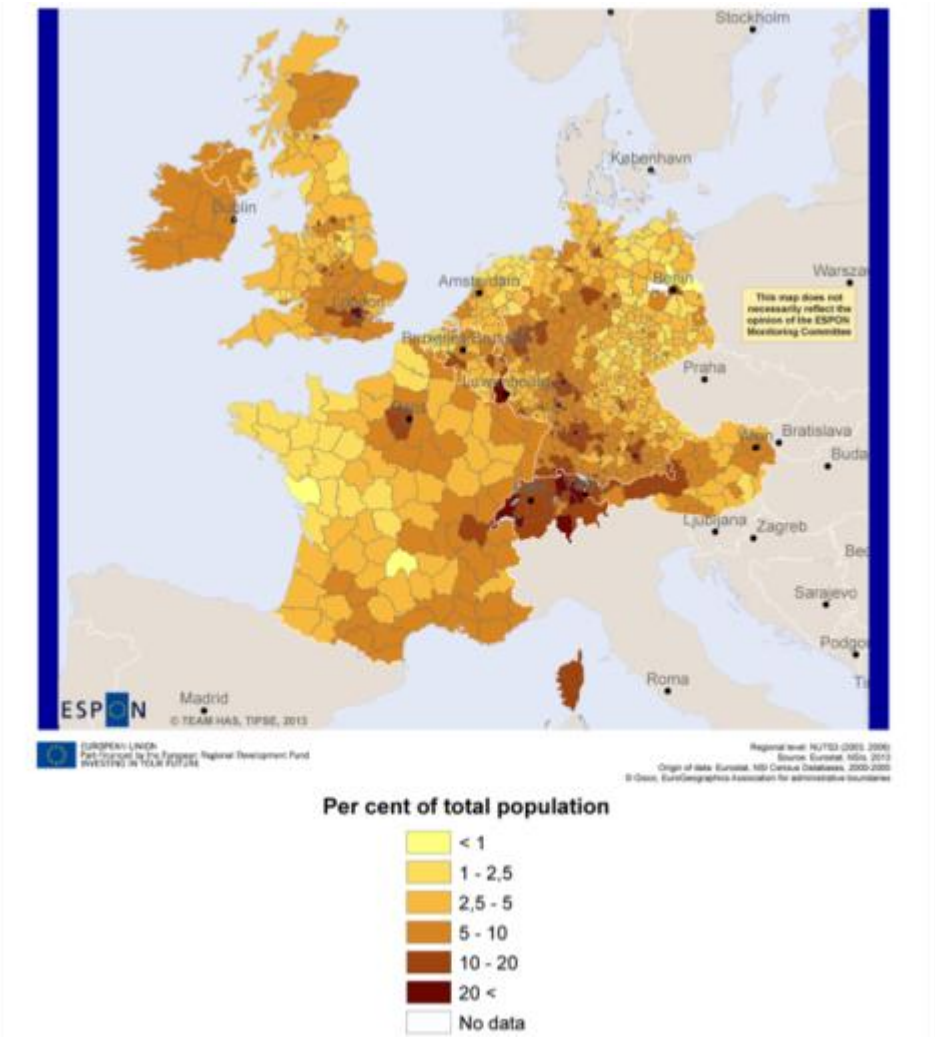


Map 7: Lone Parent Households 2001: Atlantic Central Macro Region

To summarise the key findings in this domain, it is possible to identify three kinds of systematic pattern in the indicators: (i) Rural focused – for example, old age dependency. (ii) Urban focused – immigrants, single parent households. (iii) Place specific issues, ethnic minorities, child dependency in East Germany.

Political Participation

The final domain, Political Participation is clearly the most problematic in terms of data availability. However the single map, showing the ratio of foreign citizens within the total population, presents some interesting patterns. The ratio is particularly high in Switzerland, presumably due to the role of international financial services activities. Across the rest of the Atlantic Central macro region concentrations of foreign citizens (frequently over 20% of the population), who it is assumed will be mostly disenfranchised, are found in most major industrial or commercial cities. In most rural areas they account for less than 5% of the population. Again this is an example of what we have termed an “urban focused” pattern.



Map 8: Non Citizen Population 2001: Atlantic Central Macro Region

Some tentative conclusions

Due to data constraints, the above review of 2001 data/maps relating to social exclusion is inevitably partial and “unbalanced” in its coverage of the various

domains and dimensions of the complex concept of social exclusion. Furthermore, it is of the nature of social exclusion that it is difficult, if not impossible, to measure directly. A more realistic objective is to assess the vulnerability or risk of regions to different aspects of exclusion. Since different aspects of exclusion seem to have different spatial manifestations, the above review cannot provide a basis for a composite index of social exclusion, or even a set of domain-summarising indices. However what it has begun to do is to shed some light upon the way in which different kinds of exclusion are manifest across space. It has been shown that for some aspects rural, coastal, mountainous and peripheral areas are the most vulnerable, whilst for others urban areas have a higher risk. There is also some evidence of concentration of certain types of exclusion in border regions, and in specific "places" with particular characteristics. The maps selected for incorporation in the text are intended to illustrate these four kinds of spatial pattern. It will be interesting to see if the same patterns are identified in other macro regions, and whether these observations could perhaps form the basis of an interpretive model of the geography of social exclusion in Europe.

National approaches

It is true to say that few countries and regions in the Atlantic and Central European region venture to identify, and regularly sample, data that is relevant to monitor social exclusion processes at small-scale level. One explaining factor for this is, that the concept of social exclusion is of differing importance and relevance on the political level, as the state of the art report on concepts of poverty and social exclusion show (see Ramos Lobato 2012 – Appendix 2 of Working Paper 1 of Interim Report); with France taking a pioneering role, while political importance in other countries has remained more limited. Further explaining factors are the theoretical and methodological challenges linked to the implementation of the concept as a tool for monitoring, including issues of data availability and quality. Thus, sectoral and one-dimensional analysis of trends and processes prevail in national and regional policy reports, focussed around the dimensions of demography, income and employment, and not systematically linked to the dimensions of health, education, housing, ethnicity or citizenship.

Social exclusion trends and processes rarely studied in an integrated analysis. Two countries, however, stand out from the general trend. As mentioned, the concept of social exclusion figures quite prominently on the political agenda in France. Thus, a national observatory on poverty and social exclusion (ONPES) was established in 1999, at the National Institute of Statistics and Economic Studies, with the task of reporting regularly to the government and the parliament. ONPES works with 11 indicators to measure poverty and social exclusion. Besides measuring poverty, social minima and income inequalities, social exclusion indicators encompass

- the rate of people who forego health care due to financial reasons,

- the rate of people exiting school system without any qualifications,
- rate of job-seekers not receiving indemnities and
- the proportion of subsidized housing requests not fulfilled after one year (see Ramos Lobato 2012 – Appendix 2 of Working Paper 1 of Interim Report; or see annex 1 to this paper).

In the last years, the concept of social inequality has come more to the fore in national statistics and work has focussed on finding indicators for measuring social inequality (see the work of the so-called Freyssinet Working Group). There are thus a range of new indicators which guide statistics producers on collection and analysis of data, and which complement the aforementioned ONPES indicators (see annex 2 to this paper for an exemplary list of indicators in education, housing, health and other dimensions). Collection and analysis of data is planned on the level of regions (NUTS 2), and where possible, the level of department (NUTS 3).

Similarly interesting, the Netherlands Institute for Social Research (SCP), a government agency, which conducts research on a wide range of social aspects, has undertaken work on conceptualising and assessing social exclusion as a numerical index (Jehoel-Gijsbers–Vrooman, 2007). The authors operationalize social exclusion as a combination of material deprivation, insufficient access to basic social rights (access to institutions and provisions & access to adequate housing and safe environment), inadequate social participation and inadequate normative integration. On the basis of a survey they identified individual characteristics that turned out to play a key role as regards the risk of being socially excluded. Based on further research, the empirical study of social exclusion at SCP has been fine-tuned and a list of 15 questions has been developed for regular, bi-annual surveys of social exclusion among the adult Dutch population (Hoff–Vrooman, 2011). In addition, a "life situation index" has been developed over the last years, on the basis of surveys (Boelhouwer, 2010); that aims at measuring life situation and quality of life in eight domains: health, sport, social participation (loneliness, volunteering), cultural/leisure activities, housing, mobility, holidays and possession of assets. Results feed into a bi-annual report on "The Social State of the Netherlands", which is delivered to and discussed at national government level. For the report, register data is combined with survey results to cover different domains of life and analyse trends over time. Policy outcomes are closely monitored on all geographical levels, from the national level to the level of (disadvantaged) neighbourhoods. A multidimensional and comprehensive analysis of social trends, on all levels, the combination of register data with regular surveys, and a close monitoring of government policies' effectiveness and impact, are characteristics of the Dutch approach.

Two of the Member States in the Atlantic Central macro-region, the UK and Ireland, also constitute the "liberal" or "Anglo-Saxon" group in the classification of welfare regimes adopted in the first TiPSE working paper (Talbot et al 2012). In this context the concept of social exclusion does not seem to be promoted by the government, which prefers to consider the narrower concept of income poverty, (especially as it

impacts upon children) tied closely to employment, and placing some emphasis upon material deprivation. In Ireland for example The Department of Social Protection recently began to publish an annual “Social Exclusion Monitor”. Closer inspection reveals that the indicators described are restricted to At Risk of Poverty and Material Deprivation. Within the UK third sector organisations such as the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, and research networks, such as the ESRC funded PSE (Poverty and Social Exclusion) project, strive to raise awareness of broader issues of social exclusion, in part by highlighting available data.

The UK and Ireland have a relatively long history of working with regional/local indicators of poverty and disadvantage. There is a very substantial academic literature, and it will be necessary here to focus upon indicators which are recognised/sponsored by government, and which have some influence over policy. This points to two “families” of indicator. The first is a UK version of the At Risk of Poverty (ARoP) Rate, the second is an attempt to operationalise the concept of “multiple deprivation”.

In the UK the principal poverty monitoring data source is the Family Resources Survey, and the key indicator is “households below average income” (HBAI). HBAI is very similar in definition to the Eurostat ARoP rate, and is presented for various sub-groups of the population (children, aged, working etc), and in both before and after housing cost variants. The Family Resources Survey is preferred to the EU-SILC dataset as a basis for poverty indicators within the UK because it has a much larger sample size (20,000 households). However in certain parts of the UK (notably Northern Scotland) sparsity means that sample sizes are still too small to allow reliable regional results to be derived. As a response to this the Family Resources Survey is supplemented to form the Scottish Household Survey, as a basis for indicators at a Local Authority (LAU 1) level.

It is also important to note that the Family Resources Survey, and the Scottish Household Survey do not only collect data on income. The former also covers the distribution of social welfare payments, tenure, disability, carers and pensions. The Scottish survey covers a broader set of topics; the annual report has chapters on household composition; housing; neighbourhoods and communities; economic activity; finance; education; transport; internet; health and caring; local services; volunteering; culture and sport. As such these surveys monitor many aspects relating to social exclusion, although the latter is not explicitly recognised as a structuring concept, and there is no attempt at synthesis.

Multiple deprivation is not the same as social exclusion – although it shares with exclusion the breadth involvement across different aspects of life, it has at its heart the notion of resource scarcity which is closer to income poverty. It is also important not to confuse “multiple” deprivation, with “material” deprivation (as in the second EU 2020 indicator). Multiple deprivation is goes beyond using ownership of consumer goods as an indicator of poverty, and includes less tangible aspects of “wellbeing”.

Pioneering work on indicators of multiple deprivation was carried out by a team led by Prof Michael Noble (Oxford) at the end of the 1990s. By the beginning of this decade Indices of Multiple Deprivation (IMD) had been produced for all four countries of the UK. Since then they have been adopted by the UK Department for Communities and Local Government and the devolved administrations, and regularly updated.

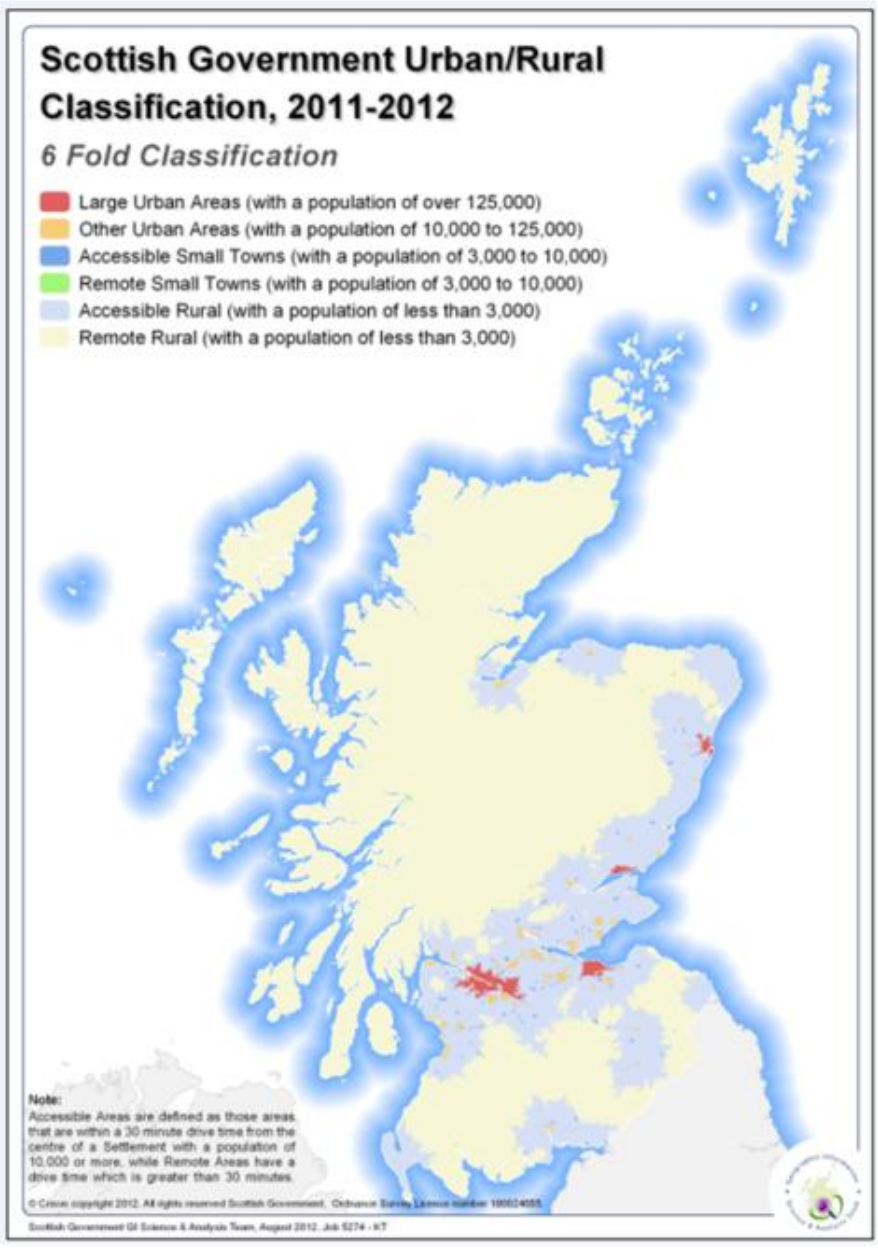
The IMDs are generated for very small areas (e.g. more than 6,500 datazones in Scotland, 500-1,000 inhabitants). They utilize a range of raw data, mainly from the population census, and from government administrative databases. The overall index is built up from a series of "domains". In England, for example the domains are: income, employment, health and disability, education skills and training, housing and services, living environment, and crime. In Scotland the list is similar, although "living environment" is replaced by a set of indicators relating to geographical accessibility. In all the variants domains are combined, to form a single weighted average index of disadvantage for each small area. For larger areas (such as Local Government areas) the results are usually presented in terms of counts/proportions of small areas falling within the top quintile. The IMDs are quite widely used to support bids for spatially targeted policy expenditure.

	Datazones in most deprived quintile	*Total Number of datazones.*	*% of datazones in most deprived quintile*
Large Urban Areas	744	2,456	30.29
Other Urban Areas	407	2,035	20.00
Accessible Small Towns	82	583	14.07
Remote Small Towns	28	255	10.98
Accessible Rural	25	739	3.38
Remote Rural	15	437	3.43
Scotland	***1,301***	***6,505***	***20.00***

Table 4: Scottish Index of Multiple Deprivation: Most deprived quintile of datazones by Scottish urban-rural classification

One of the most striking features of the IMD maps is the concentration of deprivation in urban areas, and the scattered/diffuse nature of deprivation in rural areas. Table 4

shows the distribution of deprivation across the 6,505 Scottish “datazones” classified into six urban and rural categories (Map 9). In the four major cities (Glasgow, Edinburgh, Dundee and Aberdeen) almost one third of the datazones are in the top quintile in terms of their overall SIMD score. In other (smaller) urban areas the share of most deprived datazones is equal to the Scottish average. In small towns the proportion of datazones in the top quintile falls below 15%, and in rural areas it averages less than 4%.



Map 9: The Scottish Government Urban-Rural Classification

Source: Scottish Government Urban Rural Classification 2011-2012 (http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/About/Methodology/UrbanRuralClassification/Urban-Rural-Classification-2011-12)

However, there have been frequent suggestions that the choice of variables, and of weights, causes an urban bias. In the context of this project a specific issue affecting the Western Isles (case study) is the use of unemployment welfare benefit recipient rates as a key indicator for the income domain of the Scottish IMD. In comparison to the major cities, and possibly as a consequence of low benefit claimant rates in island areas, the SIMD does not identify the Western Isles as having a particularly high level of income deprivation. This is a finding substantially at odds with other recent studies of incomes and poverty in Scotland (Bramley–Watkins 2013). However, supplementary analysis, carried out by Scottish Government Statisticians[2], including only the employment, income and access domains, and excluding urban datazones, has shown the Western Isles (together with some of the Orkney Islands, parts of Skye, Caithness and Sutherland) to be the most deprived rural areas in Scotland.

The UK's IMDs could be described as an attempt to identify, at a small area level, those localities which experience both income poverty, and deprivation, across a broad range of other aspects of life, many of them not material, and not necessarily directly related to spending power.

In Ireland the concept of poverty which has been officially adopted in a policy context has undergone an interesting parallel evolution. Based upon analysis by (among others) of Nolan and Whelan (1996, 2011) and the simple observation that income poverty indicators (such as ARoP or HBAI) and material deprivation indicators, do not always coincide, either in terms of population sub-groups or geographical patterns, the concept of "Consistent Poverty" has gained widespread acceptance. Consistent poverty is defined as the intersection of the two groups, those which have both low incomes AND material deprivation. It is interesting, however that the distinction between consistent poverty and social exclusion is far from clear, since the definition of poverty accepted by Nolan and Whelan emphasises the participation constraints associated with low income; 'exclusion from the life of society owing to lack of resources' (Nolan and Whelan 1996: 2)

The low income component of Consistent Poverty is the ARoP rate, derived from EU SILC. The "basic deprivation" indicator is defined as those households who go without at least 2 of items from a list of 11[3] which are considered essential. It is

[2] http://www.scotland.gov.uk/Topics/Statistics/SIMD/deprivedruralpaper

[3] The list is as follows:

- two pairs of strong shoes
- a warm waterproof overcoat
- new (not second-hand) clothes
- a meal with meat, chicken or fish (vegetarian equivalent) every second day

important to note that the survey question on which this rate is based stresses that deprivation only occurs if “going without” is enforced by lack of resources, i.e. it is involuntary. It is interesting to note the similarities between “consistent poverty” and the EU 2020 composite indicator for poverty and social exclusion.

Conclusion

While rarely explicitly connected to the concept of “social exclusion”, a number of countries are pioneering in trying to statistically grasp the complexity of today’s social changes, be it under the headlines of social inequality, quality of life and well-being, life situation or under the broad headline of “mapping out social trends”. More and more work is undertaken on indicators to grasp the life situation beyond income, labour-market and demography. A range of indicators thus are developed in the frame of research on social inequality, on quality of life or well-being, which are also interesting for the monitoring of (risks of) social exclusion. Drawing on the Dutch experience, the question arises, whether the multidimensional nature of social exclusion calls for regular surveys that might deliver valuable insights into the life situation of people (at risk of) social exclusion beyond official statistics.

- a roast joint or its equivalent once a week
- heating at some stage in the last year
- to keep the home adequately warm
- to buy presents for family or friends at least once a year
- to replace any worn out furniture
- to have family or friends for a drink or meal once a month
- a morning, afternoon or evening out in the last fortnight for entertainment.

3.1.2 Nordic and Baltic region

by Christian Dymén, Anna Berlina and Petri Kahila (Nordregio – Nordic Centre for Spatial Development)

Introduction

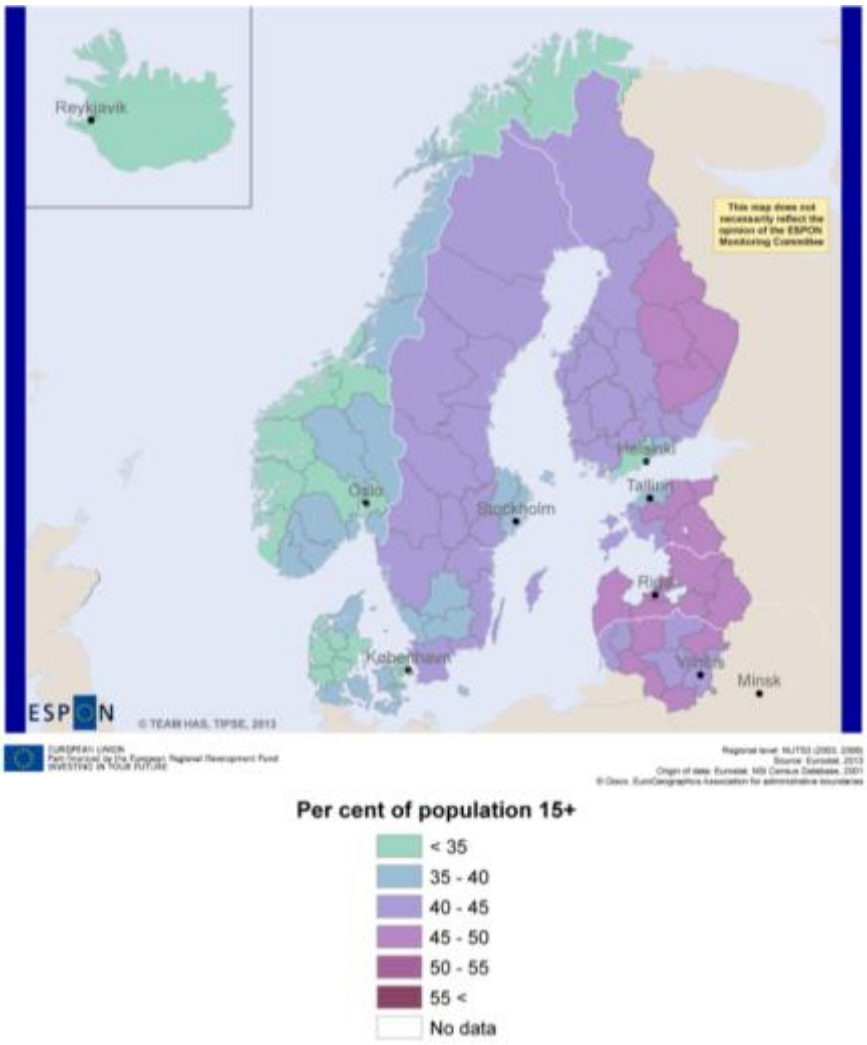
Analysis of patterns of social exclusion in 2001 across the Nordic and Baltic region is based on a selection of indicators that illustrate the situation in the Nordic countries and the Baltic states. The selection of indicators covers the four domains of social exclusion, identified in earlier parts of the TIPSE project and presented in Annex 1 and 2 of the interim report. The domains include *earning a living, access to basic services, social environment and political participation*. The analysis (performed below in sub-sections to Section 2) of social exclusion patterns concentrates on indicators that were available in all Nordic countries and the Baltic states. Data acquisition started at Eurostat (and Eurostat Census), followed by other Census (and non-Census) data from national NSIs only in the case if data from harmonised sources was not available. However, data from Iceland is in general difficult to analyse from a territorial perspective given that data is not divided below national level.

Section 3 of this paper focuses on identifying and analysing how the Nordic countries and the Baltic states measure poverty and social exclusion in policy making, through domains and dimensions of indicators.

Patterns of Social Exclusion in the Nordic countries and the Baltic states

Earning a living

In the following paragraphs, analysis of four indicators related to the dimension *employment* within the domain earning a living, are presented at NUTS 3 level. The first map (Map 10) illustrates economic activity rate in the Nordic countries and the Baltic states in 2001. The map shows that economic inactivity rate is generally lower in the capital regions and bigger cities in all countries in the macro-region, which is mainly caused by a high migration flow from rural to urban areas. This pattern can be particularly well observed in the Baltic states where the economic inactivity rate reached around 45-50% in the rural areas in 2001. Regional differences in welfare levels and business conditions are quite significant in the Baltic states which are causing workforce migration into regional centres and their hinterlands. Migration to the bigger cities is not only a matter of jobs, but it is also an effect of lifestyle choices among the younger generation (SM, 2010).

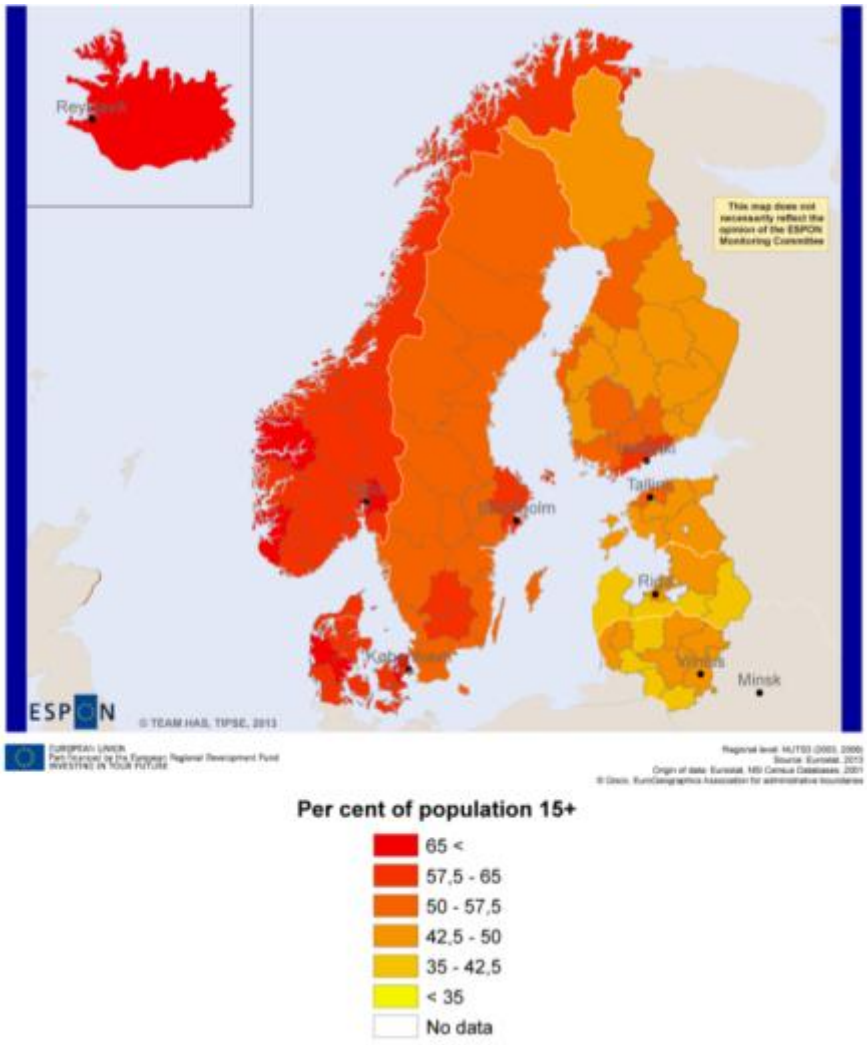


Map 10: Economic inactivity rate in the Nordic countries and the Baltic states in 2001

Employment rate is an important indicator of social exclusion, which is presented in Map 11. The Employment rate is generally higher in and around the capital regions and bigger urban centres in comparison to the rural areas across the macro-region. Interestingly however, the employment rate in the Copenhagen region is slightly lower than in the surrounding regions.

Looking at Nordic countries versus the Baltic states, the differences in employment rates are substantial. In the Baltic states the percentage of working-age population that is employed is between 42,5-50% and in some regions of Latvia and Lithuania this number falls below 42% to 35%. On the one hand, it can be explained by unfavourable economic situation in the 90's and the beginning of 2000. The employment was highly affected by the challenges of economic transition. The countries experienced significant job losses in the agriculture and industrial sectors. On the other hand, lower employment rates can be attributed to the cultural factors, as it is more acceptable for women in the Baltic states not to participate in the labour

market. Also, during childbearing and parental leave or while taking care of the elderly family members, women often leave labour market.



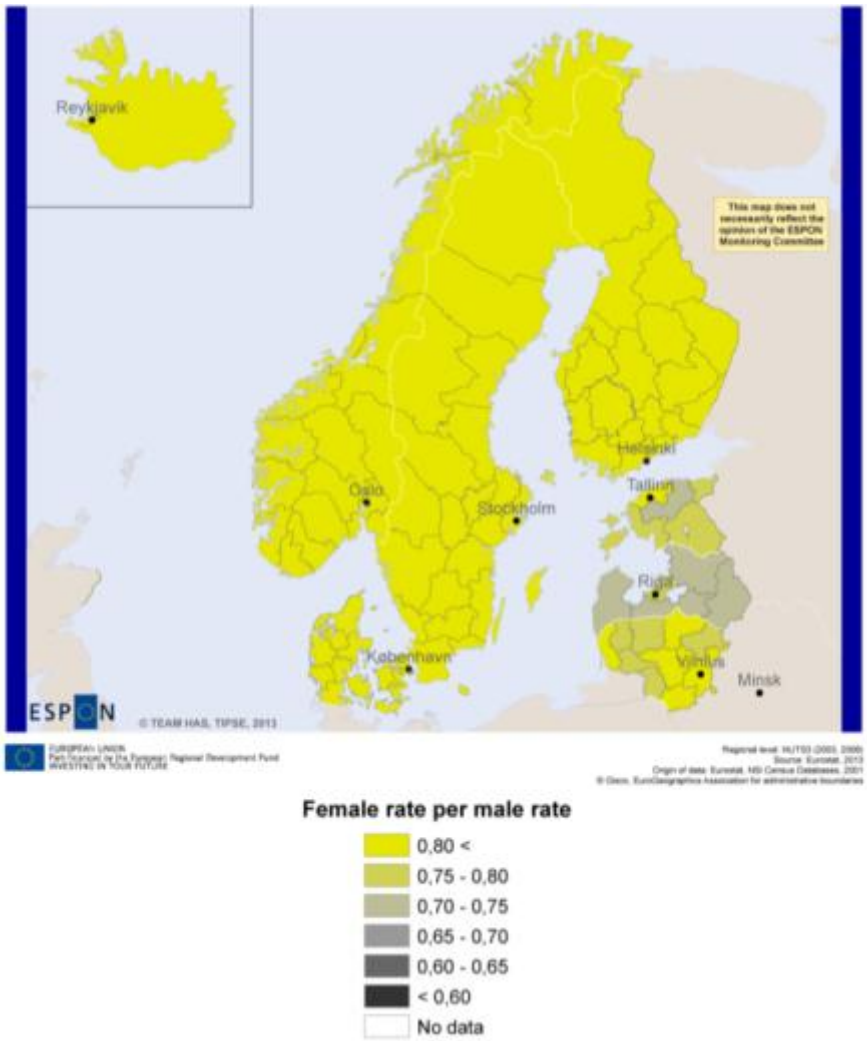
Map 11: Employment rate in the Nordic countries and the Baltic states in 2001

Breaking down unemployment rates based on gender shows some interesting features. In general, the capital regions of all countries show lower female unemployment rates than most other parts of the countries. Throughout Norway, female unemployment rates are below 4 percent. In Sweden and Denmark some regions show low levels of female unemployment, including the capital regions of Stockholm and Copenhagen. In general Iceland shows low levels of female unemployment, but since data is not available at regional level, differences between for instance urban areas and rural areas are not available. Large parts of Finland and Lithuania and Latvia show female unemployment rates over 15%. The capital regions of Riga, Vilnius, Helsinki and adjacent regions, however, show lower female unemployment rates. Most parts of Estonia nonetheless, show lower female unemployment rates compared to Lithuania and Latvia.

Similar to female unemployment, male unemployment is under 4% in almost all parts of Norway. Only the most northern parts of Norway show that male unemployment is higher than female unemployment. One explanation is likely of demographic character. In general, in the Nordic countries, especially women move from sparsely populated areas to urban areas to find jobs and to educate themselves (Nordregio, 2011). Consequently, in northern parts of Norway, with limited job opportunities, men stay unemployed, whereas women move. Male unemployment therefore shows higher figures compared to female unemployment. For Iceland, unemployment among women is similar to men. However as stated above regional data is not available. Finland shows male unemployment rates above 12 % in most parts, except for parts of the coast, such as the regions around Helsinki and Turku. In Sweden and Denmark a few regions show lower male unemployment rates compared to the rest of the countries. The capital regions of Stockholm and Copenhagen are amongst these. Interestingly, however, the two other regions with less than 4% male unemployment in Sweden, are not amongst the largest city regions. Strategies within these regions to deal with unemployment would be interesting to study more. Especially the city region of Jönköping shows both low levels of female and male unemployment.

When it comes to the Baltic states there are some remarkable differences between male and female unemployment rates. In Estonia and parts of Latvia male unemployment is considerably higher than female unemployment. One plausible explanation is the level of gender equality. In the Baltic States in general, the female economic activity rate is lower than in the Nordic countries. The so called economically inactive population consists of children and young persons, retired people, students and homemakers. The inactive part of the population cannot be subject to unemployment. However, a high level of economically inactive women and a high level of unemployment among men can contribute to poverty and social exclusion of households.

Looking at the activity gender gap in the Nordic countries and the Baltic states in 2001 (see Map 12), some observations can be made, especially regarding the Baltic states. In Lithuania, unemployment rates of women (12 % and above) are generally higher than in Estonia and northern parts of Latvia. This corresponds well with the economic activity rate of women in Lithuania, where economic activity of women is higher compared to many parts of Estonia and Latvia. As a consequence, the gap between male and female economic activity (see Map 12) is lower in Lithuania compared to many parts of Estonia and Latvia.



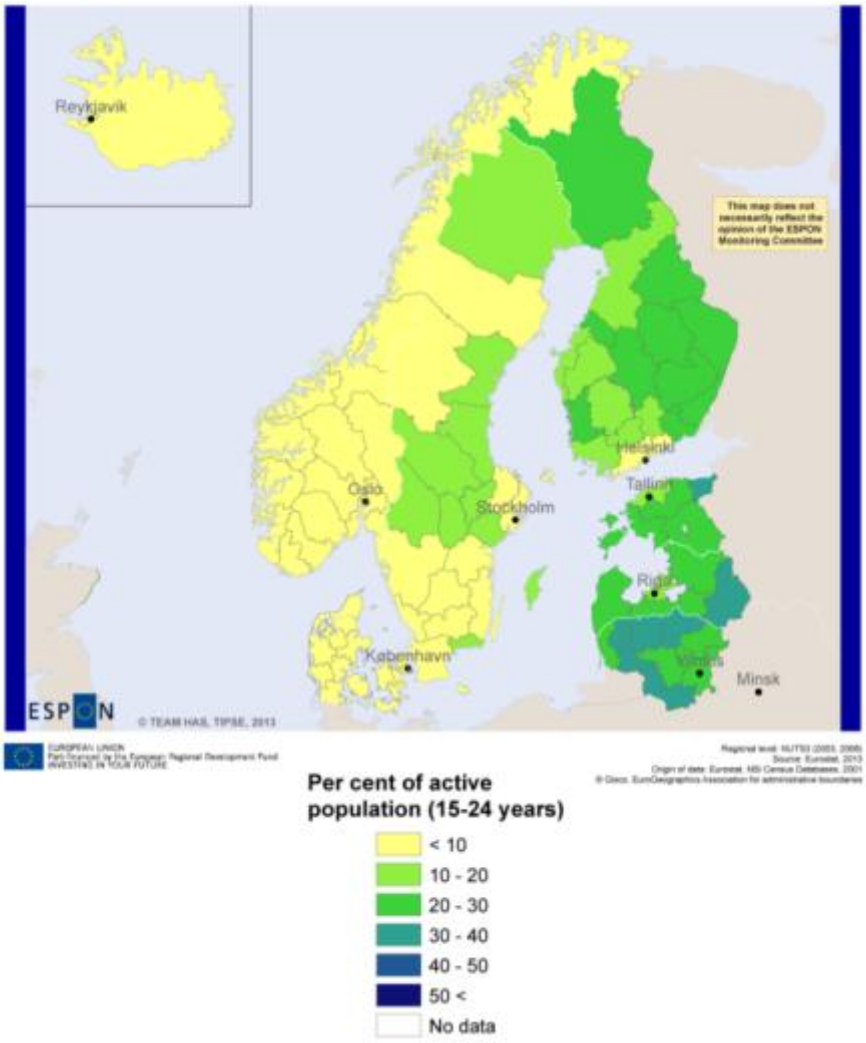
Map 12: Activity gender gap in the Nordic countries and the Baltic states in 2001

In the southern parts of Latvia female unemployment rates are in general 12% and above compared to the northern parts, including the capital region, where unemployment rates of women are 8-12 % in general. Latvia, compared to Estonia and Lithuania, has the lowest level of economic activity among women. Alarming, in the southern parts of Latvia, is that among the few women who are economically active, unemployment rates are 12% or higher.

In all three Baltic states, the capital regions, in general, show higher levels of female employment rates and lower levels of unemployment among both women and men.

Further, investigating youth unemployment (Map 13) patterns similar to female and male unemployment can be observed. Similar to female and male unemployment, the capital regions, in general, are not suffering from youth unemployment (map 4) to the same degree as rural and sparsely populated areas. In the Nordic capital regions, youth unemployment is below 10 %, whereas Tallin and Riga show youth unemployment rates between 10 % and 20 %. Looking outside the capital regions,

especially Norway, Denmark and most parts of Sweden show unemployment rates lower than 10 %. The mid parts of Sweden, for example, show higher youth unemployment rates compared to the rest of the country. A plausible explanation is the transformation from industry to the information society. Many young people are left without jobs when industries close down.



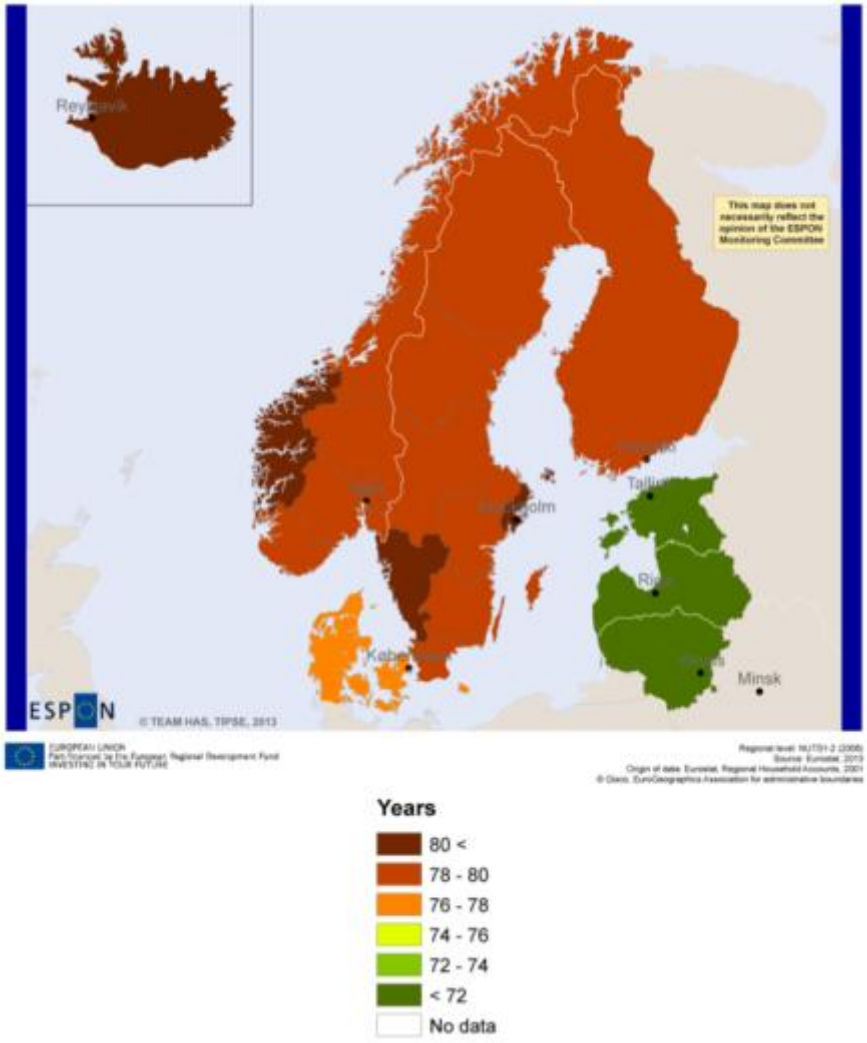
Map 13: Youth (15-24 years) unemployment rate in the Nordic countries and the Baltic states in 2001

Access to basic services

Access to basic services include dimensions of indicators related to *health, education, transport and communication and housing*. Especially when it comes to housing and education there are some serious shortage in data coverage at NUTS 3 level. When it comes to education it is difficult to find at EU-level harmonised data, since educational systems are different from country to country. Regarding housing

indicators, there is a large data shortage especially in Sweden. However, such indicators are developed for Census 2011.

In this section access to basic services is illustrated by life expectancy at birth at NUTS 1-2 level. Map 14 demonstrates a wide gap in healthy life expectancy between the Nordic countries and the Baltic states in 2001. While an average healthy life expectancy in the Nordic countries was between 78-80 years and even above 80 in some regions of Norway, Sweden and Iceland, healthy life expectancy in the Baltic states was below 72 years in 2001.



Map 14: Healthy life expectancy at birth in the Nordic countries and the Baltic states in 2001

According to Jasilionis et al. (2009), in spite of expected increases in healthy life expectancy in the Baltic States since the end of the 1990s, a sign of stagnation or even reversal in trends occurred. In the end of the 90s' and the beginning of the 2000 there was primarily a drop in male life expectancy in all three countries. The life

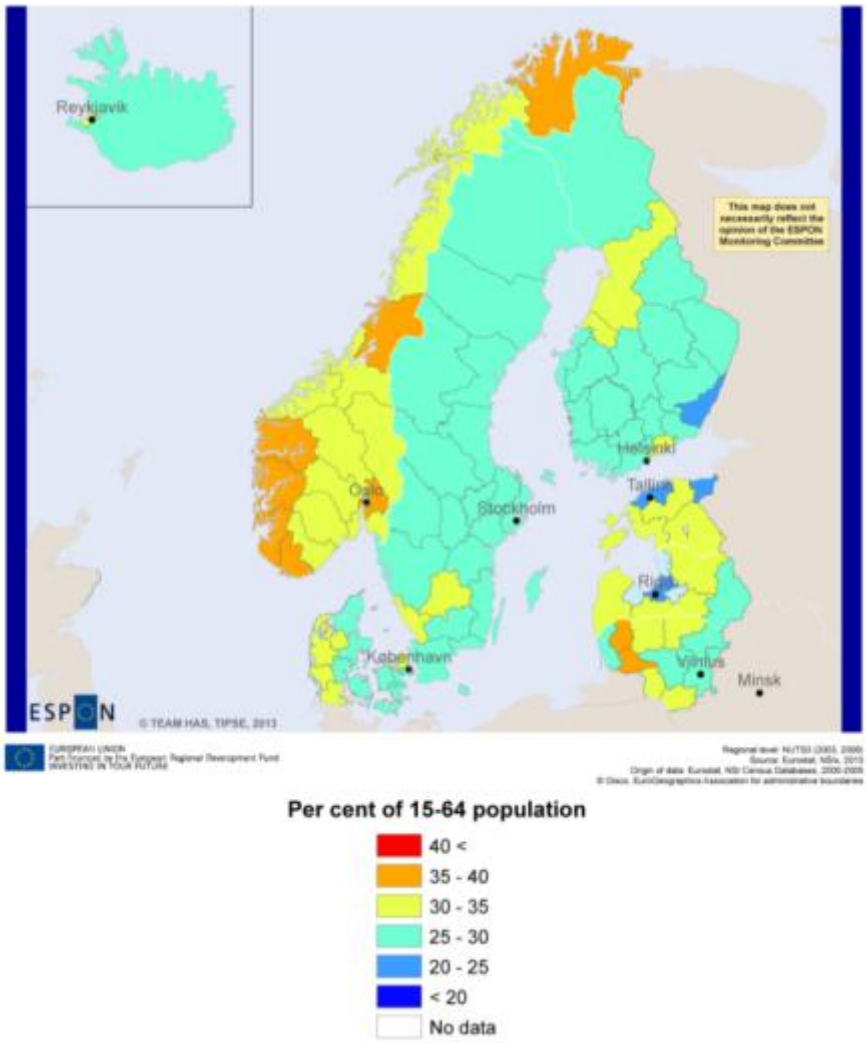
expectancy improvements, especially in Latvia and Lithuania, have been fragile. Some improvements were achieved when it comes to reducing mortality at working age, but high mortality at older ages remained a challenge.

This pattern can be explained by a combination of various societal, economic and political factors in the Baltic states in the beginning of 2000. Among those are variations in success of implementing structural health care reforms, underdeveloped health insurance system, less advanced technical progress in medical treatment, lack of effective health policies directed towards excessive alcohol consumption and traffic accidents etc. Moreover, the problems included widespread formal and informal payment systems, which have led to large financial inequality in the access to tertiary health care services (Jasilionis et al., 2009).

Life expectancy is likely also to depend on economic and social status of the population. For example, older people, people with a lower level of education and Russian-speaking ethnic groups were especially vulnerable and had the lowest employment opportunities in the beginning of 2000. Many people have not been able to engage in retraining and had difficulties in adjusting to economic changes since the collapse of the Soviet Union. It is stated in the article Long-term Unemployment in Economic Boom and Bust: the Case of Estonia (2011) that the number of discouraged people (non-working persons who would like to work and would be available for work, but who are not actively seeking work because they do not believe in the chance of finding any) grew significantly since re-gaining independence. People lost hope and became inactive, especially in rural areas where employment opportunities were minimal (Marksoo and Tammaru, 2011).

Social environment

The domain social environment includes dimensions of indicators related to *age, ethnic composition, immigrants and household structure*. Especially for Sweden, indicators related to household structures are lacking at NUTS 3 level. Below, two indicators are presented at NUTS 3 level, namely child dependency rate and old age dependency rate. Map 15 shows child dependency rate in the Nordic countries and the Baltic states in 2001. In general, child dependency rate in most regions of Denmark, Finland, Sweden, some parts of Lithuania and Iceland as a whole (considered as one region) is between 25-30%, whereas in most regions of Estonia, Latvia and Norway about 30-35% of people are too young to work, compared to the number of people within working age.

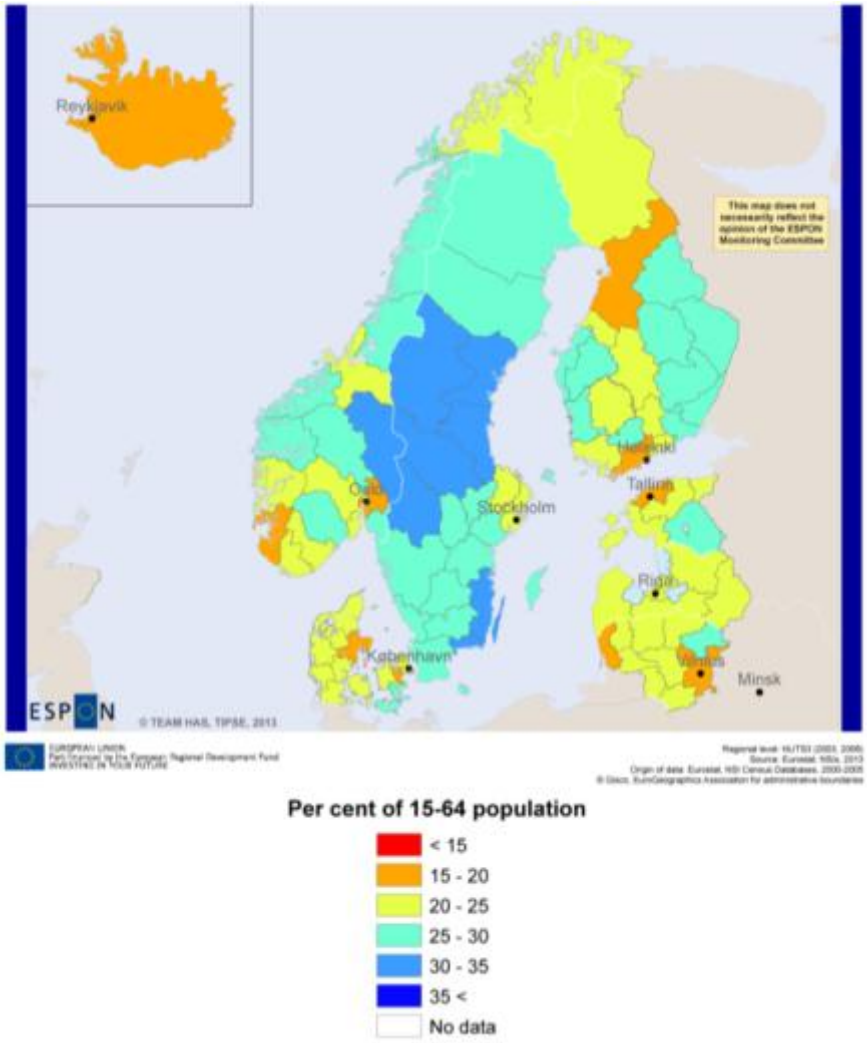


Map 15: Child dependency rate in the Nordic countries and the Baltic states in 2001

In the capital regions of Tallinn and Riga and one region of eastern Finland the child dependency ratio is the lowest (20-25%). This can be an indication of the highest concentration of working age people and/or lower birth rates in these areas, and on the other hand because of higher outmigration in the eastern parts of Finland. The highest child dependency rate (35-40%) can be found in some regions of Norway, including its northernmost part and the capital region of Oslo, as well as in one region of Lithuania. That means that for every 10 working adults, there are 3.5-4 children that need to be supported.

When it comes to old age dependency rate in the Nordic and Baltic region (Map 16), the highest proportion of those aged 65 and over in relation to the working-age population (30-35%) can be found in several regions of Sweden, mainly in the mid part of the country, and in one region of Norway. A higher rate is worse for economic growth, as it indicates that there may be an increased burden on the productive part of the population to maintain the pensions of the economically dependent. High old

dependency rate is an important indicator of population ageing and depends on mortality rates, fertility rates and migration.



Map 16: Old age dependency rate in the Nordic countries and the Baltic states in 2001

The lowest pressure on productive population by those aged 65 and over can be found in Iceland (considered as one region), mid-Finland and the capital regions of Helsinki, Oslo, Tallinn and Vilnius. The capital regions show low old age dependency rate of 15-20%, as they largely attract working age population, foremost due to better working opportunities.

In most regions of the Baltic states and Denmark, as well as in some areas of Finland (including the northernmost part), old age dependency rate is 20-25%. In

several regions of the eastern and coastal Finland, in the south and north of Sweden, as well as in many parts of Norway, old dependency ratio is 25-30%, which is above the EU average of 23.2 in 2000[4].

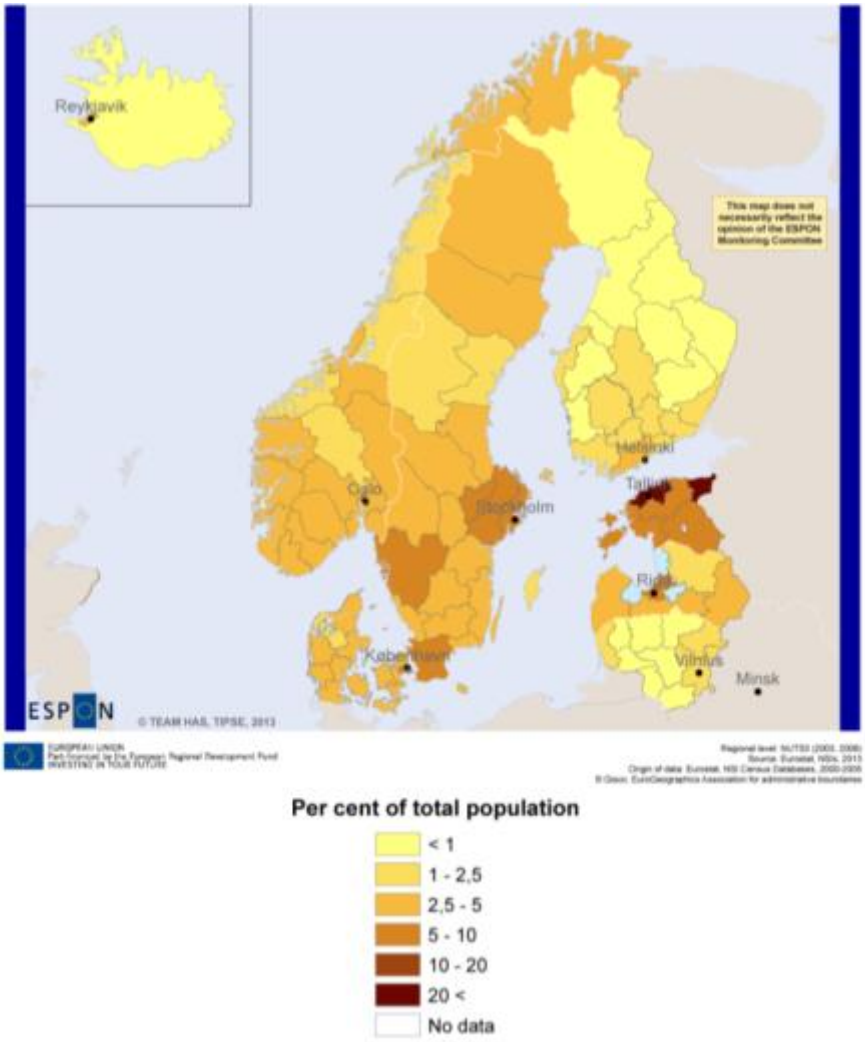
Political participation

The domain political participation consists of one dimension of indicators, namely *citizenship*. Map 17 shows the ratio of non-citizen population in the Nordic countries and the Baltic states in 2001. The northern and the north-east parts of Estonia (Russian-Estonian border region) stand out in terms of a significant share of non-citizen population (above 20%). Most of the non-citizen population here, but also in the other two Baltic states are ethnic Russians, mainly migrants from the Soviet era and their descendants. A large share of former USSR citizens in all three Baltic states hold Alien's Passport, which is an identity and travel document of a stateless person of undefined citizenship residing in these countries (VM, 1997).

Other regions of Estonia and some areas of Sweden (Stockholm capital region, Malmö region and the Gothenburg region) show non-citizen population rates of 5-10%. Sweden is known for its generous immigration and asylum policies since the 1970s. As stated by Schierup et al. (2011) "Sweden, where some 20 per cent of the population is either foreign born or second generation, has long been known internationally as the model of a tolerant, egalitarian, multicultural welfare state" (p 45). Furthermore, it is relevant to emphasise that the non-citizen composition is more diverse in Sweden in comparison to the Baltic states, including immigrants from the Middle East, Latin America, former Yugoslavia and Somalia.

Non-citizens constitute about 2.5-5% in most regions of Sweden, Norway, Denmark, Latvia and the capital region of Helsinki. Central Sweden and Norway, as well as southern Finland and the capital region of Vilnius show a lower non-citizen population rate of 1-2.5%. Finally, less than 1% of non-citizens population can be found in Iceland, most parts of Finland and Lithuania.

4 http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&init=1&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tsdde510



Map 17: Ratio of non-citizen population in the Nordic and Baltic countries in 2001

Measuring Patterns of Social Exclusion in the Nordic countries and the Baltic states

In the following, policies related to social exclusion, and indicators related to these policies, are discussed for the Nordic countries and the Baltic states. However, we do not address the territorial level of data availability, as is the case in the sections above. The purpose is rather to illustrate the domains and dimensions of indicators that are emphasized in different countries.

Policy and indicators in the Nordic countries

In 2012, the Norwegian presidency for the Nordic Council of Ministers especially focused on the welfare state. Jobs and sustainable welfare were especially at stake as a response to the economic crisis. Strong emphasis on gender equality and equal

status was also adopted. The following areas of policy were especially emphasised in relation to social exclusion:

- Inclusion, including the labour market
- Quality of health and care services
- Culture and inclusion
- Research, education/training and innovation
- Equality
- Freedom of movement (Nordic Council of Ministers, 2012)

In 2013, Sweden took over the presidency of The Nordic Council of Ministers. The Nordic council of Ministers emphasises growth and solidarity as two main components in the Nordic model. Some of the aspect that the Swedish presidency chooses to emphasise, when advertising Nordic countries as being in the top are, equal distribution of income, employment, equality and gender equality. One of the main challenges in order to secure growth, welfare and solidarity is combating exclusion. Special emphasis should be addressed to young people and those born outside the region (Nordic council of ministers, 2013).

In conclusion then, there are two areas where the Nordic countries have a particularly strong emphasis and where they arguably go beyond EU policy, namely equality and gender issues. In terms of gender issues, the Nordic countries are global leaders in ensuring that all people, regardless of orientation are treated equally. This is evident in employment policies and the resulting high level of workplace participation among women. Further, parental leave policy is designed to encourage men as well as women to take time of subsequent to the birth of a child. In regards to overall equality, this has traditionally meant that everyone is treated the same. While there are many similarities between the policies of each Nordic country, there are also some differences, which are elaborated below.

Sweden

In combating social exclusion the Swedish national target is "*Increasing social inclusion by reducing the percentage of women and menaged 20–64 who are not in the labour force (except full-time students), the long-term unemployed or those on long-term sick leave to well below 14 per cent by 2020*" (Sweden's National Reform Programme 2013, p 30). Furthermore, in Sweden's Strategy Report for Social Protection and Social Inclusion especially elderly people, young people, absence from work due to ill-health, and groups with particularly vulnerable situations are focused. The main dimensions of indicators include: elderly people in employment, elderly people with illness, young people in employment, education among young people, young people living in absolute and relative poverty, young people with ill-ness, young people with financial assistance, physical abuse of women, ethnic

discrimination, life expectancy. There are also a number of indicators relating to health and cost of illness and healthcare more generally (EC, 2008d, Annex 2).

Furthermore, during the European year for combating poverty and social exclusion, the following issues were especially relevant: multidimensional strategies to combat and limit severe poverty; combating child poverty and raise awareness about single parents' situation; highlight the need for make work pay; combat discrimination and promote social integration of migrants and ethnic minorities; take into consideration the needs of people with disabilities, homeless and other groups in vulnerable situations (Sweden, 2010).

In conclusion, indicators related to social exclusion focus primarily on employment, income, education and health and not on indicators related to for example housing, the reason being that such indicators do not indicate social exclusion in Sweden. The Swedish NSI states that indicators such as housing units with access to water, bathing facilities, toilet and central heating, are not calculated, but instead, NSI will estimate that 100 % of all housing units have such features, for the 2011 CENSUS. Furthermore, indicators such as physical abuse of women and ethnic discrimination are not considered in the TIPSE project but could be relevant within the domain social environment.

Denmark

In general the Danish government focuses on children, elderly and people with disability (Denmark, 2012). More specifically, during the European year for combating poverty and social exclusion in 2010, emphasis lied on education, labour market access and health. The national programme for Denmark states that: *"…we must acknowledge that Denmark is still facing challenges: Some citizens still find it difficult to function in the Danish society, to gain a foothold in the labour market and to utilise its many options and services. All citizens in Denmark must enjoy equal opportunities to cultivate healthy social relations, obtain qualifying educations and have the ability and will to support themselves. This is why continued attention is needed on the preventive aspects of initiatives, so that we avoid people falling into trouble. Attention must also focus on helping socially excluded and disadvantaged groups back into society and the labour market. An extensive range of initiatives must be launched. Social health, employment, education and integration aspects need to be addressed. Thus, action covers a broad spectrum of initiatives, and a substantial challenge lies in coordinating the many activities, so that clear and measurable results can be achieved*" (Denmark, 2010, p 4).

Denmark's National report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion (2008) focuses on a number of themes related to social inclusion, namely, support for disadvantaged children and young people, support for socially disadvantaged

groups and integration. The report does not state any concrete indicators to measure these themes, but states challenges that can be related to specific indicators. Regarding support for disadvantaged children and young people, challenges relate mostly to education. Regarding support for socially disadvantaged groups, challenges relate to strengthening the disadvantaged housing estates and countering ghettoization, evictions, homelessness, health and employment and access to IT. On the theme Integration, challenges relate to refugees and employment, immigration and discrimination, extremism, democratic participation, gender equality and employment (EC, 2008e).

In conclusion, the challenges raised above relate to all the domains of indicators of social exclusion identified in TIPSE. The relation to housing and household structures is clearer in Danish policy compared to the Swedish case.

Norway

In general, the Norwegian government adopts the term *poverty* rather than *social exclusion*. The term is however rather broad and the goals are accordingly: "*Everyone, irrespective of their financial or social background, should have equal opportunities, rights and obligations to participate in society. The Government's goal is to eradicate poverty and make Norway one of the world's most inclusive societies. We should never tolerate poverty; we should combat it on every front*" (Norway, 2008). Central elements within the government's goals are opportunities for all to participate in the labour market, opportunities for participation and development for all children and young people, and improved living conditions for the most disadvantaged. The main poverty indicators include: income distribution, persistently low income, labour force participation, unemployment and social assistance (ibid.).

Moreover, within the Norwegian government, there is a strong focus on children, equality and social inclusion. These issues have their own Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion. The priority of that ministry is:

- to strengthen consumer rights, interests and safety
- to allow children and young people to grow up safely and to participate in public decision-making processes
- to promote economic and social security for families
- to promote full equality of status between men and women (Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, 2013)

During the recent national elections, however, the Norwegians have elected a new government. As a consequence priorities of the new government might differ from the previous one.

In conclusion then, based on previous government policies, such as Norway (2008), indicators of poverty relate mostly to the domain earning a living (as categorized in the TIPSE project). However, the Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion

(2013) indicate the importance of the domains political participation and access to basic services, such as social security for families.

Iceland

The governmental policy statement, Iceland 2020 shares many of the goals and indicators with the EU 2020. Iceland is ahead of some of the EU 2020 goals of social inclusion, most notably when it comes to poverty reduction and employment. However, Iceland is lagging behind in some areas and mainly regarding a high dropout rate of students from secondary education. Iceland´s 2020 reform program was formed to a certain degree as a part of the resurrection program of the government as an answer to what was perceived as being at fault in the society before the economic crisis erupted in 2008. The government of Iceland sets itself 20 concrete objectives of which fifteen are linked to social inclusion, education, sustainability and innovation while the remaining five objectives refer to economic and development issues (Ólafsson, 2011, Iceland, 2011). Indicators related to social exclusion include: percentage of people with disability, unemployment rate, disposable income, global gender gap index, WHO-5 wellbeing index, level of secondary education, OECD program for International Student Assessment (PISA), E-government Development Index and E-participation index (United Nations).

Social indicators in Iceland relate mainly to the domains developed in TIPSE called, earning a living and political participation.

Finland

Preventing poverty, inequality and social exclusion is one of the three main priorities in the Government Programme 2011-2015 (Finnish Government, 2011). According to the programme social exclusion can be prevented by decreasing unemployment and poverty and also by addressing a general lack of future prospects and sense of deprivation. The programme underlines separately importance of activities and cooperation between administrative sectors and NGOs. The NGOs have traditionally had significant position in Finland in fighting against poverty and social exclusion. The action policy within the Government Programme is targeting to formulate a permanent model for decision-making processes in relation to people's well-being, health and social exclusion.

The action policy is at large aiming to seven following themes:

1. improve equality between various groups in society,
2. promote health by reducing health differences,
3. prevent exclusion from work and the labour market,
4. improve the position of people with low incomes,
5. reduce social exclusion among children and adolescents,

6. reform social and health services, and
7. improve the effectiveness of work performed by NGOs.

The Government Programme also includes a relatively extensive setting of various indicators to follow defined targets and objectives. This strategy reflects a clear change in relation to previous policies and policy programs. The nature of the applied indicators varies from process indictors, which reveal to implementation of policy measures, to statistical indicators.

Social exclusion has been the key target in the policy of latest Finnish governments. However, the concept itself has remained also in Finland contested and various ways of measuring its occurrence has been discussed and proposed. Generally, these discussions have not led into some widely accepted definition. Finnish discussions have also adapted besides poverty and social exclusion the definition of disadvantaged people, which refers to dimensions of poverty and social exclusion. In the light of some latest research reports, social exclusion seems to refer in most of the cases to labour market situation, lower income, level of education, age, sex, health and domestic background (e.g. Kainulainen and Saari, 2013).

Furthermore, in Finland's National report on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion (2008), a long list of indicators are stated which are used in Finland to measure social exclusion. These include: Relative risk of low income and poverty, social welfare benefits, indebtedness, health problems, exclusion from the labour market, exclusion from the housing market, exclusion from education and other exclusion such as criminality and drug abuse (EC, 2008f).

The indicators correspond to the domains of indicators developed in TIPSE, earning a living, access to basic services, and social environment.

Policy and indicators in the Baltic states

After the collapse of the Soviet system in the beginning of the 90s', social protection systems in the Baltic states have gone through rapid changes, in response to new emerging social problems, ideological and political changes and transition to the new market economy situation.

The post-Soviet social protection systems in the Baltic States adopted some elements of the Nordic welfare model and combined the elements of liberal and social-democratic welfare regimes (Trumm, 2003). The development of the social policy systems here was to the greatest extent influenced by EU policy guidelines (European Social Model, OMC, etc.). Social exclusion in the Baltic states became a policy issue in the process of EU accession. Similarly to the Nordic countries, the social policies in the Baltic States today are correlated with the EU general objectives in the area of social exclusion, such as eradicating child poverty, promoting greater workforce participation, integrating migrants and dealing with demographic changes.

Among the most significant issues of concern in the social policy in the Baltic States since the 90's until today is long-term unemployment, especially outside the capital regions. The recent economic crisis in 2009-2010 resulted in a rapid growth in unemployment and deterioration of other economic and social indicators. The exclusion from the labour market is identified as the main single cause of living in poverty and social exclusion as a consequence (Trumm, 2003).

All three countries have some objectives related to better governance (for example, through increasing the involvement of the non-governmental, private and public sectors in decision-making) and ensuring access for all to the adequate health care (EC, 2008a).

At present there is a high proportion of ethnic minorities (mainly Russian and Slavic population) in the Baltic states. Overcoming the discrimination and enhancing the integration of ethnic minorities are among the important issues in the social policies. The minority related policy documents in the Baltic states mainly highlight the importance of the ethnic composition of population and the national language competences in employment and necessity for national language training for particular minority groups. Education and language related policies have been the key policies in the Baltic states oriented towards ethnic and social integration of society. Educational reform – introduction of bilingual education in minority schools can be considered as the most important policy issue with regard to ethnic minorities in the mid-2000s' in the Baltic states.

Demographic challenges are another important focus area of the social policies in the Baltic states. A high priority is given to development of a maternity leave system and benefits and support for families to increase the birth rate (Grønningsæter, 2003). For example, the amount and duration of the payment of parental benefit in the Baltic countries has since 2008 been significantly increased. Moreover, the countries are developing some measures to encourage the return of the country nationals who have left to seek occupation abroad.

Immigration is a rather new phenomenon in the Baltic states. However, it will gain importance eventually and suitable conditions will have to be created for social integration of the immigrants.

Estonia

The main focus of the social exclusion and poverty policies in Estonia is on supporting employment opportunities. The emphasis is on integration of long-term and young unemployed people in the labour market and on the development of their skills (Estonia, 2010). Other strategic objectives relate to supporting active participation of the disabled and the elderly in social life and employment; improving accessibility to education (including lifelong learning), medical care and housing, as well as making use of information technology based opportunities. Indicators related

to social inclusion include employment rate of older people and women, share of children living below absolute poverty line, share of 15-year-old children with low reading skill, employment gap of the parents with small children, health-related restrictions to daily activities among persons of 65 years or older. Social indicators in Estonia relate mainly to the domains, earning a living and access to basic services (EC, 2008a; Estonia, 2010).

Latvia

The key priority objectives of social inclusion policies in Latvia are related to achieving more efficient participation and inclusion in the labour market (e.g. through improvement of quality and accessibility of vocational education programmes), improving income support systems (through increasing the minimum wage and guaranteed minimum income to families and persons in need) and fostering accessibility of qualitative services to people subjected to social exclusion risk (through providing education, social rent apartments etc.). Improving accessibility of social housing and public transport are also among the issues outlined in Latvia's National Strategy Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2008 – 2010.

Among the social exclusion indicators used in Latvia are number of students who have received support in the form of grants, the number of new information and career guidance centres, number of employed prisoners, number of persons with special needs involved in general and vocational education institutions, number of Roma children enrolled in schools. The measures are primarily targeting the people at preretirement and at retirement age (especially women and single retired persons), as well as large families with several children and single-parent families (EC, 2008b). The most widely presented domains of social exclusion in Latvia are earning a living and access to basic services.

Lithuania

Lithuania identified the following priority objectives of the national social inclusion policy for 2008–2010 (EC, 2008c):

1. *Eradication of the child poverty and strengthening family assistance.*

   Some of the achievement indicators:
   Percentage of children deprived of parental care of the total number of children in the country; percentage of children raised by social risk families of the total number of children in the country, percentage of pupils who have been provided with support for the acquisition of learning resources; percentage of children and persons over 18 who attend full-time education institutions, percentage of social accommodation fund of the total population accommodation fund in the country;

2. *Increasing of the participation in the labour market (both men and women)*

   Some of the achievement indicators:
   Activity rate among different age groups and gender, employment rate among different age groups and gender, not to exceed regional differences in unemployment rate according to NUTS 3, activity rate of long-term unemployed persons, to seek to decrease the number of fatal accidents at work per 100000 employees, to seek to diminish the actual number of occupational diseases;

3. *Improvement of the access to services, especially in some regions and rural areas*

   Some of the achievement indicators:
   At-risk-of-poverty rate after the payment of social benefits, the number of the disabled persons participating in the professional rehabilitation programmes, number of recipients of social services, number of social workers and assistants per 10 thousand people.

The three horizontal principles, which are integrated into the priority objectives, are gender equality, consistent regional development and active ageing. During the European year 2010 for combating poverty and social exclusion Lithuania focused on eliminating of child poverty. Children deprived of parental care constituted about 2% of all children in Lithuania. In the National Programme of Lithuania the measures include raising awareness about children in need and promotion of positive parenthood (Lithuania, 2010).

A summary of the main conclusions for the Nordic and Baltic countries

When analyzing the patterns of social exclusion in the Nordic and Baltic region, one can notice an East-West divide, especially when it comes to access to basic services and social environment domains. For instance, there is a wide gap in healthy life expectancy between Nordic and Baltic countries. At the same time there are considerable differences among the Nordic countries themselves with regard to social exclusion patterns (e.g. Norway holds the leading position among the Nordic countries when it comes to employment rate and child dependency ratio). Another conclusion is that the capital regions are often better off in comparison to rural and peripheral areas in the macro-region, especially within the domain of earning a living.

Overall, access to basic services and earning a living are the most widely used domains which have been addressed in the countries' social exclusion policies. Social exclusion refers in the majority of cases to increasing of participation in the labour market, to the level and quality of education, improving the position of lower income population, eradication of child poverty and access to health care. The policies examined in the study have a poor focus on housing dimension in the Nordic–Baltic region. In case of Estonia and Latvia improving accessibility to social

housing is among the objectives identified in the policy documents, but such indicators as ratio of housing units without water supply system or toilet are not used.

As one might expect, equality and gender aspects are integrated in social exclusion policies of the Nordic countries to a greater extent in comparison to the Baltic States.

In measuring the complex concept of social exclusion the most commonly used indicators (the main dimension of indicators) relate to employment by age, gender and social group, the level of education, at-risk-of-poverty rate, income distribution, social assistance and access to IT. Among the indicators used to measure social exclusion in the countries which have not been considered in the TIPSE project are physical abuse of women and ethnic discrimination (domain social environment).

3.1.3 Mediterranean region

by George Kandylis, Thomas Maloutas, Nikos Souliotis and Kostas Vakalopoulos (EKKE – National Centre for Social Research)

The following brief presentation of the spatial patterns of social exclusion processes in the Mediterranean region is divided in three subsections. The introduction focuses on some significant social exclusion factors in the region. The second part takes up a thematic analysis based on selected maps. The third part deals with the measurement of social exclusion across the Mediterranean countries.

Introduction

Despite important dissimilarities, Southern European countries are characterized by specific historical patterns and contemporary trends that have produced/produce certain common paths to social exclusion and distinguish these countries from other parts of Europe. Public policies and interventions associated to safety nets have developed in a fragmented manner, in the context of a dual labour market (with some workers of the formal in a privileged position and those in the informal sector being severely under-protected) and of clientelist political systems.

Below we briefly categorize what we think to be some decisive characteristics and preconditions of social exclusion in the Mediterranean macro-region that help us to select the indicators for mapping social exclusion.

1. Low employment rates together with high (and increasing) unemployment rates. Countries of Southern Europe traditionally presented relatively low activity rates – barely above 50%– compared to the high rates of Western and especially Northern Europe. These rates converged during the 1990s and the 2000s to the European average with variable scores for different countries[5]. In 2010 Spain (73,4) and Cyprus (74.4) were already above the EU-27 average (71.0) while Greece (68.2) Italy (62.2) and Malta (60.2) were still somehow behind and Turkey (51.9) even more so.

The main parameter explaining these comparatively low rates is the very unequal activity rate in terms of gender in Southern Europe. This 'gender gap' in employment rate (difference between the male and female employment rates) is still much greater

[5] http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/cache/ITY_OFFPUB/KS-32-11-798/EN/KS-32-11-798-EN.PDF, p.14

in these countries compared to the European average (11.9 in 2010 for EU-27 against 12.4 for Spain [following an impressive fall from 29.9 in 2000], 21.6 for Italy, 22.8 for Greece and 40.5 for Turkey; ibid, p. 24). The convergence in activity rates since the 1990s is almost exclusively due to the increasing activity rates for younger women.

Relatively low activity rates, and their close relation to female economic activity, should be linked to the South European residual welfare model. On the contrary, high unemployment rates are related to economic conjuncture and, since 2009, to the sovereign debt crisis that has hit this region with particular force. Current unemployment rates are particularly high for many countries of this region (especially Greece and Spain) in comparison to the EU-27 average and especially to Western and Northern European countries (see following figure for 2013 unemployment rates).

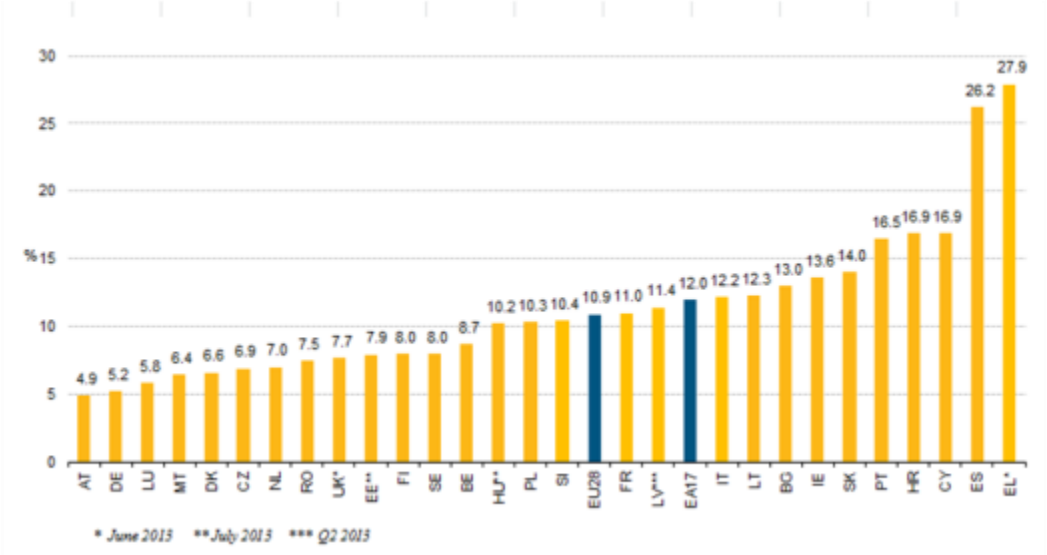


Figure 2: Unemployment rates in EU 28, 2013

Source:
http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php?title=File:Unemployment_rates,_ seasonally_adjusted,_August_2013.png&filetimestamp=20131001065748)

Comparatively low activity rates and high unemployment rates reduce the degree to which social exclusion and poverty may be regulated through the monitoring of employment policies.

2. Importance of family relations and family networks. Family networks have been of crucial importance in providing individualized safety nets and combating P & SE, as in the case of housing provision and access to home-ownership. However, having an employment anchor in the guaranteed sector is of great importance for every single family.

Within conditions of an unstable labour market offering reduced opportunities and of a rather undependable welfare state, poverty and social exclusion have been regulated to a large extent through the pooling of resources and other forms of collective strategies of larger or smaller family units. The enhanced family role in Southern Europe in providing for its members is related to the weakness of the local labour market to produce a high degree of individual autonomy through sustainable salaried work, but also to the power of the state to provide (in various forms) resources to families, ranging from jobs in the public sector to tolerance in transgressing building regulations in order to resolve their housing problem using their own means. The management of these family resources led to a culture of family intergenerational solidarity with parents providing substantially for their children until their late youth and their first steps in occupational life and in establishing their own households and children taking eventually care of their parents when the latter could no longer take care of themselves. This pattern of family solidarity prevented for a long time – unless one was outside family networks – poverty and social exclusion by mitigating poverty through its 'familization'. Safety nets against poverty and social exclusion in Southern Europe usually involved a family network partly, at least, drawing resources by some of its members from the labour market (to which they may be integrated in different ways) and a relatively secure position in the housing market, usually under the form of home-ownership even with wanting housing conditions.

Today, economic recession diminishes the capacities of family networks to provide assistance and protection to their members and even so to enhance their social mobility prospects at an intergenerational basis. A major issue with the reproduction of the South European familialist welfare model has been the reduction of resources for family solidarity. This reduction is due both to the limitation of populist-clientelist policies for different reasons and to the decreasing human resources following recent demographic trends (strong decrease in fertility rates that deprive family networks from young members further aggravated by the sharp increase in women's occupational activity that provided the necessary 'free' domestic labour). The depletion of family networks and their increasing pauperization has left increasingly more people out of family safety nets and reduced resources for those that remained within them. At the same time, immigration has substantially increased the number of people unprotected by family networks. Moreover, the family-centred South European welfare model contributed in building an introverted solidarity culture that favoured anti-immigrant feelings, especially when economic conditions greatly deteriorated following the sovereign debt crisis.

3. 'New' migratory inflows resulting at populations severely under-protected, discriminated in the labour and housing markets and with no political rights. All countries of the Mediterranean macro-region have been quite recently transformed from net senders to net receivers of transnational migrants. Far beyond the ambiguities and uncertainties that this transition has brought about, new immigrants

were less or more integrated in the lower echelons of the labour and the housing markets, with informal sectors and affordable private rented houses playing a crucial role correspondingly. Immigrants' contribution to high growth rates at a previous period was significant. With the exception of Turkey (where transit migrants remain almost invisible at the political and institutional level in their effort to cross the European border), legalization procedures started in the 1990s to provide a legal basis to immigrants' presence and integration. However, institutional discrimination and xenophobic/racist attitudes rise again in the period of economic recession, while immigration inflows persist, originating from war and poverty zones in various parts of the world. Social and economic integration prospects for newcomers are harshly restricted by an immigration model consisting of almost nothing but immigration control. For those already established, prospects worsen because of the increasing unemployment, while second generation immigrants may find themselves in a quasi 'illegal' status at the beginning of their adulthood. Not being a citizen of the 'host' country restricts severely the capacity for political participation and representation.

4. Access to education opportunities. Access to all levels of education has rapidly increased in most Mediterranean countries since World War II (quite more recently in the case of Turkey). Access to tertiary education has been a significant factor of intergenerational social mobility, allowing working-class descendents to seek for better positions in the evolving labour markets and especially in the public sector. With the exception of Turkey (18.0%) and Italy (21,7%), tertiary education attainment in the age group 30-34 in 2012 was quite close to the EU-27 average (35.7%), or even above in the case of Spain (40.1%). However, the performance was much lower concerning people with low educational attainment (the rate is slightly or significantly higher than the EU-27 average in every single country except Cyprus) (Fig. 3). Regional disparities in educational opportunities gave been historically quite important, as in the case of Italy where he ratio of spending on education between northern and southern regions was 3:1 in the late 1980s (Rhodes, 1996).

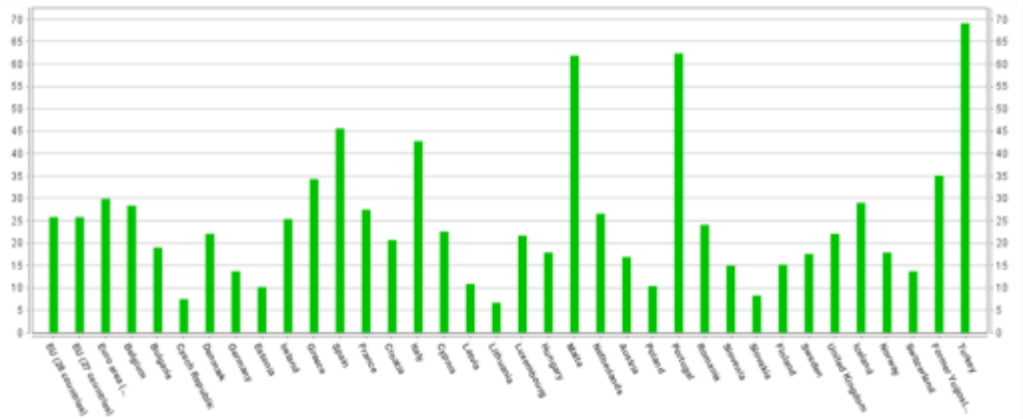


Figure 3: Persons from 25 to 64 with low educational attainment %, 2012

Source:
http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/tgm/table.do?tab=table&plugin=1&language=en&pcode=tsdsc430

5. Recent economic slowdown and effects on wages, unemployment, social services. The recent and ongoing economic recession has seriously decreased the already reduced effect of the labour market on controlling poverty and social exclusion by seriously diminishing wages, increasing the proportion of low-wage earners in Spain and Italy (but not in Portugal) (Fig. 3) and increasing unemployment to unprecedented levels. At the same time, social services have been increasingly shrinking following welfare cuts, while a major asset for the stability and effectiveness of the local welfare system –i.e. home-ownership– is put under heavy pressure following policies of heavy taxation affecting the whole social spectrum and no longer only the relatively large landed properties. Health and education services become increasingly commercialized at the expense especially of those most deprived from monetary and other resources and inducing further increases in social inequalities. The importance of third sector organizations as well as that of public-private partnerships has increased, but the effects on providing social services remain doubtful.

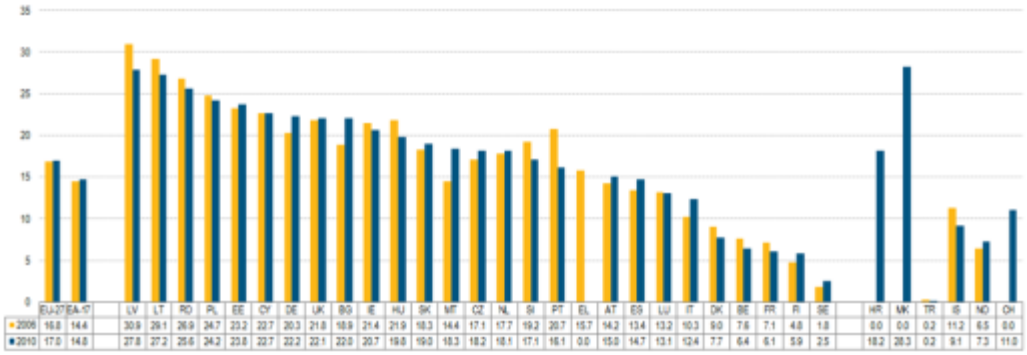


Figure 4: Proportion of low-wage earners, 2006 and 2010

Source:
http://epp.eurostat.ec.europa.eu/statistics_explained/index.php?title=File:Figure2_Proportion_of_low-wage_earners,_%25,_2006_and_2010.png&filetimestamp=20130201090333

Patterns of SE in the macro-region

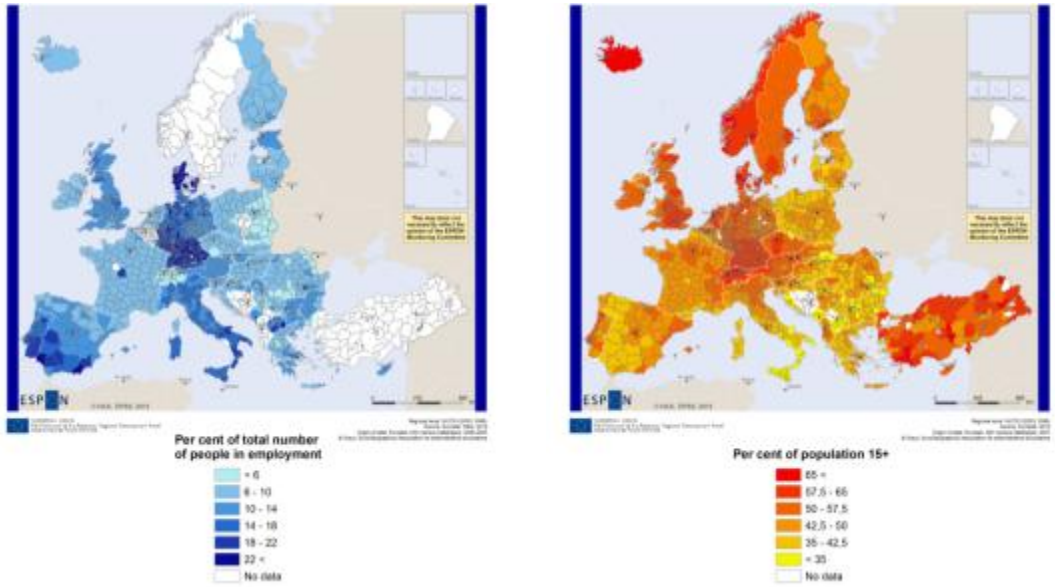
The multidimensionality of social exclusion is dealt with by the TIPSE project through a set of four domains that are further divided into several dimensions. All four domains exhibit interconnections with the Mediterranean characteristics of social exclusion, as presented in the previous section. One initial remark is that data available from Eurostat and national censuses cover a wide range of indicators concerning the “earning a living” domain. The two next domains (“Access to Basic

Services", "Social Environment") are covered to a lesser extent, while the fourth domain ("Political Participation") is represented by only one dimension.

Earning a living

The maps on employment and unemployment illustrate the basic differences of economic dynamics between countries, as well as between regions. Spain, Italy and Greece were suffering from relatively high unemployment rates even before the current crisis, although each for different reasons (low growth in Italy, long-terms structural unemployment in Spain, incapacity of the private sector to create enough jobs in Greece). On the contrary, Turkey, one year before the 2001 crisis seemed to enjoy higher levels of employment.

Regional differences within the five countries are important. Employment rate increases in the more affluent regions that concentrate the bulk of the activities which were feeding the economic growth of these countries in early 2000s (real estate, banking and tourism in Greece and Spain, manufacturing sector and tourism in Italy): Catalonia and Madrid in Spain, Lisbon and coastal areas in Portugal, Attica, Thessaloniki and Crete in Greece and Northern Italy. In Turkey, differences in employment rate show inequalities between, the capital region and coastal areas on the one hand, and Anatolia on the other hand.

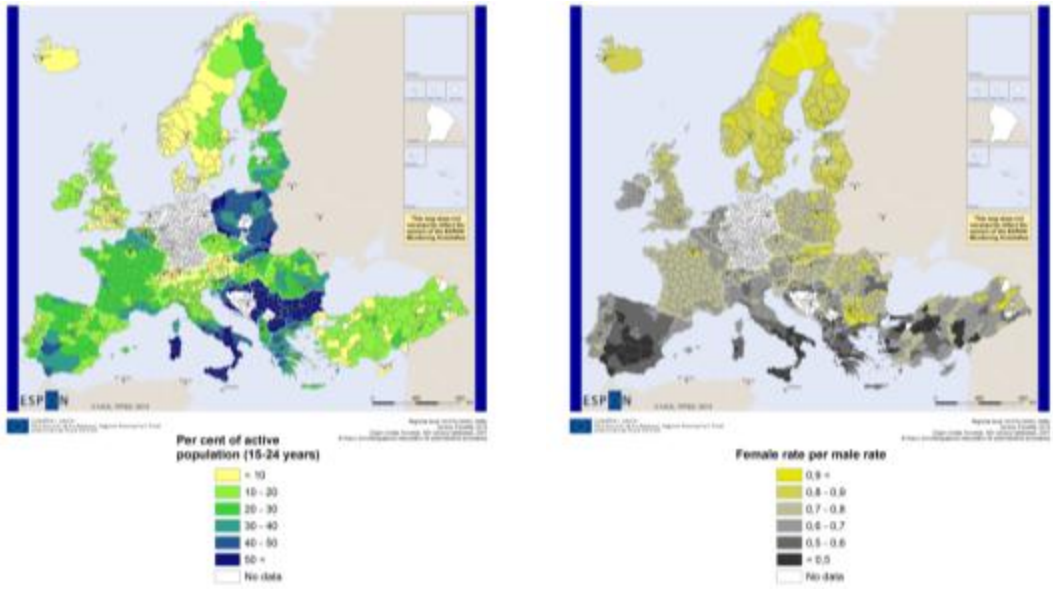


Map 18: Employed Persons in Elementary Occupations (l) and Employment Rate (r), 2001

The rate of persons employed in elementary occupations follows a somewhat different pattern. Among the three Southern EU countries for which relevant data are available, this rate is higher in Spain and Italy (probably because in Greece low-

skilled occupations are held by irregular immigrants who do not appear in official statistics). At the regional level, the rate of persons employed in elementary occupations increases in the more developed areas and urban centres, where in general job supply is higher. It also increases in the poorest regions (Sicily and other regions of the southern Italy, Central Peloponnese and Epirus in Greece), where this feature coexists with high unemployment and lower growth.

The youth unemployment is indicative of more general trends in the labour market of the four countries. It is by far higher in Southern Italy and South-Western Spain, as a corollary of high overall unemployment rate. It is also high in Greece as a whole, as in this country the barriers in the labour market for the youth have been strong between mid-1990s and 2008 (despite the economic growth of this period, job creation in Greece was not sufficient, in both qualitative and quantitative terms, to absorb the more and more educated youth population). Probably as an outcome of the more general dynamism of the Turkish labour market, youth unemployment is relatively low following the high rate of general employment.

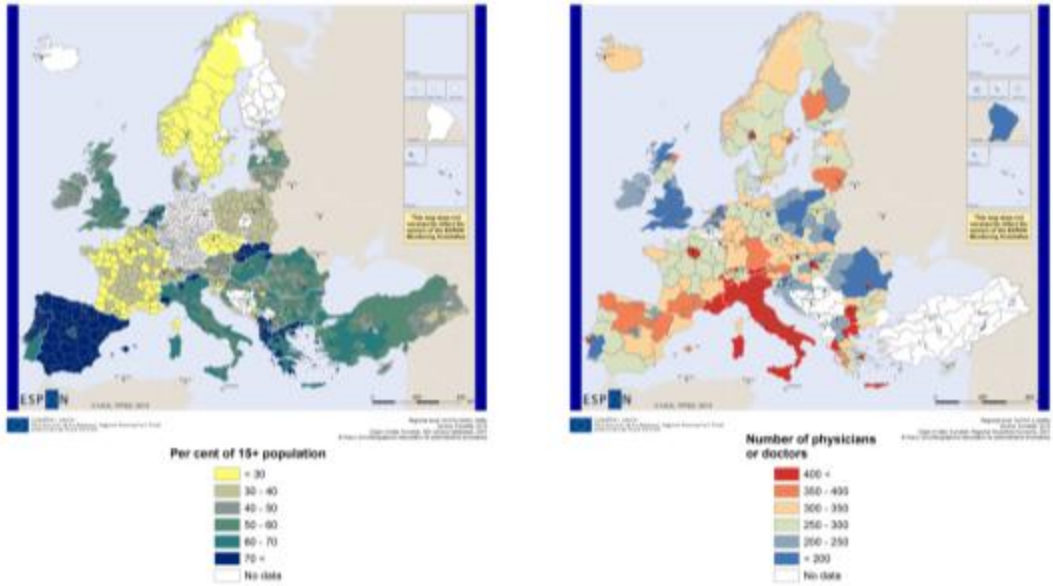


Map 19: Youth (15–24 years) Unemployment Rate (l) and Employment Gender Gap (r) (Census), 2001

The female unemployment rate in Spain, Italy and Greece seems following the general pattern of unemployment: highest rates are found in South-Western Spain, Southern Italy and the deindustrialized areas of Macedonia and Northern-West Peloponnese in Greece. This pattern does not coincide entirely with female economic inactivity rate which reveals probably the persistence of the traditional male breadwinner model in non-urban areas. At the same time, high activity gender gap and high employment gender gap all Southern European countries from the rest of Europe and especially from the central and Northern part of the continent.

Access to basic services

Access to basic services in Spain, Italy, Portugal and Greece presents relatively limited regional disparities, as a result of the gradual development of welfare provisions during the last decades. The ratio of population with high qualification does not fluctuate significantly, with the exception of the capital cities (and Thessaloniki in the case of Greece) which concentrate the largest numbers of highly educated persons and the larger part of high-end economic activities. The same applies for the ratio of population with low qualification (with the exception of Greece where stronger concentrations of population with low qualification are found in the poorest regions of the country). In general, Southern countries present higher proportions of people with low qualifications, compared with their northern counterparts. The map on the number of hospital beds per 100,000 inhabitants illustrates the same tendency, although some differences exist between countries: Portugal does not present any regional disparity in terms of this indicator, while Greece and Italy present comparatively the larger regional disparities of beds in Southern Europe.



Map 20: Ratio of Population with Low Qualification (l) and Health Personnel per 100000 Inhabitants (r), 2001

Unlike public services, provisions which depend more on private market present larger inequalities. This applies in housing facilities in the Southern European countries where access to housing depends on private market mechanisms much more than in Northern Europe. In Portugal, Italy and Greece, for which the relevant data are available, there are significant differences of the ratio of housing units without central heating. These differences follow in general the pattern of

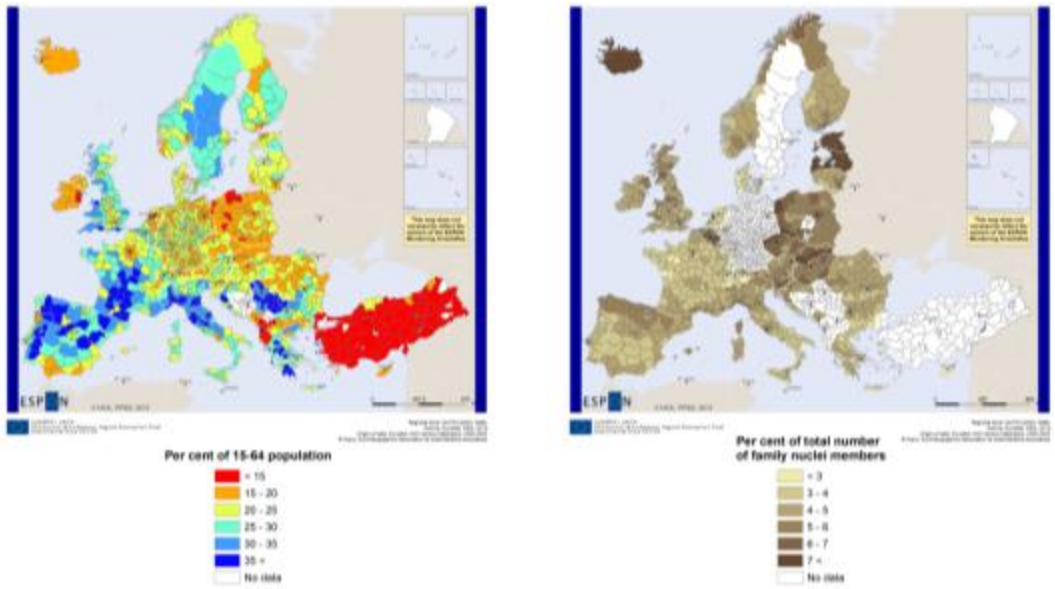
employment rates and distribution of wealth, the poorest regions concentrating larger ratio of houses without central heating. The distribution of health personnel per 100,000 inhabitants is also quite unequal, probably also as a result of private market mechanisms and regional differences in economic development (this indicator incorporates at the same time welfare and private market services).

Social environment

Demographic indicators illustrate a sharp difference between the four EU countries and Turkey, the first presenting a general demographic stagnancy while the latter features a particular dynamism. In comparison with their northern counterparts, the southern EU countries manifested the tendency of reduction of births more recently but in a more intense way. This is rather the outcome of family strategies to maintain a relatively high standard of living, by reducing the number of children in the context of a weak welfare state. On the contrary, Turkey presents an impressive, compared to Europe, demographic dynamism which also characterizes other countries under development. The indicators of child and old age dependency rates and the household size reveal clearly these tendencies.

At the regional level there are also significant disparities. Old age dependency rate increases in wealthy regions with low birth rates (like Northern Italy and Central and Southern Portugal), as well as in regions suffering from shrinking population and out migration of the youth (like the mountainous regions of central and southern Greece). In Turkey, the child dependency rate is much higher in the less developed Central and Eastern regions of the country than in more affluent and urbanized regions of the West Turkey.

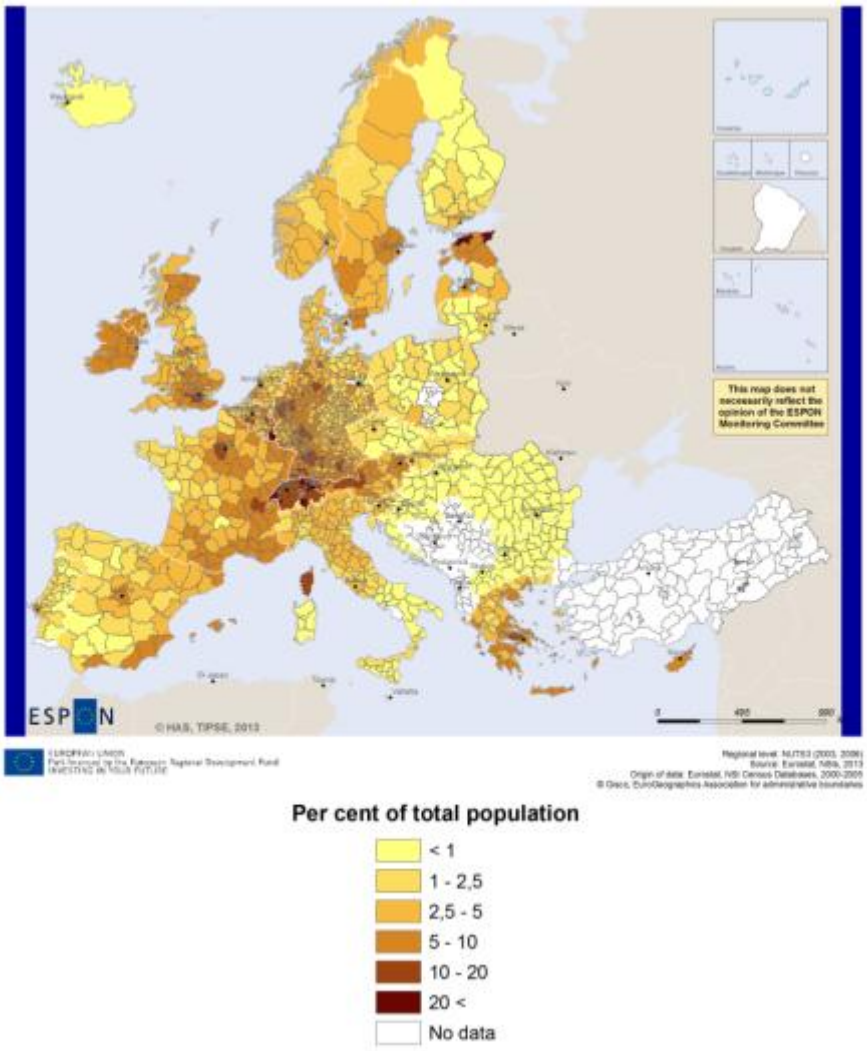
Some demographic indicators reveal also the persistence of “traditional” social structures. The four Southern EU countries and Turkey feature lower ratios of lone parents compared to Northern European countries. Among Southern EU countries, there are also some significant differences between countries, for example regional disparities in terms of ratio of lone parents are much weaker in Portugal than in Italy (in Southern Italy the ratio of lone parents is lower, probably due to cultural factors like the stronger influence of Catholicism). At the regional level, the average household size is higher and the ratio of lone parents is lower in rural and poorer areas (Central and Southern Spain, Southern Italy, some regions of Central and Southern Greece, Northern Portugal) than in urban and wealthier ones (e.g. access to information). However, traditionalism might mean that in this case figures imply the opposite from what they seem to, as for example few lone-parent households in rural areas might be more socially excluded than numerous lone-parent households in urban regions.



Map 21: Old Age Dependency Rate (l) and Ratio of Lone Parents (r), 2001

Political participation

The map on the ratio of non-citizen population reveals above all that Spain, Italy and Greece had already been transformed in 2001 into receiving countries of important immigration flows (this is less the case of Portugal, where an important concentration of non-citizen population is found only in Lisbon). The non-citizen population is concentrated in regions where there is enough job supply: the capital cities, regions with important activity in tourism, constructions and manufacturing and, last, in some agricultural areas. At the same time, there is stronger concentration of non-citizen population in border regions which receive at first stage the immigration flows. On the contrary, mountainous and relatively poor regions, like the central Peloponnese and the Central-West Greece, are much less attractive for immigrants. While it is evident that non citizens lack the crucial legal bond with their countries of residence that would enhance full participation in political life, political participation is in fact much more complex. To get a comprehensive picture, one should be able to map forms of participation to local political life (local elections etc), as well as to measure forms of exclusion that are not dependent upon citizenship.



Map 22: Ratio of Non-Citizen Population, 2001

Measuring PSE, an overview of the PSE indicators across the countries

Studies in all countries focus on the multidimensionality of social exclusion, as opposed to the much simpler definition of poverty. Employed indicators may be classified in the following dimensions (obviously not avoiding some level of interdependency):

- Multiple material deprivations.
- Employment.
- Participation in various social networks.
- Access to social services and transfers.
- Political participation.
- Subjective evaluations of individual circumstances.

Some exemplary studies are illustrated below:

Talking about the development of a means-tested social benefit system in Spain, Laparra and Aguilar (1996) identify the cruciality of indicators such as homelessness, crime rate, infant mortality, lone-parent households, unemployment and precariousness. Poggi (2003), in analyzing the persistence of social exclusion in Spain provides an even broader range of indicators: basic need fulfilment, having an adequate income, the ability to reach a certain quality of life, the ability to have an adequate house, the ability to have social relationships, being healthy, living in a safe and clean environment, and being able to perform a paid, or unpaid, work activity (social status). They operationalize these categories through items available in ECHP. In a comparative study about Spain, Hungary and Germany, Bohnke (2001) separates socioeconomic precariousness in terms of standard of living (housing, basic consumption, financial resources) from the subjective limited chances to participate (general social scepticism and social-psychological distress). Using Euromodule data, Bohnke asks a question with broader interest for the Mediterranean, "*why precarious living conditions have a more limited effect on social participation in Spain and Hungary than in Germany, a country with relatively generous benefits*" and mentions two key explanations:

> *First, the overall level of welfare and standard of living within one country might influence the evaluation of personal precariousness, i.e. getting unemployed is less of a personal failure if the general level of unemployment in a country is high, and the personal accountability for poverty is weaker when standard of living is low nation-wide. This kind of explanation focuses on processes of comparisons and claims, which are related to an average nation's welfare arrangement. Second, bearing in mind the specifics of the Spanish welfare mix, we can assume that support from social networks and family solidarity eases the burden of unemployment and poverty*.

In a study about Italy and the regional differences regarding social exclusion in the country, Stranges (2007) talks about three broad dimensions of "uneasiness", those of economic, social and human discomfort, indicated in her study by unemployment (for the economic dimension), bad housing conditions and difficulties in purchasing basic goods (social dimension) and low education skills (human dimension). In a more comprehensive approach, Chakravarty & D' Ambrosio (2007) propose a measurement of social exclusion based on the dimensions of 1. financial difficulties (great difficulties in making ends meet, in arrears), 2. basic necessities (food, clothes, holidays), 3. housing conditions (bath/shower, damp surfaces, lacking space), 4. durables (car, telephone, colour TV), 5. health (reporting bad health), 6. social contact (meeting friends) and 7. dissatisfaction (with work or main activity). They apply their model in nine EU-15 countries, using ECHP data. They find out that the Southern European countries are characterized by higher levels of social exclusion, with Portugal ranked in the first position, followed in close distance by Greece, Italy and Spain.

In a study about Greece, Balourdos (2005) follows a similar extensive set of indicators including basic necessities/economic hardship, income, housing, durables, environment, health, education, social insurance, employment/unemployment, social networks/family networks and discrimination. Similarly the study about social exclusion in the slum areas of metropolitan areas in Turkey (Adaman & Keyder, undated) emphasizes the indicators of employment, satisfaction with life, education, health, disability, migration status, income, social relations ('network') and housing.

National policy texts usually include references to macro-economic indicators without necessarily clarifying the relationship between those indicators and social exclusion. Characteristically, the Spanish National Action Plan (NAP) on Strategies for Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2006 - 2008 mentions indicators such as economic growth, debt rate, inflation and productivity. Other macroeconomic indicators are representative of the policy capacity for social protection (social expenditure, pension spending), while most indicators are closer to the academic perceptions of social exclusion (activity rate, employment rate, unemployment rate, early school leavers, healthy life expectancy, infant mortality, effective labour market exit age, at-risk-of-poverty rate). Similar concerns are to be found in the Italian NAP where however a reference is devoted to the importance of the informal economy which might distort the official figures.

A closer examination of the older Italian NAPs on Poverty and Social Exclusion 2003-2005 shows that primary indicators (as defined by the Laeken council in 2001: risk of poverty/income, risk of poverty/consumption, risk of ongoing poverty, intensity of poverty, inequality of income, long term unemployment, population living in households with no employed member, young people with low level of education, regional cohesion, life expectancy at birth and self-perceived state of health) are complemented by spending indicators about social expenditure and especially about the balance between different sectors of social expenditure. Moreover, a set of other facts and figures is included in the main trends section concerning either directly measurable indicators (ageing, internal migration rates, non EU citizens, persons with disabilities) or others for which measurement is quite more ambiguous (informal economic activity, third sector development).

Table 5 summarizes the indicators used in the NAPs of Italy, Spain, Portugal, Malta, Cyprus and Greece, and the UNFDAP Country Program for Turkey, following the above mentioned categorization in four indicators' groups, concerning earning a living, access to services (also including health indicators), social environment and political participation and adding a fifth category of other macroeconomic indicators. A general finding is that not only national concerns differ but also that definitions of similar dimensions of social exclusion seem to be dissimilar.

Furthermore, it is quite evident that most available indicators belong to the "earning a living" category, in which at the same time, a level of harmonization has been achieved, despite slight differences. In some countries there is a balance between

indicators referring to employment/unemployment and those referring to income, while in other countries income dimension (and especially wage) is underestimated. Greater divergence is observed regarding indicators in the “access to services” category. Problematization of housing is absent in five out of the seven countries, while education and health are measured by different indicators. Subjective evaluations of personal conditions and expenditures are mentioned only once respectively (“self-perceived state of health” in Italy and “spending on private health services” in Greece). In the “social environment” category employed indicators are generally less. Most indicators refer to “hard” demographic data (especially ageing/dependency and immigration). Family structures are under-represented and, surprisingly, there are no indicators referring to social networks and social relations including family relations (apart from an indirect appearance as in the case of “third sector development” in Italy). Last but not least, the “political participation” category is severely under-represented (only two indicators appear in only three of the countries). No other indicators (e.g. participation in political parties or other organization, electoral turnout, subjective evaluations) are used.

What is more, all NAPs include sections on several macro-economic and regional indicators. The relationship between these indicators and social exclusion is not explained in depth, possibly implying indirect connections between e.g., on the one hand, growth or deficits and, on the other hand, social conditions or the state potential for certain measures.

Conclusion

Social exclusion processes in Southern European countries present some particular characteristics due to the historical development of residual welfare regimes and the vitality of some “traditional” social and economic conditions (strong family and intergenerational ties, informal economy, widespread home-ownership, clientelist networks). In general and despite important dissimilarities, these regimes tended to protect important parts of the population, while leaving some smaller groups severely unprotected. Recent social and economic transformations, including mass immigration, economic recession, ongoing deregulation and, more recently, the application of harsh austerity programs, tend to alter the previous model, threatening to exclude more social groups from more functions of social life. It is thus important to (re)develop tools in order to observe new multiple forms of social exclusion.

Dimension	Italy 2003-2005	Spain 2003-2005	Portugal 2005-2006	Cyprus 2008-2010	Malta 2004-2006	Greece 2006-2008	Turkey* 2011-2015
Earning a living	risk of poverty/income risk of poverty/consumption risk of ongoing poverty intensity of poverty, inequality of income long term unemployment population living in households with no employed member informal economic activity	below poverty line employment rate long-term unemployment rate youth long-term unemployment rate female long-term unemployment rate income inequality chronic poverty	below poverty threshold accessing goods and basic services employment rate population living in households with no employed member long-term unemployment employees with low wages wage gender gap non-monetary income	employment rate female employment rate unemployment rate long-term unemployment rate at-risk-of-poverty rate immigrants in elementary occupations income inequalities children living in households with no employed member	disposable income deprivation index at-risk-of-poverty rate employment rate female employment rate women in temporary jobs female self-employment unemployment rate long-term unemployment rate gender pay gap population living in households with no employed member income distribution	employment rate unemployment rate long-term unemployment rate youth unemployment rate female unemployment rate at-risk-of-poverty rate income convergence to EU average	unemployment rate female activity rate
Access to basic services	young people with low level of education people with disabilities life expectancy at birth self-perceived state of health	housing situation self perception of health low educational level housing conditions disability drug dependency HIV positive homeless people	lower than secondary education early school leavers employees in vocational training courses basic housing infrastructure home-ownership	life expectancy at birth infant mortality early school leavers	labour force education skills early school leavers lifelong learning	life expectancy at birth spending on private health services early school leavers lifelong learning	maternal/infant mortality female early school leavers contraceptive prevalence rate unplanned pregnancies health insurance HIV/AIDS infections

Dimension	Italy 2003-2005	Spain 2003-2005	Portugal 2005-2006	Cyprus 2008-2010	Malta 2004-2006	Greece 2006-2008	Turkey* 2011-2015
			vacant houses houses in need of repair life expectancy at birth infant mortality births under medical supervision HIV positive deaths connected to drugs				
Social environment	ageing internal migration third sector development	ageing single-parent households immigrants gypsy population domestic violence		ageing child/old dependency rate fertility rate immigrants reasons for immigration	ageing old dependency rate fertility rate births out of marriage divorces	old dependency rate	violence against women fertility rate age structure
Political participation	non EU citizens			non EU citizens			women MPs
Other	regional cohesion social expenditure	economic growth regional income convergence	regional employment variations	economic growth inflation public deficit sovereign debt social expenditure/ efficiency	government deficit public gross debt growth rate inflation population growth social insurance expenditure regional cohesion index	economic growth public deficit social expenditure/ efficiency total spending on health	economic growth absolute/national poverty line

Table 5: Indicators of social exclusion in National Action Plans in the Mediterranean region

* There is no comparable Action Plan for Turkey. Data concern the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) Country Program Action Plan, 2011-2015. Although SE is not the primary concern, the Action Plan presents the advantage to collect data from various national sources.

As it is evident from Table 5, although some social exclusion indicators are quite common in the Mediterranean macro-region, there is a degree of inconsistency. To some extent, the use of different indicators is reasonable, as a reflection of different national socioeconomic contexts and relevant priorities. However, the adoption of a basic core of shared indicators would improve the capacity for comparative examination of both social exclusion dimensions and the effectiveness of policy responses. Moreover, the relationship of some indicators to the actually indicated dimension of social exclusion remains rather loose from a theoretical perspective. Last but not least, some crucial indicators are absent (as in the case of immigrants that are not considered as an indicator in the examined NAPs of Portugal and Greece) and in general the dimension of political participation almost disappears from policy texts, despite its declared significance.

3.1.4 East Central Europe and Balkan region

by Gergely Tagai (MTA KRTK – Research Centre for Economics and Regional Studies, Hungarian Academy of Sciences)

Introduction

The macro-region covering East Central Europe and the Balkan countries consists of those countries of Europe affected by the long-lasting heritage of Socialism (systemic characteristics, inherited institutions etc.), still on different stages of the way towards integration into the European social and welfare regimes. Talbot et al. (2012) cite Fenger (2007) who states that “the level of trust, the level of social programmes and social situation in the post-communist countries are considerably lower than in the other countries” (p. 25.), causing more significant differences between the countries of the area and other parts of Europe, compared to the internal differences within both groups. The result is that spatial patterns of social exclusion – however similar in some cases to those in Western states – need a special interpretation. In addition to conceptual questions, there are also some specific “technical” issues important to consider.

Availability of Eurostat data. In addition to using national statistical sources, the formation of social exclusion indices was mainly built on harmonised Eurostat data (regional LFS, demographic and health statistics). As none of the countries of the region was a member of the European Union in 2001 (much of the variables used in ESPON TiPSE are from censuses), the coverage and resolution of data from these sources is imbalanced. For current EU member countries of East Central Europe, these gaps were subsequently filled, but the Balkan countries are only represented by country-level data (if any information is available at all).

The 2001 censuses in East Central Europe and the Balkan countries. Almost all the countries of the region carried out a full conventional census between 2001 and 2003. The exceptions are Bosnia and Herzegovina where the last census was held in 1991, and Kosovo, which never tried to count its population independently – the last available census data for Kosovo is from 1981 (!), when the country was still part of Yugoslavia. Censuses conducted in 2001–2003 in the East Central European countries generally followed the document "Recommendations for the 2000 Censuses of Population and Housing in the ECE Region” dealing with the principles, definitions and the classifications to use. Available questionnaires of Balkan countries show that their content broadly matches that of the current EU member states of the macro-region. In spite of these signs of harmonisation, several issues of definition and data tabulation have emerged, considering the comparison of data and indicators of different countries.

Differences in NUTS 3 geography. The NUTS 3 level is also considered as an administrative level in almost all of the countries of the macro-region (except for e.g. Poland or Slovenia). The NUTS 3 units form about ten to fifty regions within each country. Though the size of NUTS 3 regions shows huge variation among countries, these units unquestionably constitute the same level and are commensurable with each other. Urban regions are designated only in Poland (representing larger cities), in other cases, only capital cities make a separate region (e.g. in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria, Serbia etc.). The regional (administrative) structures of the countries in the macro-region are quite stable. The 2003 and 2006 changes of NUTS affected mainly the Czech Republic and Poland (even more). These changes cause minor additional gaps in data availability.

The interpretation of social exclusion patterns in the region is greatly influenced by these issues, from conceptual considerations based upon the post-socialist ways of development, to questions of data gathering, managing and technical problems. The manner of the TIPSE reading of social exclusion presented below reflects these factors of interpretation while making an attempt to draw a complex picture of social exclusion patterns in East Central Europe and the Balkans correctly.

Patterns of Social Exclusion in the East Central European and Balkan macro-region

In order to operationalize the multidimensional concept and the territorial elements of social exclusion, the TIPSE project group identified four domains of exclusion reflecting the different but slightly overlapping natures of social systems. The four domains (“Earning a Living”, “Access to Basic Services”, “Social Environment” and “Political Participation”) are also divided into several dimensions. Indicators (about 50) representing the dimensions are all mapped, but their interpretation needs special consideration.

On the one hand, spatial coverage is one of the most important factors determining the suitability of an indicator. Indicators with very low coverage can hardly tell anything about spatial patterns of exclusion in a Europe-wide context; however less data can also contribute to interpretation of differences among countries and its regions. On the other hand, questions of data harmonisation should also be considered. As already mentioned in the sections above, using different data sources carries the danger of facing differences of definition or data tabulation among countries, which can influence the spatial patterns drawn on maps. Despite that, the spatial patterns of an indicator differentiating between countries do not always mean country-specific definitions. Some indicators may show less variation within a country, questioning the suitability of a specific indicator in representing spatial patterns of that specific aspect of social exclusion in the country. Finally, if minor or major regional variations of the mapped indicators can be identified, one may ask if they show any particular pattern. If the answer is ‘No,’ interpretation of spatiality is

not only harder, it is also questionable if that dimension of social exclusion – represented by the given indicator – has any spatial regularity at the level of investigation (NUTS 3).

Maps representing the four domains of social exclusion are interpreted by the following considerations and in addition to the interpretation of spatial patterns, reflections on them are often highlighted in order to explain the deficiencies and difficulties of representing a dimension and to see the usability of indicators.

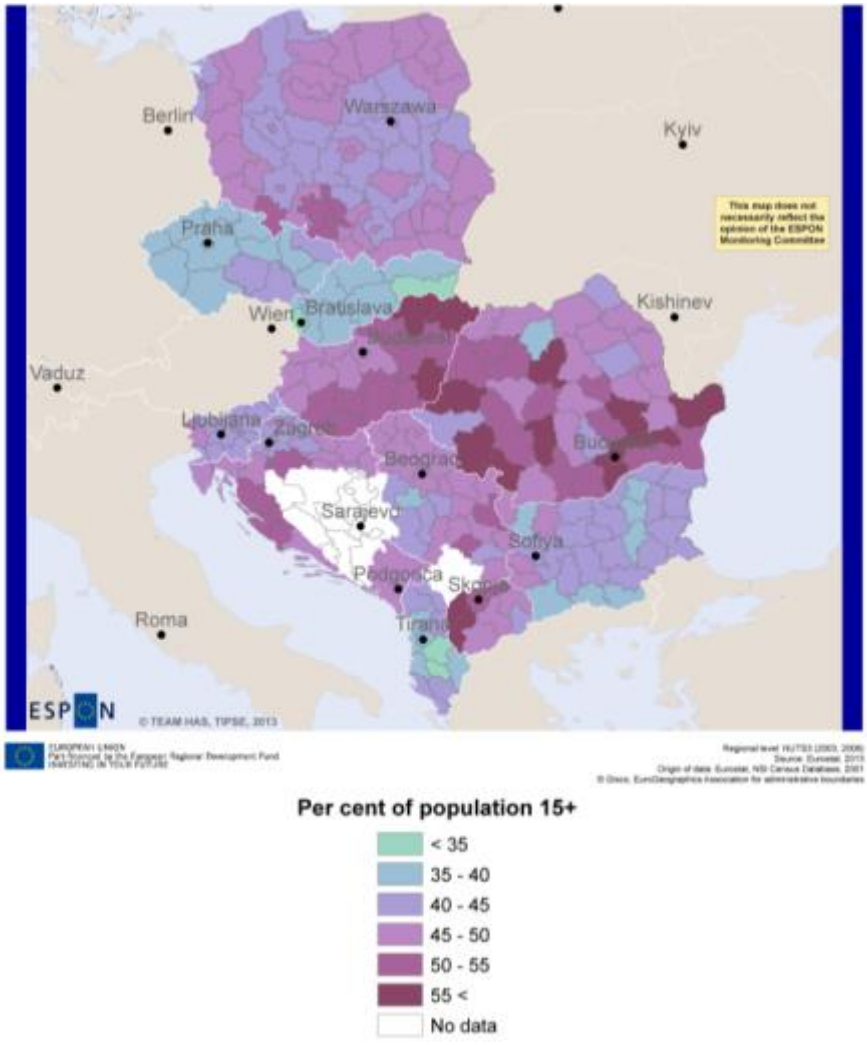
Earning a living

The domain of "earning a living" can firstly be represented by the dimension of income conditions. The most direct financial indicator showing the potential patterns of social exclusion is the net disposable household income. Unfortunately, it neither covers the non-EU Balkan states of the region. Furthermore, as a consequence of this income indicator being only provided at the NUTS 2 level of coverage, the degree of variation is also very low. In spite of that, there is some evidence that urban or capital city regions (only Prague and Bratislava regions are defined separately this way) can have more favourable positions in this sense. Unfavourable income conditions can presumably be associated with occupation status. Persons employed show a greater relevance in the indicator of elementary occupations than the direct income variable, as its regional coverage is quite fine and its definition issues are broadly eliminated by the common use of ISCO classification in the countries of the area. However, the regional pattern of this indicator is also hard to interpret, as differences within the countries are insignificant in most countries (except for Serbia, Romania and the FYROM). Nevertheless, the ratio of employees in elementary occupations is significantly low in some of the urban areas of East Central European EU and in Balkan capitals, e.g. Prague, Bratislava, Budapest, Sofia, Skopje or Warsaw (and other larger cities of Poland where data is available).

The employment dimension of social exclusion patterns represents the potential level of participation in economic activities. Exclusion from the labour market is still the main form of social exclusion in the post-socialist countries of Europe. For presenting these patterns, Labour Force Survey-based harmonised labour force indicators are also available, but only for the EU countries of the region; therefore census-based data on population is favoured instead, as their spatial coverage is much better.

Regional patterns of rates of economic activity and inactivity show notable differentiation within the countries of East Central Europe and the Balkans, especially in Poland, Romania, Croatia, Serbia or Macedonia. However, these patterns are less evident to interpret in several countries (like Romania). Low participation rates can also be captured in urban areas as well as in forming spatial patterns with expressed structures. Higher rates of inactivity can be observed in the case of "urban" Poland (see the larger cities of the country or the agglomeration of Katowice), or Zagreb, the capital city of Croatia. The Western and North-Western regions of Bulgaria, which

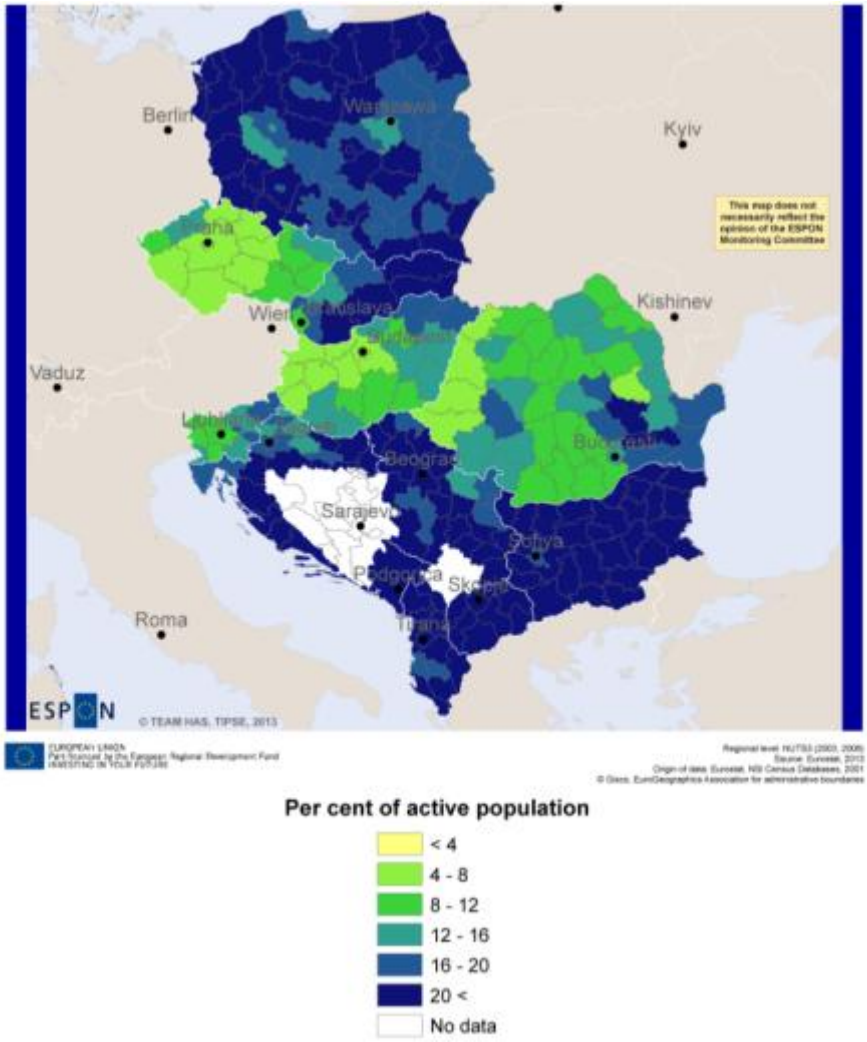
shows the lowest participation rates in the country, are well-known for their “ageing” problems, while the slightly recognizable West-East slope in Hungary is one of the most common spatial patterns of regional differences. Beside these internal patterns, differences between countries are also significant, as the activity rates of the Czech Republic or Slovakia are much higher than the other regional averages of the area.



Map 23: Economic Inactivity Rates (Census), 2001

There are also huge variations in the internal patterns of direct participation in (or exclusion from) the labour market (especially in the case of employment rates), while differentiation between countries makes the interpretation of these spatial characteristics harder, as it is presumably affected by issues of definition and harmonisation. Employment rates are considerably higher only in the Czech Republic, which can potentially be explained via traditional economic structures and labour culture, while unemployment patterns are much problematic to read as regional variations are obscured by the generally low participation rates in several

countries (e.g. in Poland, Bulgaria, Albania, Macedonia or Serbia). The outstanding internal patterns again show a West-East slope – adjusted by the presence of some internal peripheries – both in the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Hungary, Slovenia, Romania and Croatia. Favourable rates of participation can also be observed in the (greater) surroundings of capital cities, for example in the case of Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia and Slovenia. In addition to these tendencies, special patterns of employment/unemployment in Dalmatia (Mediterranean Croatia) can be presented, as despite the prosperous tourism of the area, rates of participation in the labour market tend to be quite low due to the seasonal character of these activities.



Map 24: Unemployment Rate (Census), 2001

Gender-related differences of the labour market characteristics in the region are three-faced. First, female participation rates are generally lower, while risk of exclusion (from the labour market) is generally higher than the same rates for males in most countries. Only the unemployment rates show “inverse” gender gaps in some of the countries of the area (Slovakia, Hungary, Romania and some parts of

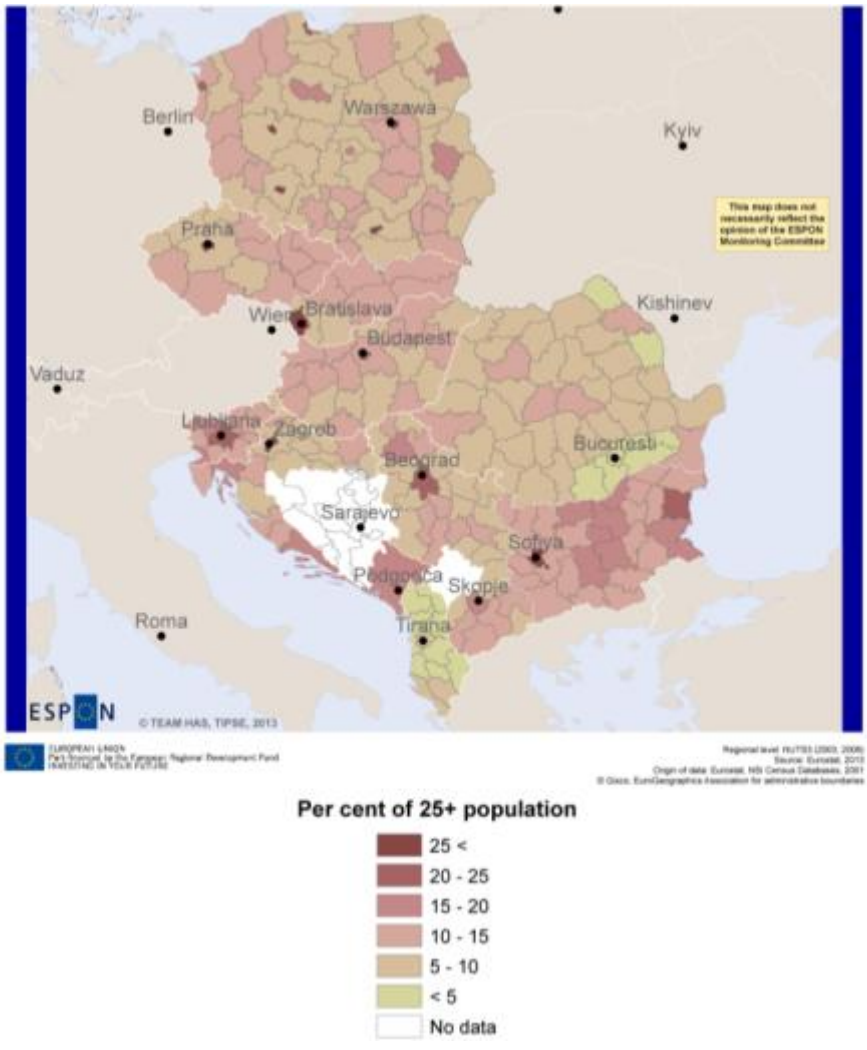
Bulgaria). Second, it also means that instead of intra-regional (country) variations, differences between countries are more significant, which also raises the question of problems of definitions and harmonisation within the indicators of the labour market among the countries of the East Central European and Balkan region, but probably also reflecting some effects of traditional gender division of labour, especially in the Balkan states. The generally low internal variations of the gender gap indices of the labour market also prove that women are potentially faced the same risk of exclusion in their own country across the labour markets of the region. Nevertheless, the third factor is that there are also some significant local variations in gender gaps, especially in the case of Balkan countries, which are hard to interpret. However, one can also suppose that in the surroundings of capital cities (or in other larger urban centres like those of Poland), chances of participation in economic activities are more balanced among the female and the male members of the population.

Access to Basic Services

Dimensions of this domain reflect the forms of risks of exclusion caused by the insufficient access to services of health protection, education or housing amenities. The presented indices do not illustrate the phenomenon of social exclusion as directly as labour market variables, but they can help in interpreting some indirect patterns of social exclusion in the East Central European and Balkan region. Data for health indicators are only available for a limited number of countries (only for EU member states) and only at the NUTS 2 level, which renders interpretation quite problematic. Moreover, in the case of the indices of health services (the availability of health personnel and hospital beds), one should also consider problems of harmonisation appearing in the differences of organization of national health services. In addition to such constraints, one typical spatial pattern can be emphasised: capital city regions are in much more favourable positions than other parts of their countries. Other patterns can be observed only in comparing countries, like lower values of healthy life expectancy in Bulgaria, Romania or in Hungary compared to other states of the region.

Patterns of exclusion from the access to education services are measured indirectly through the educational attainment features of regions. In this comparison, only the ratios of population with low (only with Primary – ISCED 0 and 1 – or Lower Secondary – ISCED 2) and high qualification (at least with Tertiary – ISCED 5 and 6) are considered. However, all the East Central European and Balkan countries' (both EU and non-EU) educational systems have either adapted the ISCED classification, or it is easy to link matching levels; spatial patterns of educational attainment are broadly affected by border effects caused by harmonisation issues of the national education systems. Especially low patterns of qualification show this unsuspected variation, presenting Slovakia or Albania as fields of severe risk of exclusion from the access to education compared to the Czech Republic, where the ratio of population

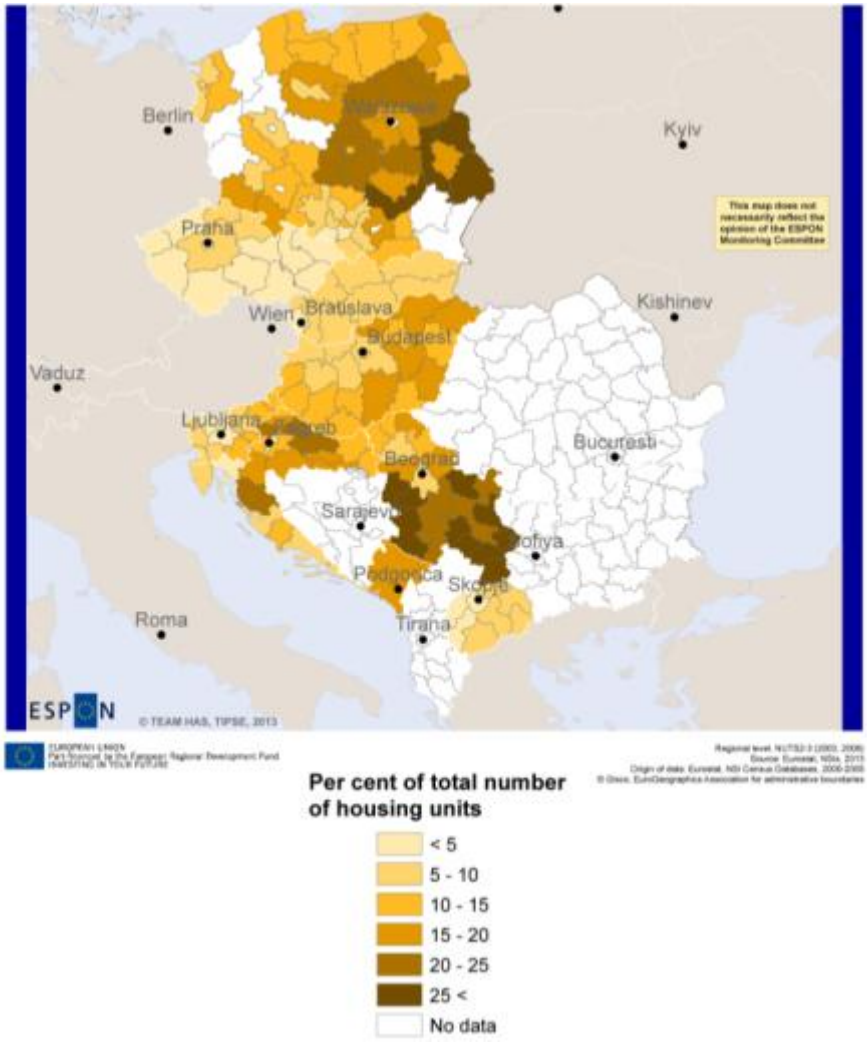
with only lower qualifications is quite low. The main pattern worthy to highlight is the observable advantage of larger cities within countries. This tendency is also present on the map of lower qualifications, but the relevance of this factor of potential social exclusion can be gleaned from the interpretation of regional variations of higher education attainment patterns. Almost all the capital cities (and their narrower or wider surroundings) of the East Central European and Balkan macro-region notably stand out in terms of this feature, while other larger cities known as university centres also have advantageous positions against other rural regions of the same country. See e.g. the greater urban agglomerations of Poland, the rural "mosaic" in Hungary, or the Osijek region of Croatia, the Novi Sad region of Serbia etc. In addition to these patterns, minor variations in educational attainment are also appearing within some countries, like the more favourable positions of the Western regions in Hungary.



Map 25: Ratio of Highly Qualified Population, 2001

Interpretation of housing indicators as indirect social exclusion factors is questionable due to the constraints of a sufficient spatial coverage of data (there is no available

housing amenity data for Romania, Bulgaria or Albania at all), and the vulnerability to definitional effects (how housing facilities are grouped, how housing units are counted etc.). Uniformity of values within or between countries (number of occupants per room, useful floor space per occupants) also shows that many of these characteristics do not operate well as indicators representing the risk of social exclusion. For instance, regional variations of the size of housing units (mainly between countries at the NUTS 3 level) can also originate in the different traditions related to the built environment. Nevertheless, housing indices of different facilities shows a more consistent regional character within countries.



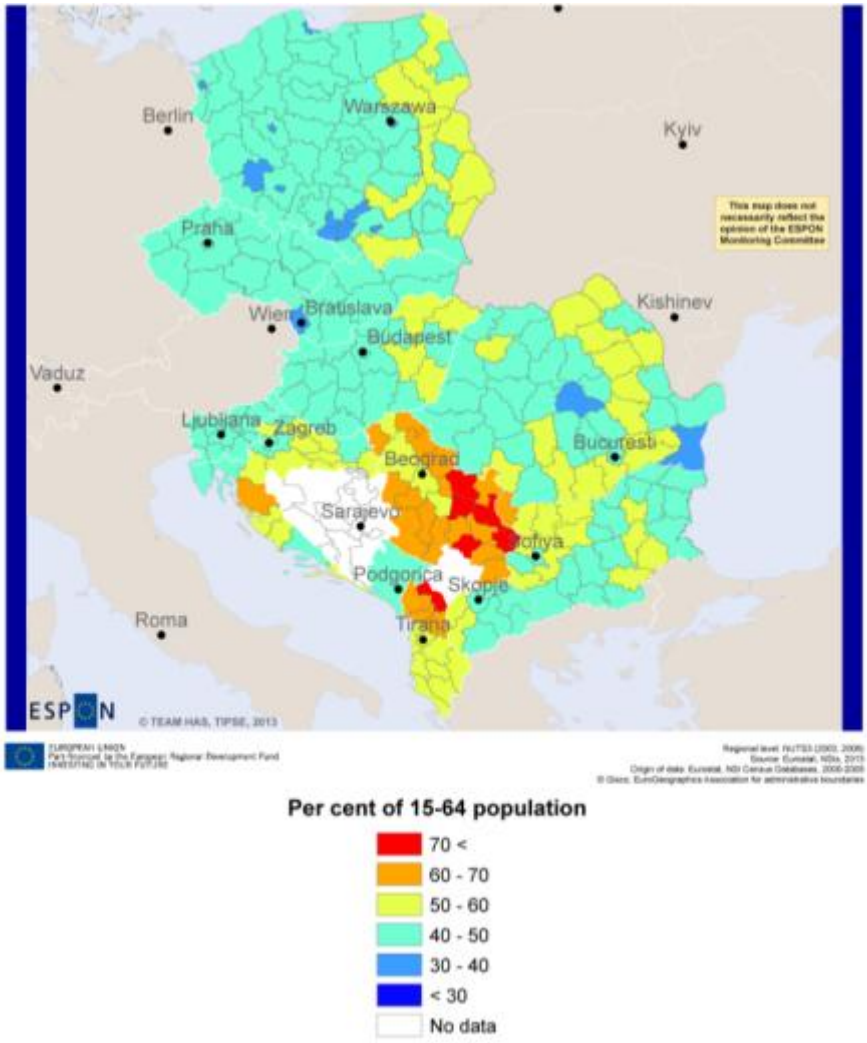
Map 26: Ratio of Housing Units without Bath or Shower, 2001

Urban centres and capital cities (Beograd, Budapest, Zagreb, Ljubljana, Bratislava, Warsaw etc.) all stand out considering the availability of facilities like the water supply system, bathrooms, indoor flush toilets or central heating, showing more preferable housing conditions than those of rural areas. Furthermore, in some cases,

national patterns of the availability of housing amenities are more or less equivalent with the more general picture of regional inequalities (of economic and social features). For instance, in Hungary, the Western regions have more advantageous positions than the Eastern ones, while the regions in East Poland and the rural-middle part of the country are often classified as lagging, both with respect to housing and other features. Variations between North and South Serbia are also recognisable in other patterns of inequality. The indicator signalling a lack of central heating also shows notable differences both within and between countries, mostly because of conceptual differences. For example, the population of Mediterranean Dalmatia (the coastal part of Croatia), or other Mediterranean Balkan countries, are not more excluded due to the lack of central heating, because that is not the traditional way of heating in the given country.

Social Environment

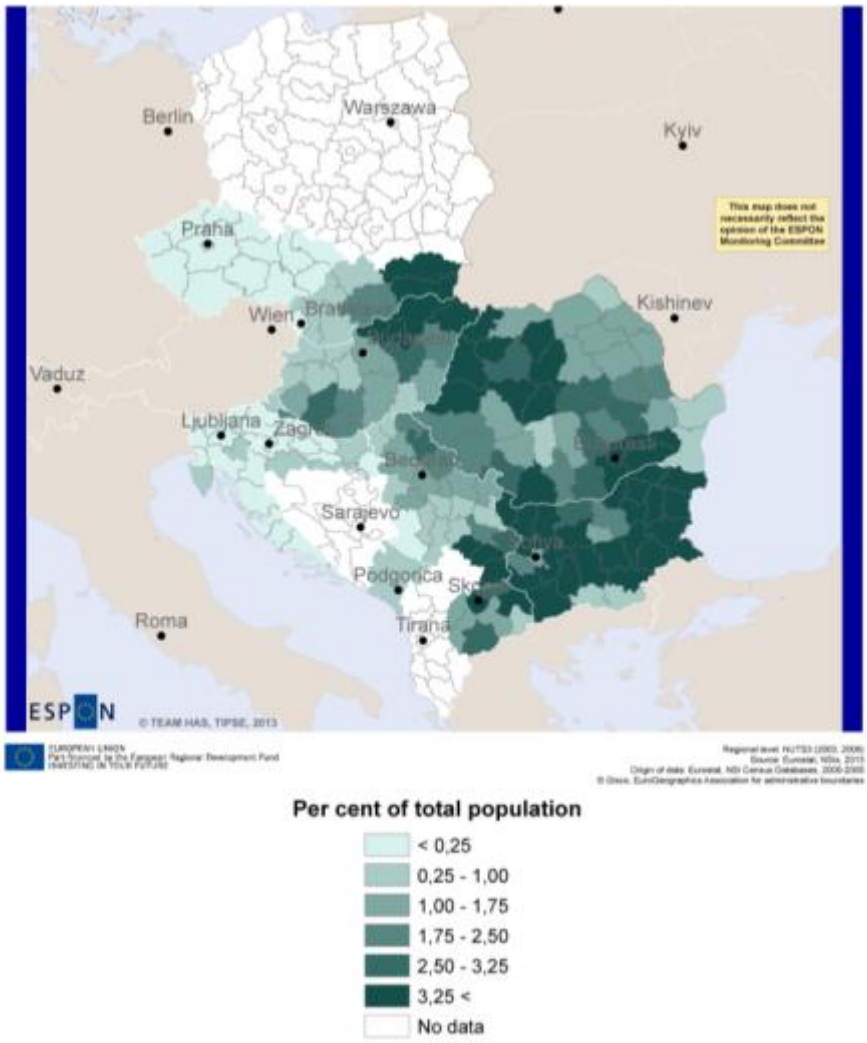
Dependency rates relating to age structure represent a potential dimension of social exclusion reflecting several demographic attributes of the population (and their social consequences). However, total dependency rates seem to draw a too uniform spatial pattern within many countries, considering their fair interpretation; both child and old-age dependency rates show a much more variegated picture. Higher rates of child dependency are generally related more to traditional or cultural factors than to social exclusion (see for example the juvenile age structure of Albania), but in several cases (e.g. the Eastern regions of Poland, Szabolcs-Szatmár-Bereg county of Hungary, and some regions in Romania) impoverished regions and those with higher dependency rates overlap. Otherwise, child dependency rates are significantly lower in urban environments in East Central Europe; capital cities or larger urban centres in Poland almost all have a smaller young age cohort than rural areas. As a counterpart of that in some cases (in Budapest or Warsaw), these cities can be represented by higher rates of old-age dependency. However one cannot assume that risk of exclusion due to ageing is because of the urban–rural dichotomy: ageing is a complex indicator of risk of exclusion in many areas of East Central Europe. For instance, in the Western and Northern Bulgarian regions, ageing is among the most severe demographic and social problems, as it is in Serbia – which country actually presents the greatest concentration of ageing regions, notably its South-Western parts.



Map 27: Total Dependency Rate, 2001

The Roma population is among the groups most endangered by social exclusion both in East Central Europe and in the Balkan countries. (The proportion of the Roma population is an indicator for the ethnic composition factor of the social environment.) Financial and material deprivation, low participation in economic activity, low educational attainment, health or housing problems and other potential factors of exclusion often affect Roma people (and areas populated more densely by Roma) in the macro-region (UNDP, 2012). Thus spatial patterns of regions with a high proportion of Roma population coincide with the most impoverished areas. However, our data coverage is far from complete. The proportion of Roma is not considerable in the Czech Republic, Slovenia, and Croatia. The Roma of Slovakia are mainly concentrated in the central and Eastern regions. In Hungary, counties of three NUTS 2 regions (the Southern Transdanubian, the Northern Hungarian Region and Northern Great Plain Region), where the proportion of the Roma population is between 2.5–3%, or more. Other areas more densely populated by the Roma are for example the Transylvanian and Southern regions of Romania, or the Southern parts

of Serbia. Bulgaria is generally represented by a high proportion of Roma population, however, the greatest number of this ethnic minority can be found in Romania. Actually, all these regions are rural areas and as a counterpart, it seems to be that Roma are less present in urban regions and the capitals (e.g. in Slovakia, Hungary or Bulgaria). It is not the same, for instance, in Macedonia or Romania, where the capital city is also populated by a considerable number (and proportion) of Roma.



Map 28: Ratio of Roma People by Declared Ethnicity, 2001

There is unfortunately scarce information about the foreign-born population in the East Central European and Balkan countries, especially in the EU states of the area. Nevertheless, the proportion of immigrants is presumably quite low in these latter countries as these states are traditionally sending countries rather than target areas of international migration. The situation is completely different in the Balkan countries, especially in the case of the former member states of Yugoslavia. After the dissolution of this federative and multinational country, the civil war and the international interventions of the 1990s, spatial patterns of national minorities within

countries have changed dramatically. Many people were forced to leave their places of birth and to move to the motherland of their nation (from Bosnia and Herzegovina to Croatia or Serbia, from Croatia to Serbia etc.). Typical target areas of immigrants in these countries are regions neighbouring with their sender country, like in Serbia and Croatia. Additionally, a great number of the foreign-born population of Serbia is settled down in Vojvodina. Capital cities (both in Slovenia, Croatia, Serbia and FYROM) are also frequent target areas for immigration, resulting from the “gateway” role of such cities.

The household structure dimension of the social environment domain tries to illustrate spatial patterns drawn by the proportions of single parent families and overcrowded households, which both can represent factors of social exclusion (considering some constraints). Indicators of lone parent families are potentially affected by definition issues and do not discriminate well within the countries, which also goes to show that the presence of that phenomenon mainly follows local structures and does not have a clear spatial pattern. The most evident tendency to interpret is the higher proportion of lone parents in greater cities as capitals of a given country. This can be observed in the Czech Republic, Hungary, Serbia, Croatia, and Bulgaria. It is potentially linked to the fact that in cities and urban areas the number of divorces and couples living in consensual union (then split up) is higher. Household size is greatly related to the traditional composition of families, and as such, it is not a factor of social exclusion, but that feature in East Central Europe and the Balkans can affirm this side of the phenomenon. Overcrowded households are more common in the Southern and some middle parts of Poland, in East Slovakia, some Eastern regions in Hungary or in South Romania. These areas are typically rural regions, and can often be described with a higher presence of Roma population. Large-sized households are naturally rare in urban areas.

Political Participation

Political participation is by far the less represented domain of ESPON TIPSE interpretation of social exclusion. Only one indicator related to citizenship satisfies the current criteria of sufficient resolution and coverage. The ratio of foreign citizens is generally low in the countries of the East Central European area and the Balkan region. This indicator does not distinguish well within countries in many states, for example in Croatia, Macedonia, Bulgaria, Romania and Hungary, the proportion of citizens of another country is almost uniformly below 1%. Practically the only exceptions are again capital cities and larger urban areas of the region, where the organization of economic activity (these cities being gateways to global flows), education etc. implies a greater presence of foreigners. No matter how incomplete the data coverage of Balkan countries is, there is an observable general inequality between the proportion of foreign-born population and the ratio of foreign citizens. The values of the latter indicator are quite low also in those areas where the

proportions of foreign-born people are higher. A possible interpretation of that is that population immigrated to the motherland of their nation and gained citizenship sooner after settling down. This tendency is supposedly also prevalent in other East Central European countries (see the example of Hungary and the greater number of Hungarian minorities in neighbouring countries).

Measuring poverty and social exclusion in the countries of the macro-region

In the East Central European new member states of the European Union and in the Balkan states of Europe poverty is not a new phenomenon but it had other characteristics before than it has today (Milanovic, 1992; Ferge, 2002; Havasi, 2002). Due to a more egalitarian way of income distribution poverty was mainly related to the stages of life cycle – differentiating between living conditions of the working age groups and the elderly ones (Vecernik, 2004). Social processes after the political change of regime and the economic transformation (economic reforms, structural adjustments) impacted negatively by the reduction of real incomes and the fast increase of inequalities or unemployment (Golinowska, 2002; Paas, 2003; Vecernik, 2004). Thus, poverty measures in the countries of this area were broadly formed under these conditions.

National measures of poverty in this period often related to an absolute income based poverty definition fixing a social minimum or minimal subsistence level calculated by the national government (e.g. in Poland, in the Baltic States or also in Czech Republic and Slovakia) – see Milanovic, 1992; UNDP, 2000; Einasto, 2002; Paas, 2003; Tarkowska 2008. Nevertheless different measures emphasizing the material (possession of different items or the deprivation of material goods) and the relative face of poverty were also present in the academic and policy papers of several countries, for example Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Hungary. Indicators expressing subjective poverty (e.g. self-assessment of households on their own economic situation) are also quoted in some cases (Kutsar–Trumm, 1993).

Poverty measures of national policies often follow the trends and directives (approaches, definitions and indicators) of United Nations and EU. This tendency became widespread owing to the EU adhesion of 2000s in most of the countries of the region. Since then the use of, for example, Laeken indicators measuring financial poverty and inequalities (e.g. at-risk-of-poverty rate, persons living in jobless household, in-work poverty, S80/S20 income quintile share ratio, Gini coefficient, regional cohesion) became nearly sole in national and (European) community related policy papers, especially in recent documents (e.g. National Social Reports, National Strategic Reports on Social Protection, National Inclusion Strategies, National Reform Programmes).

Beside these aspects poverty is often regarded as being multidimensional in the academic and policy papers from the countries of the region. Indicators describing the multidimensionality of poverty usually represent the causes and the

accompanying phenomena of poverty such as measures describing socio-economic processes, educational attainment or unemployment. In this sense poverty is linked to the conception of social exclusion. Until the 2000s there was little understanding for social exclusion as such in many of the East Central European countries. Social exclusion was reduced to a problem of dysfunction of social systems (under the newly formed capitalist social relations) and often was replaced by poverty as a synonym of it. Social exclusion in the countries of the macro-region is often related to the „new" poverty, describing the manifestations of the negative consequences of socio-economic transformation (as unemployment, homelessness, housing, financial defects etc.) which cannot be treated by the same way like poverty (Stankuniene, 1998; Golinowska, 2009).

Later the recommendations of the European Commission or the United Nations Development Programme have become widely accepted in these countries as well (Aasland–Flotten, 2001; Paas, 2003; Rajevska, 2006). By following these recommendations the use of Laeken indicators of social exclusion also became frequented. However an indicator focused examination of some recent policy documents (e.g. National Social Reports, National Strategic Reports on Social Protection, National Inclusion Strategies, National Reform Programmes, Roma Integration Strategies) shows that the distribution of variables (by themes) indicating the risk of exclusion is quite unbalanced.

If we consider ESPON TiPSE domains as different factors of exclusion, we can find that most of the appearing indicators are connected to the '*Earning a living*' domain. Beside direct and indirect measures of available income (from income indicators itself to in-work poverty) many represented variables cover employment dimension – employment/unemployment and activity/inactivity rates (often by different social and demographic groups) are especially frequent. *Long-term unemployment* is also regarded in these documents as an important measure of social exclusion, while the *ratio of NEETs* or the *newly entered unemployed persons* are also mentioned in some cases.

Those indicators which can be related to the *access to basic services* domain appear also frequently in current policy papers. While healthy life expectancy is the most common indicator of health conditions, several other measures can be found in these reports and strategies about the accessibility of health services. Moreover, other indicators such as data on *healthcare expenditure* can also represent the health dimension of the domain. Among the frequently used measures of education dimension the indicator of educational attainment is the most common, and not just in general, but also in a detailed form (by demographic or activity categories). Other indicators related to this factor follow the 'education cycle': *accessibility of pre-school education*, *enrolment ratio*, *early-school leavers* and *participants in life-long learning*. Housing indicators are usually rare in East Central European policy documents, only some measures of housing tenure status or housing facilities are mentioned e.g. in

Polish or Slovakian papers. The issue of housing conditions is generally more stressful in Roma Inclusion Strategies.

Indicators in policy documents related to the exclusion factors of *social environment* can represent on the one hand some demographic aspects of population such as age structure and dependency rates (old age dependency). On the other hand, different measures of household characteristics (for example number of household members, household types) are also frequently used. From other potential dimensions illustrating the risk factors of exclusion from a social environment indicators related to social assistance can be mentioned (e.g. *social assistance benefit recipients and expenditure*, *indicators on social housing*, *accommodation facilities for homeless persons*). In recent East Central European policy documents the measures of *political participation* are extremely rare. Only some demonstrative cases can be mentioned from former years – *number of NGOs* in Poland, *number of refugees and repatriated persons* in Romania etc.

Beside recognizing the most frequently used SE indicators in a policy context, another key point in the measurement and interpretation of social exclusion in the East Central European and Balkan countries is that exclusion endangers social groups more than individuals. Belonging to underprivileged groups or minority social groups are connected to a higher risk of social exclusion (Tõkke, 2011). Thus, the identification of these multiply marginalized groups (like Roma population, people living in small villages, people with disabilities, families with children, children living in jobless households long-term unemployed) and the knowledge on the way they suffer from disadvantages is particularly important for the countries of the area (Trbanc, 2001; European Commission 2008; Tarkowska, 2008; Golinowska, 2009).

Policy programmes targeting poverty and social exclusion based on complex measures: the case of Hungary

Patterns of social exclusion are often represented through composite indices (of these dimensions), rather than using parallel measures of them (e.g. UNDP 2006). This way is followed by the Hungarian Government as well in designating the target areas of micro-regional policy programmes aiming the reduction of poverty and social exclusion.

Since the early 1990s the Hungarian Government defined regularly those areas (micro-regions and settlements) in the country whose socio-economic positions showed great lag behind other regions and which could be labelled as target areas of development programmes. In the first years after the change of regime only unemployment and generally bad socio-economic situation were considered as aspects of distinction. Later the directives of the Act XXI of 1996 on Regional development and regional planning changed the targeting system considering economic and social structural problems. Accordingly four types of beneficiary regions (LAU 1 units) were defined using complex measures: socio-economically

lagging micro-regions, micro-regions of industrial transformation, micro-regions of (agricultural) rural development, and micro-regions with high or long-term unemployment.

This targeting system was applied until the late 2000s with minor alterations. The most important reform of these territorially targeted development programmes was launched in 2007 by following the directions laid down within the second National Spatial Development Concept (Parliamentary Decree No. 97/2005. [XII.25.]). A government decree (Government Decree No. 67/2007. [VI. 28.]) determined the principles and the methodology of decentralization of development support creating a composite index for designating the socio-economically disadvantaged areas (LAU 1 units).

The shaping of the measure followed several principles: to form a coherent system, to use measurable, verifiable and public territorial indicators which are actually in relation with the socio-economic situation of micro-regions and to use a simple, transparent mode of calculation. The proxy variables used in this measure covers five major domains of advantaged or disadvantaged conditions: economic development (public and private economy, business environment – 8 indicators), infrastructure (communal infrastructure, ICT, accessibility – 9 indicators), demography and housing (income, dwellings, mortality, migration, urban/rural position – 6 indicators), social environment (ageing, educational attainment, social support – 5 indicators) and employment ([long-term] unemployment, activity – 3 indicators). However the spatial coverage of the above mentioned indicators and variables are good and it makes to be able to calculate even LAU 2 level indices as well, the composite index cannot be based on actual data as several variables come from the conventional population census (of 2001) – ratio of jobless households, educational attainment, activity rate, employment by sectors.

For calculating the complex measure of disadvantaged position micro-regions were ranked in case of every indicators according to the actual value of the variable. The ranges of indicators are divided into five parts from the most disadvantaged regions to the areas with the most favourable position (1 – lowest quintile, 5 – highest quintile). An average rank of micro-regions was then calculated in case of every domains and a composite index was created by having again the mean of these average values.

The targeted beneficiary geographical area was designated on a normative basis: the NSDC of 2005 maximised the rate of potentially beneficiary population (10% of the population of Hungary). The micro-regional ranking of the composite index (1,51–4,61) indicates the complex socio-economical positions in the country. 94 micro-regions were labelled as disadvantaged as their value of the complex measure could not reach the country average (2,90). 47 micro-regions were classified as the most disadvantaged ones – they cover the 15% of Hungarian population. Finally, 33 micro-regions were falling below the threshold of being potentially supported (most

disadvantaged 10% of population); therefore their territory became targeted by the Programme for the Most Disadvantaged Micro-Regions (MDM Programme).

National planning and operations were completed in 2007, followed by three months of on-the-spot programming. The funding of the micro-regional programmes was centrally determined, each micro-region knew in advance the total amount of support they were programming for and also the development themes they were supposed to cover. (These themes were also determined by the planners of the National Development Agency, but not strictly followed on-the-spot.) On-the-spot programming was assisted by external experts, who were also centrally funded. The process was supposed to be governed by micro-regional associations; their members – the mayors of municipalities – were expected to make consensus decisions, with the inclusion of the most disadvantaged villages and social groups, among them the Roma. The micro-regional programme was expected to consist of ranked project proposals, to be approved by a jury centrally at the National Development Agency. At least 25% of the funding was expected to cover "soft projects" supported by the ESF (European Social Fund). Social inclusion purposes were mainly supported within the MDM Programme by Child Protection Complex Projects, study-place projects, health care initiatives and teachers' further education as mandatory extensions of school infrastructural investments. Not only the projects impacted eligible areas, programme managements and co-ordination capacities were strengthened impacting the absorption capacities of the targeted 33 micro-regions effectively. Due to the direct and indirect impacts of the MDM Programme, per capita funding increased for 71% to the 103% of the national average (OSI 2011, Lőcsei 2013).

Conclusions

The interpretation of patterns of social exclusion in East Central Europe and the Balkan region is affected by some problems of data coverage and harmonization issues, however the outlined spatial patterns are reasonable to make several consequences about the general situation related to the different risks of exclusion in the macro-region. In the area there are many recognizable differences between countries concerning for instance the dimensions of employment, housing or educational attainment. In these sense the positions of South-Balkan countries (and Bulgaria, Romania) are more disadvantaged compared for example to Slovenia or the Czech Republic.

Within country differences also outline some spatial patterns with strong features in the macro-region. Urban–rural disparities and different forms of peripherality (mountainous and border regions, disfavoured accessibility within a country) both appear in the representation of risk factors of social exclusion. Besides, general regional structures of a country can also be recognized among the spatial patterns of exclusion in East Central Europe (e.g. West-to-East slopes in Slovakia, Poland and

in Hungary). They often outline multiply disadvantaged areas where many factors of potential exclusion endanger several groups of population (like Roma people). It can exist in interconnected border regions as well, like in the case of the Serbian–Bulgarian–Macedonian border region.

In academic discussion and policy context several approaches of interpreting poverty and social exclusion exist simultaneously in the countries of the macro-region. It was shaped by the political change of regimes and social and economic transformation in the 1990s where poverty and social exclusion have appeared in a special context or filled with a meaning differing from the previous interpretations. EU adhesion of these countries was naturally accompanied with the adaptation of trends and directives (approaches, definitions and indicators) of the community in understanding poverty and social exclusion. It was narrowed the diverse national approaches of the phenomena in a way, but made the policy context comparable among East Central European countries.

Measures appearing in policy documents of the countries of the macro-region show thematically a quite unbalanced picture. The dominance of indicators related to risks of exclusion in the domains of earning a living and access to basic services is salient. Among other it has its structural causes as these are those factors of potential exclusion which mostly affect the population of these countries. While presenting social environment is also an important element of interpreting risks of poverty and social exclusion, dimensions related to political participations are rather out of mainstream of the policy discourse in the area. Besides some experiments are also recognized which serve to interpret poverty and social exclusion through a complex understanding by using composite indices for the representation of the phenomena.

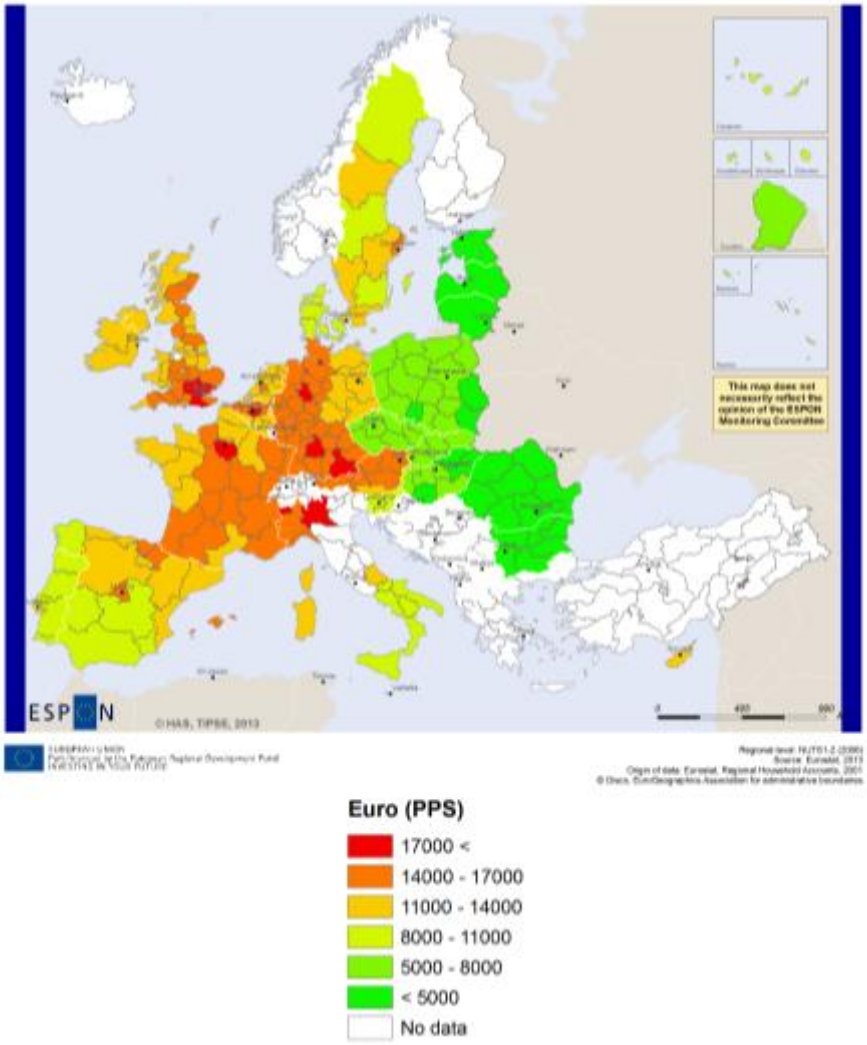
4 Comparing the outcomes of macro-regional and Europe-wide analyses 2001 and 2011 (in the second round)

4.1 The outcomes of comparisons: a synthetic picture of European social exclusion dimensions

The interpretation of regional differences of vulnerability to social exclusion within a separated macro-region does not directly reflect Europe-wide patterns of the phenomenon. Mosaics of this picture hold essential information on the elements, but understanding of the large structure of the complex system of inequalities related to risks of exclusion necessitates a "whole European" synthetic analysis by bringing these pieces together. By following the structure of macro-regional analyses, reflections on "local" information can be efficiently built in to the interpretation of Europe-wide spatial patterns.

Earning a Living

Distribution of income (as a representative measure of financial poverty) across Europe gives some basic evidence of different spatial patterns of risks related to poverty and social exclusion. Firstly, this aspect of "earning a living", clearly differentiates between the post-socialist Eastern European countries and the "old" member states of the European Union by showing the notable backwardness of the former ones – caused by the long-lasting different way of social and economic development, remained difficulties of the post-socialist transformation and the present condition of economic structures. (Lower income levels of East Germany have similar roots.) In spite of the fact that household income data is only available at NUTS 2 level it might reveal several differences within countries or bigger macro-regions of Europe. Beside this East–West income frontier the Mediterranean part of the continent also lags behind the most prosperous areas of Europe. Moreover, within these countries (e.g. Spain or Italy) the poorest regions are situated mostly in the southern parts of the states while northern areas (greater Basque country, Catalonia, Northern Italy) are traditionally wealthier e.g. because of the nearness to the economic core area of the European Union. Scandinavia also has a lag compared to Atlantic and Central Europe which seems to be the most prosperous part of the continent according to this measure. Nevertheless, these areas with generally higher income are far from being uniform. For instance in the Netherlands or Belgium only the biggest urban/metropolitan areas stand out from their surroundings. Higher income levels of the metropolitan regions also attribute Germany, France or the UK (and can be observed in Sweden or Spain as well).

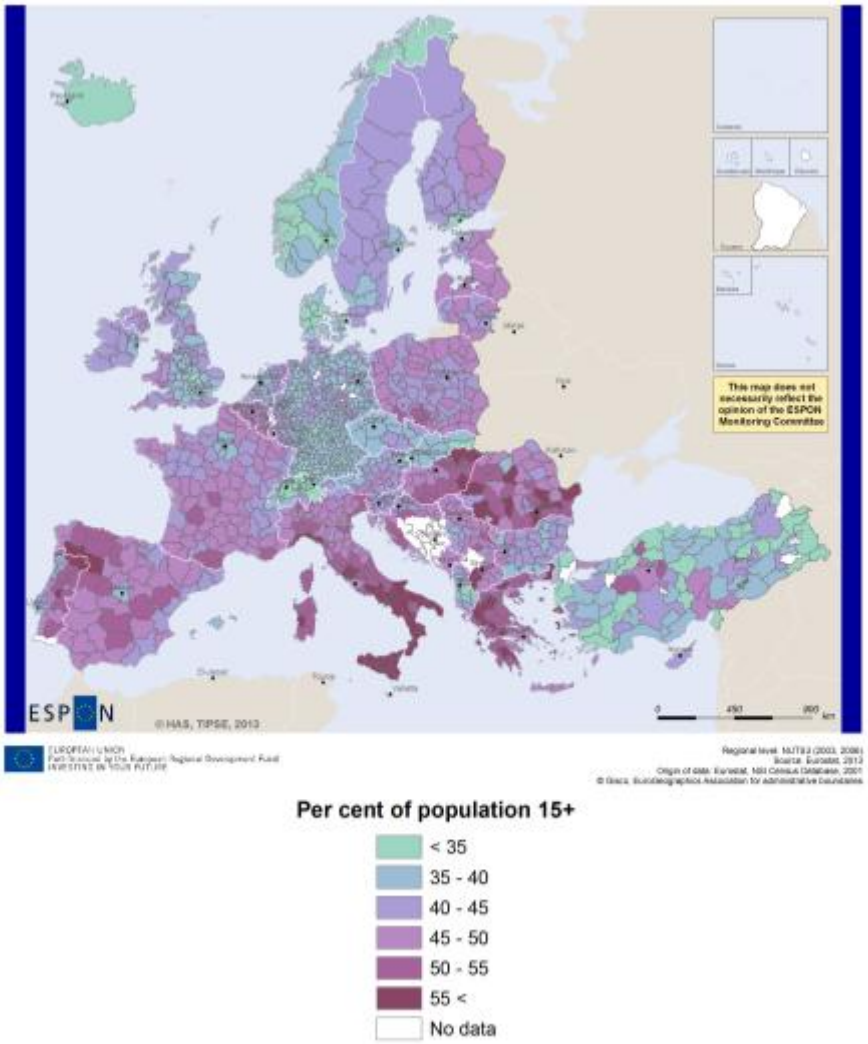


Map 29: Net Disposable Income per Capita, 2001

Low-skilled occupation status can also be regarded as a potential measure of exclusion from earning an adequate living since different kinds of jobs offer different financial possibilities according to the type of work, qualification, productivity or responsibility. Elementary occupations as defined by the ISCO classification unit can identify in a crude way those “working poor” who are potentially endangered by social exclusion due to their low qualification, immigrant status etc. (Although it should be noted that in many post-socialist countries people in non-elementary public sector jobs also belong to the working poor.) The rate of workers employed in elementary occupations slightly differentiates within many countries in Europe (for example, Finland, France, Hungary, Switzerland and the Baltic States), as a contrary, between country differences of this indicator of low-skilled workers are relatively high from Switzerland to Denmark and Germany. It indicates that the measure does not clearly draw the concentrations of working poor and is affected by harmonisation issues. In some countries (e.g. the Mediterranean ones) this ratio is quite high in the poorest regions but in others the more developed areas stand out more due to the generally

higher job supply – like in Germany. Besides, the concentration of people employed in elementary occupations is significantly low in most of the urban/capital regions of Europe, as metropolitan areas are concentrating high-quality, knowledge-intensive manufacturing and tertiary jobs. Although low-skilled occupation status can be considered as a symptom of social exclusion, these types of jobs have a huge role in controlling the increase of deep poverty and long-term unemployment.

Different patterns of *participation in or exclusion from economic activity* (the employment dimension of the "earning a living" domain) all show significant regional differentiation in Europe both within countries and among the certain states or between macro-regions of the continent. Exclusion from the active labour market participation illustrated by inactivity rates represents both the present condition ("health") and future potentials of labour force in a country.

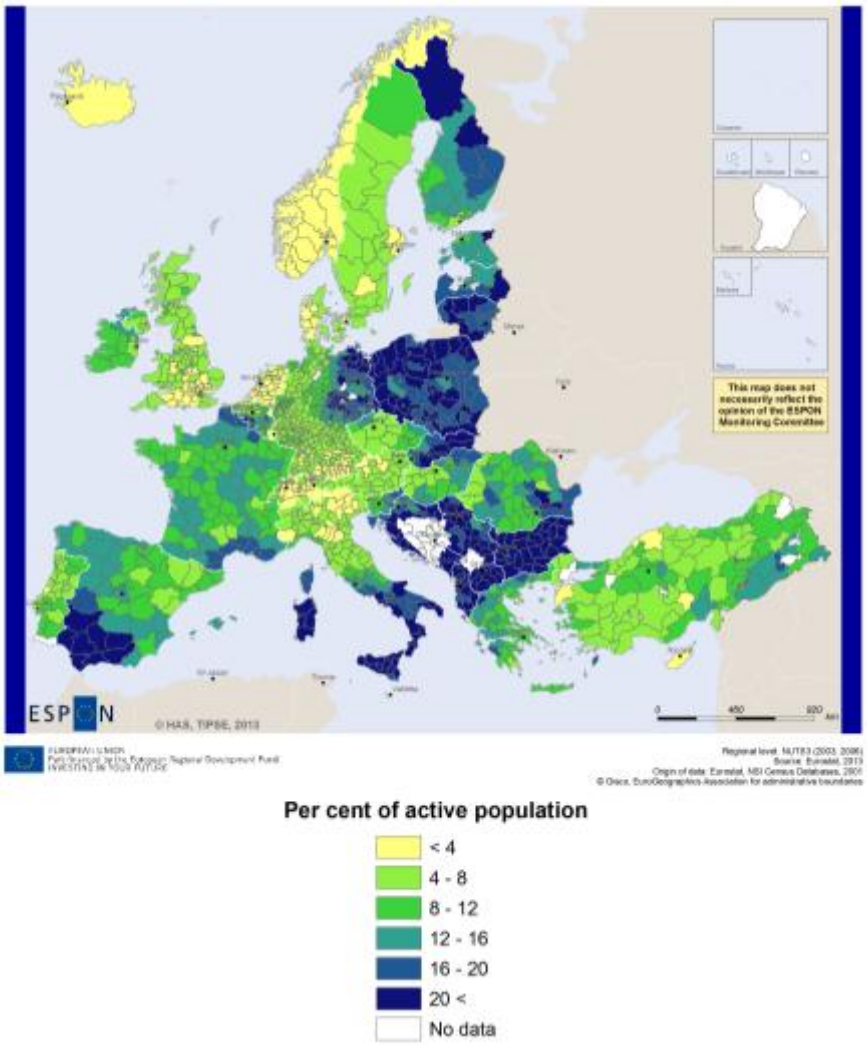


Map 30: Economic Inactivity Rate (Census), 2001

In this sense inactivity as a potential exclusion factor seem to be the most significant in Mediterranean and Eastern European countries, like in Italy, Hungary, Greece and Romania, where inactivity rate exceeds 50% in the majority of regions – outstandingly high inactivity levels can be observed in some areas of Portugal, Spain or Macedonia. Inactivity is not always a symptom of social exclusion. Where strong family ties or informal economy can "substitute" participation in economic activities there it indicates only exclusion from the primary labour market. There are some countries (Iceland, Germany, Norway, Denmark or Switzerland) where the proportion of inactive persons is quite low. (It does not characterize only Scandinavian or Atlantic/Central European states since activity levels are relatively high in the Czech Republic or in Slovakia as well.) In many countries the duality of prosperous economic or urban centres and rural or peripheral regions can be observed. This is also a potential snapshot of push-pull effects driven by long-term (decade-long) workforce migration tendencies. Beside rural regions, other areas can also be severely affected by these trends such as internal peripheries – remote or border areas – with higher rates of inactivity (like in the UK, France, Finland, Portugal, Spain or Poland) and lagging regions (in France, Germany, Italy, Poland or Hungary) with long-lasting structural economic problems caused for instance by the post-1990 deindustrialisation. Nevertheless, the advantage of urban areas is not totally clear in this sense. Those city regions show relatively higher inactivity rates – especially in East Central Europe –, where the concentration of inactive ageing population is high too.

Unemployment (or low employment), as the other form of exclusion from labour market beside inactivity, is characterised by different spatial patterns in Europe. The proportion of employed people among working-age population is the highest in three Scandinavian countries (Iceland, Sweden, Denmark) and in the Netherlandsl. Quite favourable employment/unemployment conditions can be observed in most of the countries of the Atlantic and Central part of Europe, especially in the wide zone of the European "economic core" from Northern Italy to the southern part of UK. Turkish regions also show relatively high rates of employment/moderate level of unemployment. Beside Mediterranean peripheries (in Spain, Italy or Greece), the level of exclusion from the direct participation in economic activity is the highest in post-socialist European countries and in Finland. Nevertheless, it is clear that in those countries where the quality of social security is more developed (e.g. Scandinavian states) being unemployed does not automatically mean being in a real risk of social exclusion. States of East Central Europe, the Baltic region and the Balkans – and East Germany which has followed the same path of social and economic development for decades – were highly affected by the long-lasting challenges of economic transformation (e.g. the permanent loss of job opportunities in agriculture and manufacturing industry and the relatively low level of flexibility to the changed market economic conditions). Rural and peripheral regions are especially disadvantaged compared to bigger cities and urban areas. Urban centres

and capital city regions in other parts of Europe are also among the areas with generally higher employment rates, but it does not guarantee that they would not have (sometimes quite severe) unemployment problems. Both Madrid, Dublin, London or Rome are affected by higher unemployment rates than their hinterlands.



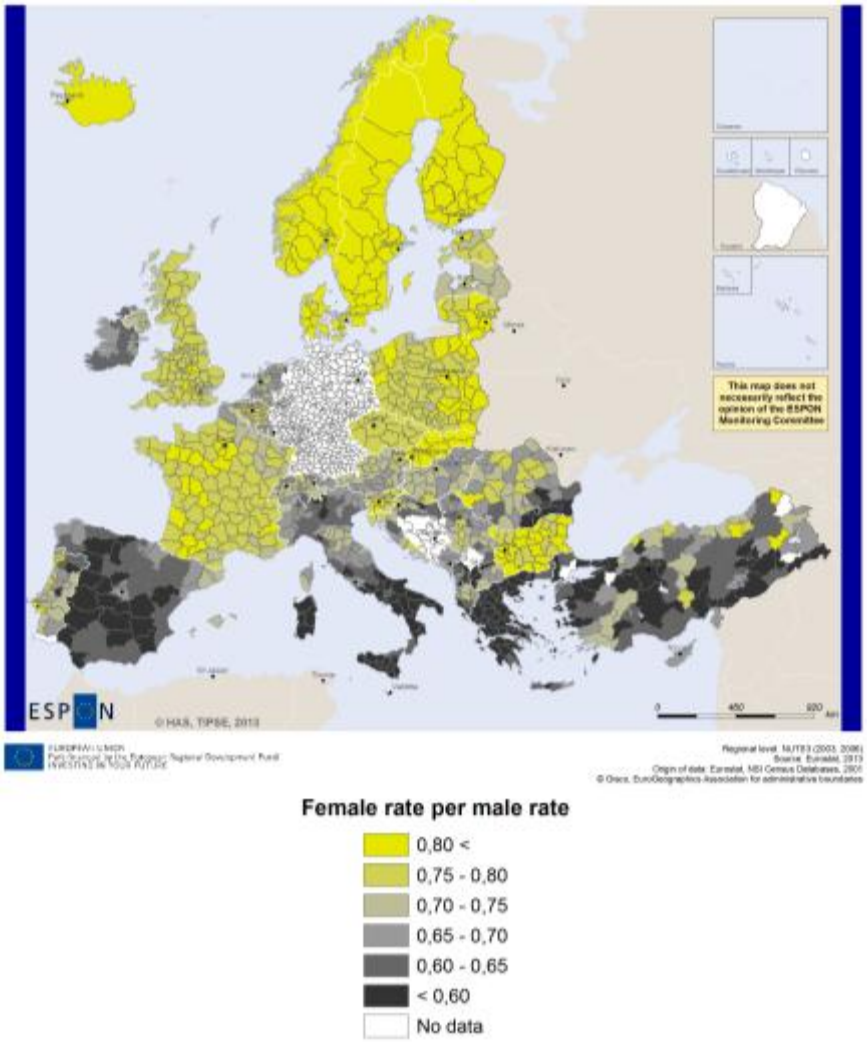
Map 31: Unemployment Rate (Census), 2001

Youth (15–24 years) unemployment rates are consistently higher in almost every parts of Europe than total unemployment rates, what indicates the vulnerability of this social group. It also predicts the dangers of their exclusion from participating in economic activities (negative impacts on well-being and health status, withdrawal from society – European Commission, 2013), and implies the existence of quite strong barriers in entering the labour market for the youth (e.g. in Greece). Beside these tendencies, the spatial patterns of youth unemployment are similar to that of total unemployment rates, following the same macro-regional and within country patterns. On the one hand, there are the Scandinavian and Atlantic/Central European regions or capital cities/urban areas with more favourable labour market

conditions, and on the other hand, there are some countries from the Mediterranean or Eastern part of Europe (from Spain to Italy, from Poland to FYROM) where many regions can be described with very low level of opportunities for young people searching for employment opportunities: for example, in some Balkan countries (Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Bulgaria) one young active person of two has no job.

Vulnerability to exclusion from labour market generally affects women more than men in most of the European countries (European Commission, 2010, 2013). Nevertheless, gender related differences of spatial patterns of participation in economic activity are complex and hard to interpret, since beside lower rates of direct participation women are usually more often faced the negative consequences of part-time work and lower payments too despite their generally higher level of qualification (European Commission, 2010). Higher inactivity and lower employment rates among women are consequences of remained or still living cultural factors – traditional role of men as breadwinners, especially in the catholicized and/or Mediterranean Europe, the Balkans and in Turkey. Besides, women also leave the labour market more often (e.g. for maternity leave or for family care) – even permanently, what has notable long-term negative impacts on their future perspectives (European Commission, 2013).

Differences between men and women in the participation of economic activities are the smallest in the Scandinavian states of Europe. Age-long traditions of getting over gender related discrimination have resulted in a close to parity situation in labour markets of the region. However, simply the higher female activity level and the more balanced female/male ratios do not actually mean a similarly favourable condition regarding employment opportunities in these areas. Female unemployment rates (compared to male rates) are significantly higher in Finland, Iceland, many regions of Norway and Sweden and especially in Denmark than in other parts of Europe (for instance the UK, the Baltic states, Slovakia, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary or Turkey). The more balanced situation of unemployment conditions in these latter countries is two-faced. In some countries, for example in the United Kingdom, Slovakia or Bulgaria it effectively indicates the lower level of gender related labour market disparities as differences between male and female activity/inactivity rates are also moderate. Similar unemployment rates (or even higher male rates as a consequence of deindustrialization processes of post-socialist transformation) in several East Central European countries (Hungary, Romania) and especially in Turkey only indicate the lower level of attendance of women in economic activities, since female inactivity rates are also quite high compared to male rates. In most of the Mediterranean countries both activity/inactivity and employment/unemployment conditions show a significantly unbalanced situation between men and women (but not a directly higher risk of female exclusion).



Map 32: Activity Gender Gap (Census), 2001

Contrary to these mostly macro-regional or between country variations, female-male labour market differences are evenly high or low within most of the countries. Greater variations can be observed for example in Romania, Portugal, France, Turkey, some Balkan countries etc. A discovered pattern is the diverse ratios of female-male disparities in urban and in rural regions. The gap between female and male labour market participation is wider in rural than urban areas. At the same time, urban areas can be featured with lower levels of gender related inequalities and discrimination resulted in a quite balanced picture, as it is exposed for instance in the case of many capital city regions like Lisbon, Paris, Dublin, Zagreb, Belgrade and in the Polish urban centres.

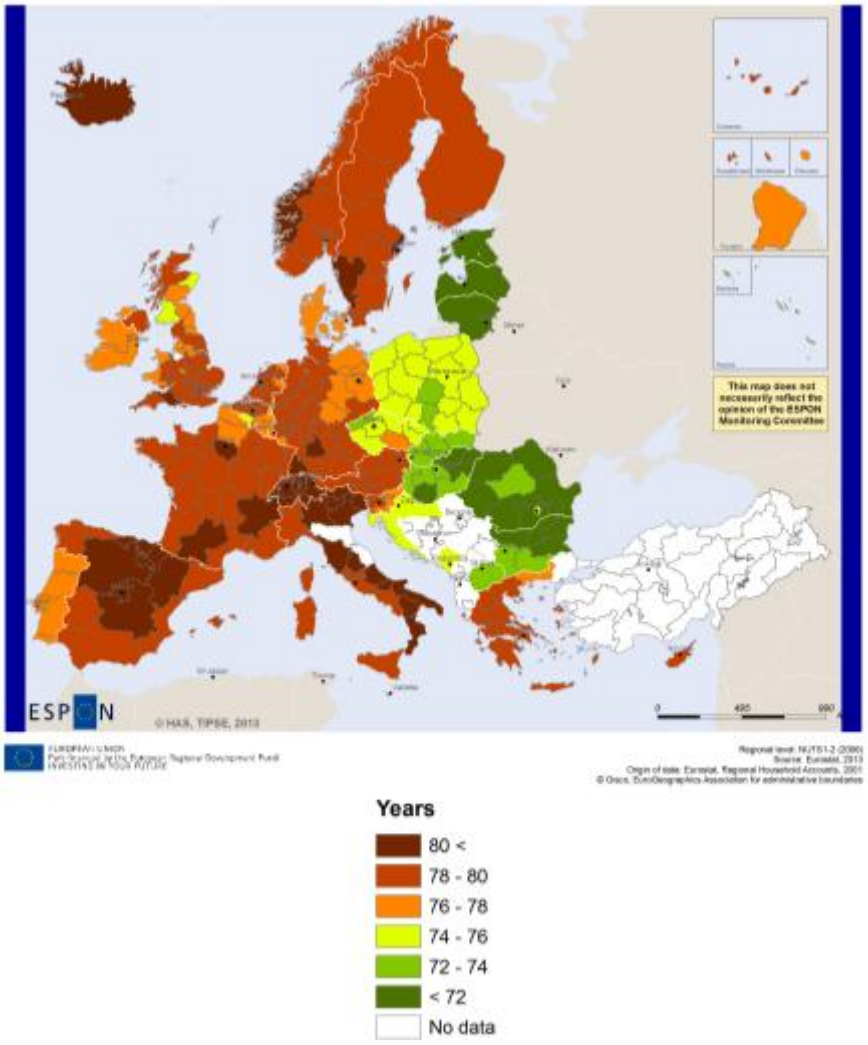
Access to Basic Services

The lack of access to different services (healthcare or education, poor housing) and their consequences (poor health or educational outcomes) are important dimensions

of social exclusion (European Commission, 2013). In preventing exclusion *the quality and quantity of healthcare facilities* is essential, and it can also be an indirect measure of contributing to the *provisions for a healthy life*. Indicators of health infrastructure (and personnel) – measures of preventing exclusion – show a very mixed picture in Europe. Clear spatial patterns are hard to discover as these indicators are affected by harmonisation issues among countries and they also mirror the different way of organization of national health services. Some basic evidences can be described by all means. The relative number of hospital beds (per 100 thousand persons) is significantly higher in France, Germany, in many East Central European countries like the Czech Republic, Hungary or Romania, In the Baltic States or Finland. Conversely the values of this measure are significantly lower in other parts of Scandinavia, in the Mediterranean countries or in the Netherlands. Another indicator on the level of access to health services, the number of health personnel shows different spatial patterns. Generally the highest the relative number of doctors or physicians is in Italy, in some parts of Germany, Austria, France, Spain or Greece – while the United Kingdom, Romania, Poland or the Netherlands are those countries which seem to be lack of medical professionals. A further spatial pattern, more reliable to be interpreted, is the notably favourable positions of capital city regions and other urban areas (as it can be seen at NUTS 2 level). This fact is not strange as these regions are centres of organizing (health) services in a country and they usually provide a much better access to healthcare facilities (and in some cases they offer nation-wide coverage by specialized institutions. This pattern can be observed in several countries, among others in Norway, Sweden, France, Germany, Hungary, Romania, Portugal etc., contrary to Spain, where the concentration of health personnel is quite low in the surroundings of the capital city, Madrid.

However, this quantitative information on health infrastructure is not always in correlation with healthy life provisions. Good examples of that are the Netherlands or the Scandinavian states where healthy life expectancy is quite good despite the seemingly unfavourable values of access to health services indicators – potentially due to advanced technical progress in medical treatment, the presence of effective health policies etc. Risk of exclusion from achieving a long and healthy life is determined by many social and economic factors and is often related to poverty as well. In this regard notable differences can be observed between the western part of Europe (the old member states of the European Union) and the post-socialist countries of Eastern Europe. Healthy life expectancy has increased in these latter countries since (and before) the economic and social changes of the 1990s, but it is a slow procedure (even stagnating), and in some cases revere trends can also be discovered (e.g. in the Baltic States). Among the new member states of the European Union the most affected countries by the danger of significantly shorter healthy life expectancy are Hungary, Romania, Bulgaria and the Baltic States. In Western Europe some Northern (peripheral) regions of UK, Ireland, Portugal, Denmark and East Germany are those areas where the chance of living a long and

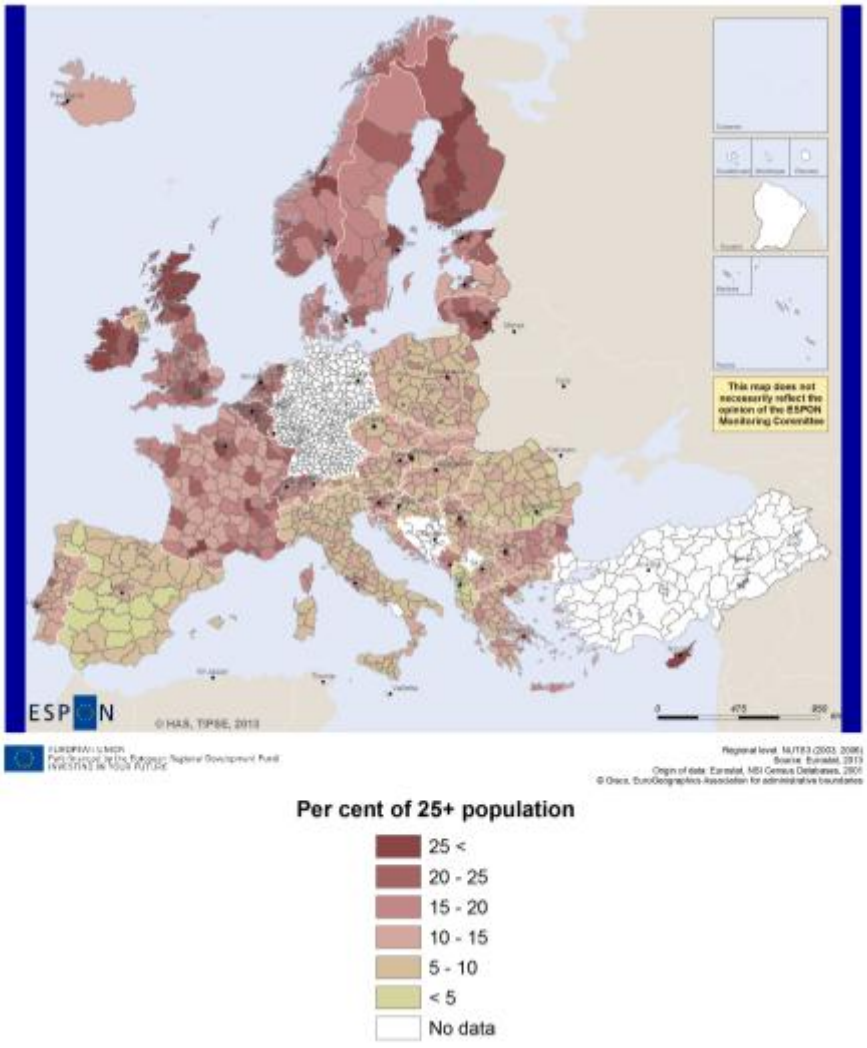
healthy life is lower. Provisions of a healthy life are equally high in many other parts of Europe, but expectancies are reaching maximums in Iceland, in Switzerland and in many regions of Spain and Italy.



Map 33: Healthy Life Expectancy at Birth, 2001

Exclusion from the *access to education services* influences other dimensions of social exclusion (and poverty) in many respect. For instance those who have achieved only a low level of qualification, have a huge starting handicap in labour markets which potentially leads to further superposition of exclusion factors (e.g. financial poverty). A quite direct and reliable measure of exclusion from access to education services is the concentration of low qualified population. Nevertheless, the data used (which is mainly from Eurostat database) follows the standards of ISCED, extreme levels (more than 70%) of concentration of people with low qualification (attained only ISCED 0-1-2 levels) can be measured in Portugal, Spain, Slovakia or in some regions of the Netherlands for the year 2001. These examples draw attention to some harmonisation problems of the indicator, especially in the case of

the two latter countries since their neighbours (Belgium and the Czech Republic, respectively) are among the countries with the lowest ratios of population excluded from education, furthermore Slovakia and the Czech Republic have constituted one state for seventy years. Other clear patterns are: a differentiation between Northern and Southern (Mediterranean) countries, the higher proportions of low qualified population in peripheral and traditionally poor regions of several countries (e.g. in Hungary, Bulgaria or Greece) and the lower presence of low educated population in almost every capital city region and other urban areas.



Map 34: Ratio of Population with High Qualification, 2001

This latter tendency is more highlighted by analysing spatial patterns of another (and more indirect) measure of risk of social exclusion derived from educational attainment, the concentrations of the proportion of people who attain a high level of qualification (ISCED 5-6). Capital cities and larger urban centres usually concentrate the largest numbers of highly educated population, as they have better opportunities

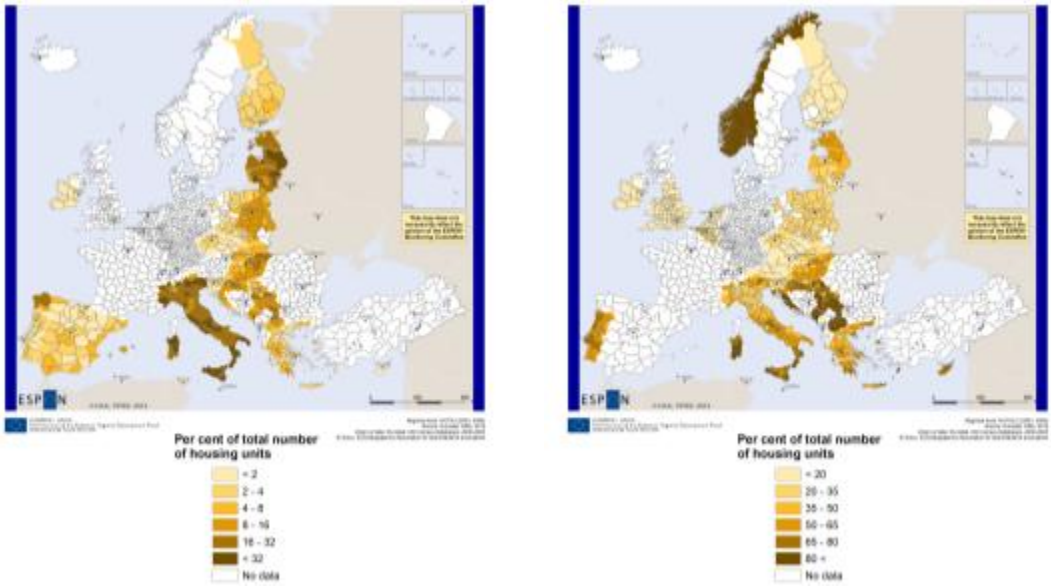
for earning a living there due to the concentration of economic activities (needing high qualification). Besides, capital cities and other towns are usually the headquarters of universities what is also a pull factor for the concentration of highly qualified population. Contrarily, rural and remote areas within a country are more vulnerable to exclusion from accessing this type of services due lower accessibility of higher education centres. Europe-wide spatial patterns uncover the more favourable positions of Scandinavia and Atlantic Europe compared to the Mediterranean part of the continent or to Eastern European countries owing to cultural differences, longer traditions of higher education or the state of economic development as well. (At the same time, post-socialist states are less disadvantaged in this sense than Mediterranean countries.)

Inadequate housing is an important factor of social exclusion as it affects people in their everyday life by limiting their access to different services and a comfortable way of life. Different social groups, such as elderly people or children (in big or lone parent families), are more vulnerable to bad housing quality – unhealthy, unsafe housing conditions (European Commission, 2013). Inequalities of housing conditions in Europe are hard to discern on the one hand, because of the poor coverage of available data (from censuses and housing registers). On the other hand, potential definitional effects can also be seen in many housing data types determined by how housing facilities are grouped or how housing units are counted. Therefore, where housing data is available it does not differentiate "well" between countries in many cases, while within country differences are often low. Thirdly, housing conditions are also related to different traditions of the built environment and different traditions of the housing market in Europe, and their variations should not always be regarded as a factor of exclusion, making the comparison of countries from different macro-regions of the continent tricky.

Nevertheless, there are some evidences available for the interpretation of risks of social exclusion in this dimension. Connection to the public water supply system, availability of bathroom (with bath or shower) or indoor flush toilet are not simply comfort services but the parts of the basic installations of housing units in most of the countries of Europe. In this way these measures (indicators of the lack of these facilities) contribute after all to shed light on social exclusion patterns – as crowding of housing units do as well. Where data is available and the comparison is plausible, basic patterns show the more favourable positions of Atlantic and Scandinavian countries while the Mediterranean region and the eastern part of Europe are generally more endangered by the lack of sufficient housing conditions. Within country variations also confirm that generally poorer and handicapped areas are affected by worse housing conditions. Such patterns can be observed for example in Italy, Serbia, Hungary, Poland or Greece.

Another significant dimension of spatiality of housing differences is urban-rural variation. In towns, larger urban areas and capital cities the quality of housing is generally better, the supply of access to different housing services is usually higher.

Contrary to rural or remote areas (especially in Eastern European countries), where the lower availability of adequate housing actually indicates higher potentials of exclusion. Urban–rural variations are more balanced in developed regions of Europe, and it implies that certain aspects of social exclusion do not originate from rural life, if it offers similar services that are available in urban areas. Other patterns are more affected by natural endowments or cultural factors, for instance higher proportions of housing units without central heating in the Mediterranean area (or in Norway), are not automatically related to higher level of exclusion. Other measures such as useful floor space per occupant significantly differentiates between certain countries, but the minimum triple values of average floor space in Norway compared to that of Romania are rather illustrative and they do not imply threefold exclusion in the latter.



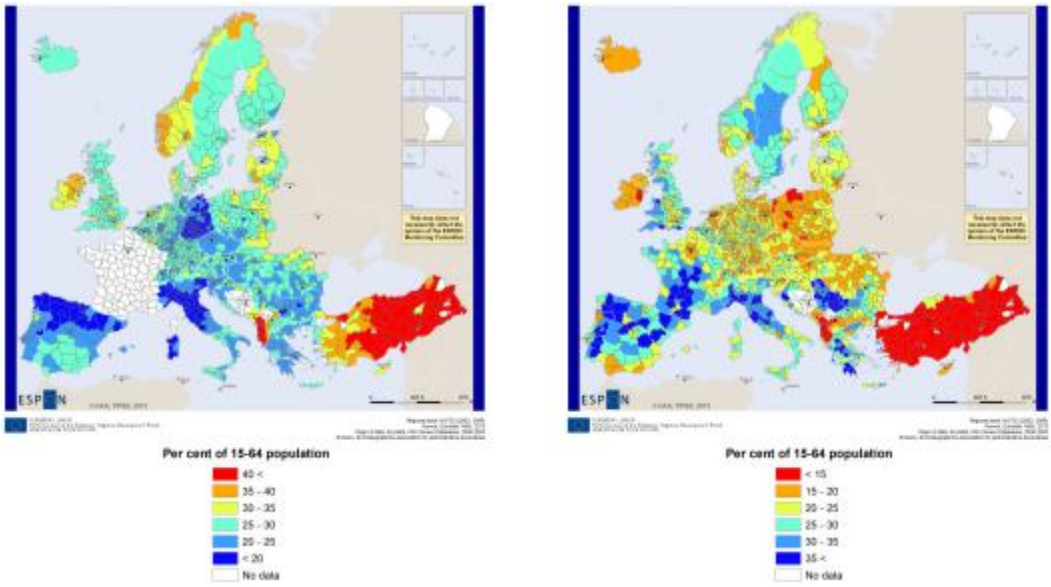
Map 35: Ratio of Housing Units without Water Supply System (l) and Central Heating (r), 2001

Social Environment

In the social environment domain of social exclusion the dimension of *age structure* serves as a marker of different demographic attributes of population related to exclusion factors. On the one hand, it helps to identify the concentrations of vulnerable social groups such as elderly people or children (European Commission, 2013). On the other hand, it also represents the “pressure” on active population whose support is essential for the former ones. Future provisions of that can also be highlighted, regarding for example the already growing ratio of pensioners (European Commission, 2010).

Child dependency rates are notably affected by cultural factors. In Turkey or Albania (both two are Muslim countries) age structure is quite juvenile owing to a significant

demographic dynamism. The case that every two working-age people count one young-aged one is not a direct measure of vulnerability to exclusion, however the risk of facing with poverty or the different forms of social exclusion is higher if the ratio of active persons and young dependents are unbalanced in less developed countries (see for example larger families and households). In some Mediterranean countries the answer for this challenge was a “reduction of births” family strategy in order to preserve a higher standard of living. It resulted in that child dependency rates were the lowest in this region of Europe in the 2000s, and especially low in the northern parts of Spain and Italy. Likewise, extremely low values of child dependency rates in the eastern part of Germany are probably the consequences of decade long depression of the area – e.g. outmigration of the productive population. In contrast, some other impoverished and typically rural regions, especially in East Central Europe (Romania, Hungary or Slovakia), can be characterized with higher rates of dependency. Urban areas can usually be described with lower child dependency rates – higher concentration of working-age population due to the wider possibilities of economic and social activities – and not just in the eastern part of the continent, but in Western Europe too. Here (and this is a more or less region-specific trend), in the surroundings of bigger cities with lower rates of child dependency, the concentration of young population is significantly higher, which is a potential consequence of suburbanization processes.



Map 36: Child (l) and Old Age (r) Dependency Rates, 2001

Old age dependency rates are usually high in the northern part of Spain and Italy, in Portugal and in the southern regions of France (a result of the above mentioned trends, but also of “migration to sunbelt” processes as well – European Commission, 2010). The concentration of old aged (65 years or more) population is also very high in the depression areas of some Balkan countries, for example in Serbia or in the

North-western part of Bulgaria. The situation is quite similar in rural and peripheral regions of the UK and some areas of Scandinavia. In Germany, Austria, Switzerland and in the most of post-socialist member states of the European Union old age dependency rates were relatively balanced in the 2000s with the provisions of accelerating ageing processes in the latter countries. Furthermore, several urban areas in East Central Europe, for example Budapest, Warsaw and other Polish big cities, are already affected by higher old age dependency rates. In contrast with this trend, the pressure on the active age cohort is usually lower in metropolitan areas and capital city regions of Western Europe. Due to their juvenile age structure, old age dependency rates are “naturally” low in Turkey, Macedonia or Albania.

The dimension of *ethnic composition* dimension of social condition exclusion domain is important for understanding several social processes connected with social exclusion; however it is hard to draw continent-wide patterns because of the lack of reliable data. Indigenous and immigrated minority groups are often affected by material and financial deprivation, they are less active in the participation in labour market (e.g. due to their lower qualification rates), and they also often face health or housing problems and other potential factors of exclusion (European Commission, 2013). The most populous indigenous ethnic minority group in Europe is Roma. Roma people are present in almost every countries of East Central Europe and in the Balkan states, while they form greater concentrations in Western Europe, especially in Spain, France and Italy. The proportion of Roma is hard to calculate in this region, data on them (actually including groups with other ethnic background) is only actually available in Ireland (as Irish travellers). In Eastern Europe the absolute number of Roma is remarkable in Romania or Bulgaria, and the ratio (but the number too) of Roma people is quite high in some rural regions in Hungary, Slovakia, Serbia, which often coincide with the most impoverished areas of these countries. The proportion of Roma is generally lower in bigger urban regions of these states, while for example in Romania or FYROM there is a greater concentration of Roma people in capital city regions as well.

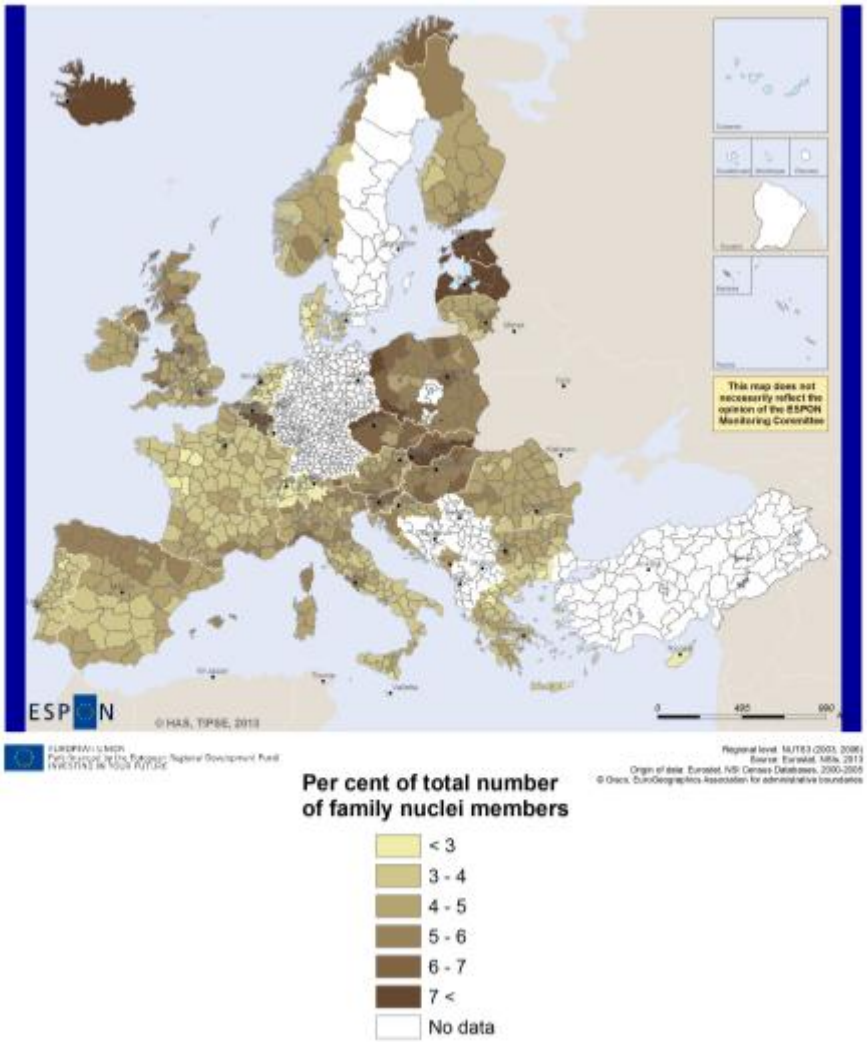
Other spatial mosaics of ethnic minorities endangered by exclusion are hard to recognise as national governments do not collect any statistics on ethnicity in many cases (e.g. in Sweden). Lack of data in the case of spatial analysis of *immigrant population* is an obstacle as well, especially in those countries which are actually the greatest receivers of international migration flows, for instance, Germany, France, Italy or Spain (except for the United Kingdom in which data is supplied). Other countries supplied by information on foreign-born population can hardly be compared to each other because the history and background of the current situation might be quite different; although observable ratios can be similar. And in some cases it has no connection to social exclusion factors. For example in Ireland the greatest proportion of immigrants are presumably Irish from Northern Ireland (as of the early 2000s). In the Baltic States the ratio of foreign-born population is also quite high, especially in capital city regions. Here most of the (former) immigrants are Russians,

arrived there in the Soviet era, forming strong social ties within their group, but politically excluded by the nation states in some respects. Greater variations of the ratio of foreign-born population in the Balkan countries and higher value of immigrants in Cyprus are more stressed cases of international migration, thus they are affected more by the risks of social exclusion. As a consequence of Balkan wars in the 1990s and Turkish invasion of Cyprus in 1974 ethnic composition of these countries was rearranged – for example many people were forced to leave their place of birth or return to it. More classical target areas of international migration (where immigrants arrive at in the hope of finding a better way of earning a living) are the United Kingdom, Scandinavian countries, Spain, France and Greece. Here, capital cities and major urban areas are represented by the highest ratios of foreign-born population as they are the "gateways" for immigrants. In these areas a majority of migrants (especially from outside the EU) can often be in worse employment relations, possibly only in the grey zone of labour market (European Commission, 2010).

Household structure is among those dimensions which have a potentially close and direct connection with vulnerability to social exclusion. In many countries being a member of a lone parent family is a multiple risk factor in facing with poverty and social exclusion compared to other household types – greater risk of overburdening housing costs etc. (European Commission, 2013). For single parents it means that they are the only breadwinners in the family and a negative change of their labour market status endangers the complete living of the household. Children with a poorer background start with a serious handicap which potentially influences their perspectives negatively, starting at the first stages of education (cf. the educational statistics referred to earlier in this part). Beside these risk factors, the recent spread of lone parent families is also a consequence of recomposed family structures (European Commission, 2013), driven by economic and social changes of the past decades. In this way, ratio of lone parents is higher in most of the urban regions of European countries (e.g. in the UK, Ireland, Bulgaria, Poland, France, Hungary or the Netherlands). In bigger cities the number of divorces and couples living in consensual union is also higher (increasing the risk of evolution of single parent families), but childcare facilities, rented accommodation and part-time employment possibilities are more available for lone parents there. Single parent household and family rates tend to be higher in East Central European countries (from Slovenia to Poland) or in the Baltic States, and reach a quite high value in some Scandinavian areas (e.g. Iceland, the northern part of Norway) or in Belgium too. Due to presumed cultural factors lone parent household and family rates are lower in the Mediterranean countries.

Big household size indicates a similar risk of social exclusion than lone parent families (working-age people cohabitating with more dependents). Nevertheless, it is even more affected by cultural factors, like in Albania, Ireland, Poland or Turkey, where not only average household sizes are bigger, but also the ratio of

“overcrowded” (6+ members) households is higher. Those regions where household size is the most associated with vulnerability to social exclusion are mostly from the rural areas of East Central Europe and the Balkans (Slovakia, Romania, Serbia or Hungary), where a higher concentration of Roma population can also be observed. Rural and more impoverished regions from the Mediterranean Europe can also be characterized with bigger average household size (e.g. in the central and southern parts of Spain, in Southern Italy or some regions of Portugal and Greece). Average household size is usually smaller in (wealthier) urban areas where the ratio of 6+ member households is quite low too (like in Amsterdam, Vienna, Zagreb, Budapest or the bigger cities of Poland).

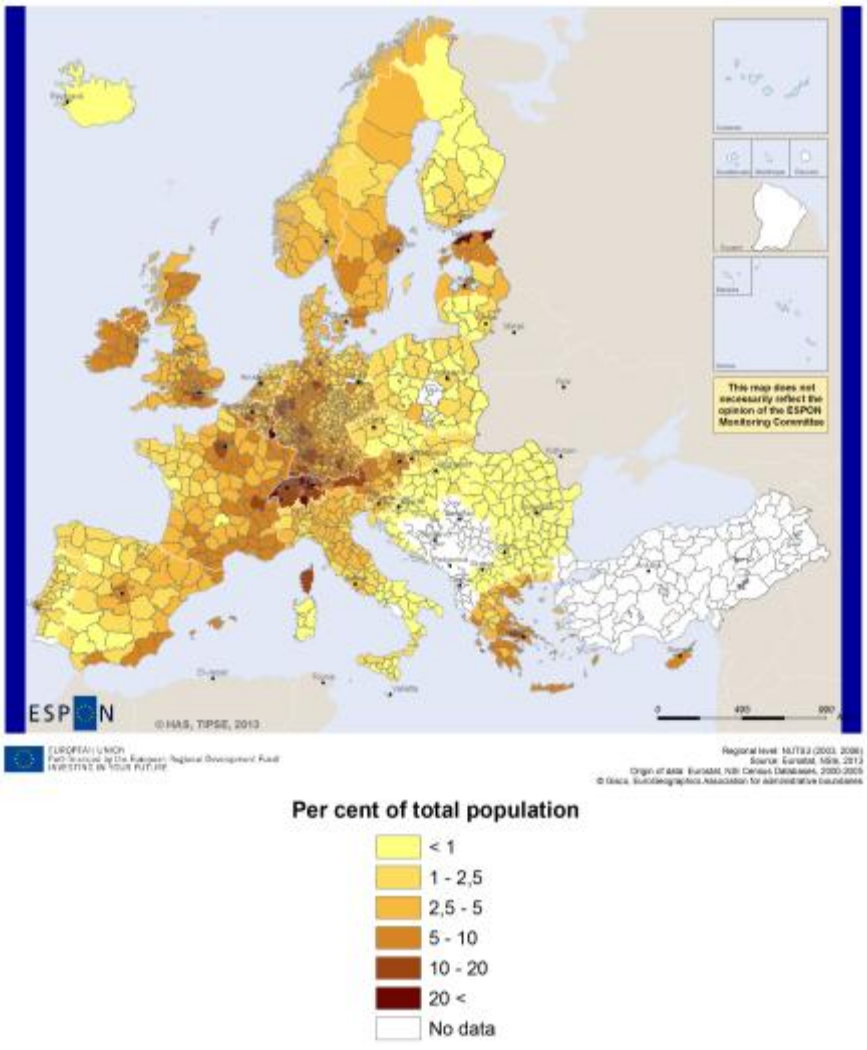


Map 37: Ratio of Lone Parents, 2001

Political Participation

Political participation domain of social exclusion in this analysis does not cover the interpretation of political interests of societies or the conditions of real participation in

decision-making (or the risk of exclusion from it). The indicator used for representing political participation in an indirect way is the measure of *citizenship* (specifically the ratio of foreign citizens in a country) which can be a proxy indicator of possessing the rights of being the citizen of a given country (and the exclusion from them), and which is supplied with good regional level data coverage. In Europe there is a quite big difference between Western European countries and post-socialist states (both members and candidates) of the EU. These latter are not preferred target areas of international migration, while the notable high proportion of foreign citizens in other parts of Europe is mostly associated with that. The exceptions of that are the three Baltic States where most of the Russian migrants from the Soviet era (and their descendants) have not gained the citizenship after the breakup of USSR.



Map 38: Ratio of Non-Citizen Population, 2001

The ratio of non-citizen population is remarkable in Luxembourg (more than 10% of inhabitants of the country hold Portuguese citizenship) and in Switzerland where financial services activities of international companies are concentrated. Other

international economic centres (and their surroundings) such as London, Paris, Brussels, Madrid or several German cities are attractive target areas of international migration as well, and the ratios of foreign citizens are high accordingly. Nevertheless, it is typical of other urban areas too (in Scandinavia or even in East Central European countries) providing high job supply, similarly to some areas with significant touristic or manufacturing profile. Besides, the concentration of foreign citizen population can be observed in border or coastal regions which are other entering points of immigration flows in many regions, for example in Greece, in the southern part of Spain or France, but not in Italy (except for Sicily) where primarily the northern areas of the country are more attractive to foreigners.

4.2 The synthesis of European spatial patterns of social exclusion

The analysed dimensions of social exclusion domains outline different spatial patterns in Europe, however they often coincide with each other. As a result of that, four main types of geographical patterns with strong but often interrelated features can be described:

(i) Differences between macro-regions and countries – caused by the different ways of social and economic development processes, often influenced by cultural effects too;
(ii) Urban–Rural disparities – differentiating between urban areas and rural zones on the ground of the vulnerability to various social exclusion factors;
(iii) Different patterns of peripherality – highlighting the role of favourable or unfavourable relative location beyond the urban–rural dichotomy;
(iv) Place specific patterns of risks of social exclusion – identifying local depression areas affected by multiple dimensions of exclusion (or in other cases, proof against exclusion)

The unique characteristics or combined influence of these four basic patterns cannot explain every aspects of social exclusion in Europe. Nevertheless, their detailed analysis completed with the exploration of the differences and similarities of macro-regional appearance of exclusion patterns contributes to an established knowledge on the spatiality of the phenomenon.

Differences between macro-regions and countries

Differences of social exclusion patterns between countries or groups of countries are characteristic configurations in the interpretation of spatiality of the phenomenon under discussion in Europe. These differences are notably determined by long-term development paths of the countries. Current economic situation, quality of social infrastructure and many features of social environment are more or less snapshots of

these tendencies (also reporting the “global” positions of regions within a defined spatial system like Europe). Social exclusion patterns between countries are also related to the different nature of European welfare regimes (Talbot et al. 2012) to be reflected on in the further course of this ESPON project. The possibility of that given socio-economic conditions somehow become risks of social exclusion and the vulnerability of inhabitants to unfavourable life situations are influenced by answers given by national governments and national and regional policies. The ways how the care for dependents is managed or the distribution of supports is organized directly affect population facing different challenges of making a living. Terms of access to healthcare or other public services and institutions also influence indirectly the chances of coping with difficulties causing a danger of exclusion by regulating the background conditions of possible actions – for example the ease of entering (or leaving) the active labour market (European Commission, 2010).

The most notable differences, in this sense run between Eastern Europe (East Central Europe, the Baltic States and the Balkan countries as well) and the other parts of the continent (compared especially to the Atlantic countries or Scandinavia). The extant lag (behind Western economies and societies) and the more increased risk of exclusion of countries in the region were deepened after the changes of regimes in the early 1990s due to the infiltration of the market economy and in many cases neo-liberal policy agendas. Challenges caused by the social and economic transformation of the past decades were accompanied by the weakness (and weakening) of several social institutions (low representation of civil society, defects of social security). These disadvantages are expressed by both the possibilities of earning a living (low disposable income) and labour market conditions. On the one hand, rates of participation in economic activity are quite unfavourable: beside the generally lower employment and higher unemployment rates, values of inactivity indicators of some countries (Hungary, Romania, FYROM) are also outstandingly high in Europe. On the other hand, human capital indices (proportion of inhabitants with low/high qualification) related to labour market expectations are also worse compared to the north-western part of the continent. Housing conditions (facilities etc.) and the access to different services also show the backwardness of Eastern Europe, however not in every dimension, as the quantitative measures of access to health services exemplify. At the same time, expectancy of a healthy life in the area is the worst among the groups of countries, what indicates a more correct reading of the phenomenon in this regard. Moreover, various aspects of social environment (e.g. that the region is not a target area of immigration, different features of household composition, the presence of Roma population) makes the macro-region to be differentiated from the Western European states.

Apart from East-West differences, the Mediterranean Europe also has such characteristics (different from other groups of countries) which tend to illusory indicate a more significant risk of exclusion in many respects compared to Western and Northern states. However, several of the most notable features of that are also

associated with labour market conditions related to the peculiarities of Southern welfare regimes – for instance, high labour cost, the ratio of social spending or the male breadwinner model, strong family ties etc. (Talbot et al. 2012). Although unemployment rates are (generally higher but) conspicuous only in depressive areas of these countries, participation rates in labour market – measured by inactivity – are almost uniformly low in the area (except for Turkey). Moreover, gender related labour market differences are especially high in the area. In many regions of the Mediterranean countries female activity and employment rates do not reach even the half of the male rates, while the inactivity and unemployment rates of women raise up to twice as high as that of men (or more in the case of the former in Turkey). Like many Eastern European countries, Mediterranean states are also affected by higher ratios of low qualified inhabitants, thus by less highly qualified working force. In contrast to these unfavourable conditions, the expectancy of a healthy life is surpassingly high in the Mediterranean member states of the European Union. At the same time, the ratio of old-aged dependents (who are naturally already inactive) is also very high, making an increasing pressure on active society. Contrary to other countries of the Mediterranean area (and the whole Europe) old age dependency rates are low and child dependency rates are high in Turkey. This variation is largely affected by differing cultural factors in the Mediterranean area what is a quite common feature of shaping other dimensions of social environment as well – and makes it differentiated from other regions of Europe.

Cultural, religion-related or other effects rooting in “local” historical specifities of a given country or group of countries can be observed in many other dimensions of social exclusion too, but they do not always frame big differences among countries or groups of countries. In other cases only one or two countries show unique features as compared to their surroundings (e.g. household structure in Ireland, favourable employment and qualification conditions in the Czech Republic or the ratio of foreign citizens in the Baltic States).

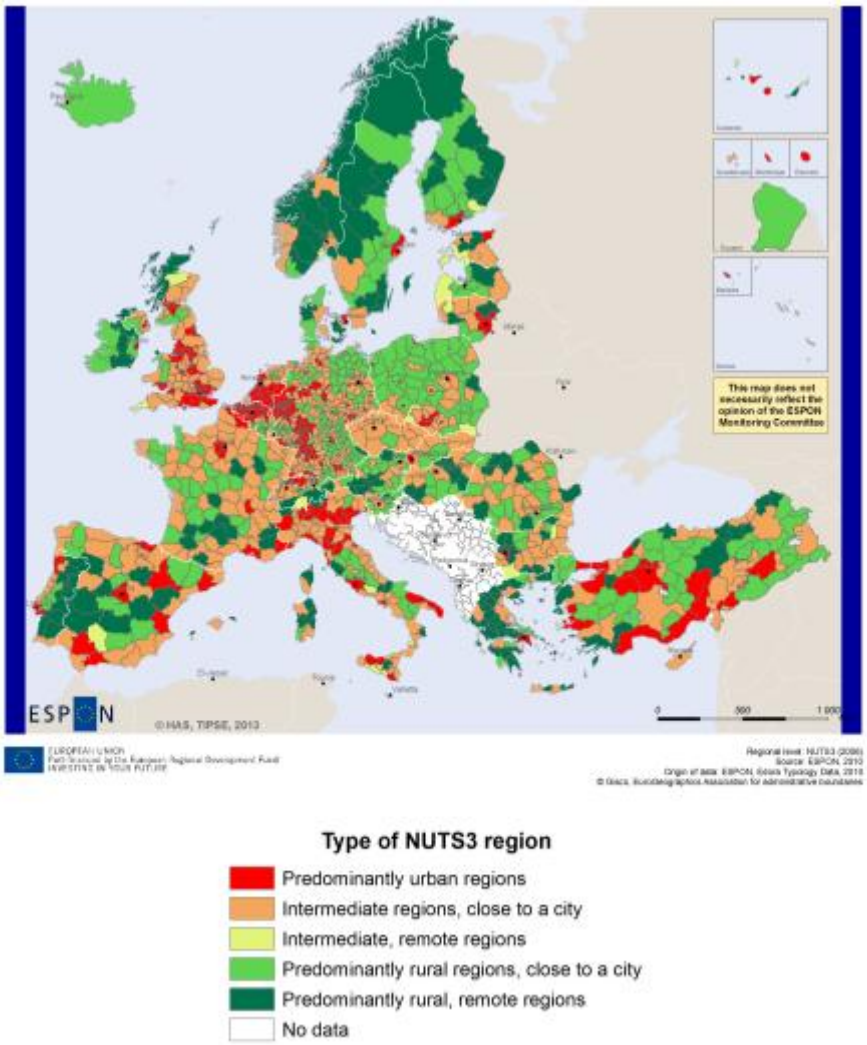
Urban–Rural disparities

The most remarkable micro-regional patterns of vulnerability to social exclusion in Europe are divergent by urban and rural dimensions. These patterns broadly follow similar tendencies in different areas of Europe with several notable exception. Urban–rural disparity patterns can be discovered both in the possibilities of earning a living and participation in the active labour market, in the availability of health or education services and housing amenities or in the different characteristics of social environment.

Income conditions on the NUTS 2 level also reflect these variations, showing the advantages of larger urban regions and their surroundings in making an adequate living. The measure of occupation status (according to ISCO categorization) follows the same patterns both in Eastern Europe and in the Atlantic and central part of the

continent – generally higher rates of low-skilled working force in rural regions and lower rates in urban areas –, while it is two-faced in Mediterranean regions, affecting simultaneously the poorest areas and the more developed urban centres (due to the generally higher job supply). Urban regions are concentrations of economic activities, therefore labour market participation conditions are more favourable here than in rural areas. Simply the spatial configuration of inactivity rates can support that, numbers are generally lower in larger urban regions, except for Eastern Europe, where several urban centres (in Poland) are characterised by lower levels of active participation in the labour market – relating e.g. to old age dependency rates and perhaps to the high outmigration to the advanced countries. The advantages of bigger cities are not so clean-cut regarding unemployment. Relatively higher job supply does not automatically imply the decrease of unemployment like in the case of several metropolitan and urban areas in Western Europe (e.g. London, Berlin, Vienna or Madrid), while Scandinavia and Eastern Europe follow this general trend more closely. This duality applies for youth unemployment rates as well. For in gender related disparities of activity urban–rural dimension of exclusion is also a factor of differentiation: it discriminates less in urban regions, while employment, unemployment etc. gender gaps are higher in rural areas. Notable exceptions are in Nordic and Atlantic Europe, where female and male rates differ much less even in rural regions due to the broad efforts against gender related discrimination.

Rural areas have multiple disadvantages considering the possibilities of access to different services. Institutional and professional facilities of healthcare infrastructure are better in bigger towns and cities (also because of the organisation of healthcare) and healthy life expectations are higher in urban areas. There are no macro-regional exceptions of that, only access opportunities seem to be worse (in some metropolis (e.g. Madrid) in spite of good expectations for a healthy life. (This fact challenges the adequacy of health infrastructure indicators in measuring the risk of social exclusion). The handicap of rural areas is more outstanding if we consider other dimensions. Rural population is generally less qualified which results in worse chances of further participation in economic activity. In contrast, ratio of population with only low qualification does not reach high values in urban regions, since opportunities of a better education are also more favourable here, and job supply is adequate and absorbs more qualified labour force. In the same way, housing conditions are generally better in cities than in rural areas. The housing infrastructure is better established in urban areas of Europe and inhabitants of these regions have a higher chance to obtain better equipments regarding different facilities and installations. At the same time, this dimension shows less differences in Scandinavia and several countries of Atlantic and Central Europe where rural residents have better opportunities in access to adequate housing than in the Mediterranean or in Eastern Europe.



Map 39: Urban–Rural Typology (Dijkstra–Poelman Types)

Age structure of population is also affected by this spatial pattern of exclusion indices in Europe. In this sense the general pattern is that urban areas are populated by more active and juvenile population (following economic activity) than rural regions. For instance, in several metropolitan regions and in the surroundings of many in Western European cities child dependency rates are significantly high because of (former) suburbanisation processes. However, the situation is quite different in Eastern Europe where bigger cities (e.g. in Poland, Slovakia, Bulgaria or Hungary) are usually resided by a higher ratio of ageing population. In Eastern Europe juvenile population structure usually indicates the vulnerability of the younger age groups and the population in general, since these areas often coincide with the poorest regions of the countries. Spatial patterns of household structures feature the urban–rural division as well. While lone parent families are more common in urban areas everywhere in Europe compared to rural ones, the generally rural character of overcrowded households – regarded as a potential exclusion factor – does not uniformly affect the macro-regions of Europe, since bigger households are less

prevalent in Scandinavia and in the Atlantic countries. The urban character can also be recognized in spatial patterns related to immigration. Immigrants generally arrive to cities of the old member states of the European Union to find better opportunities of earning a living, thus exclusion factors related to foreign inhabitants of a country affect urban areas more.

In the case of Europe's largest national minority that of the Roma population concentrated in some countries mostly but not exclusively in the New Member States and more in rural areas in Slovakia, Czech Republic, Hungary, Bulgaria, Ireland and live roughly balanced in urban and rural settings in the Balkan countries, Romania or Spain.

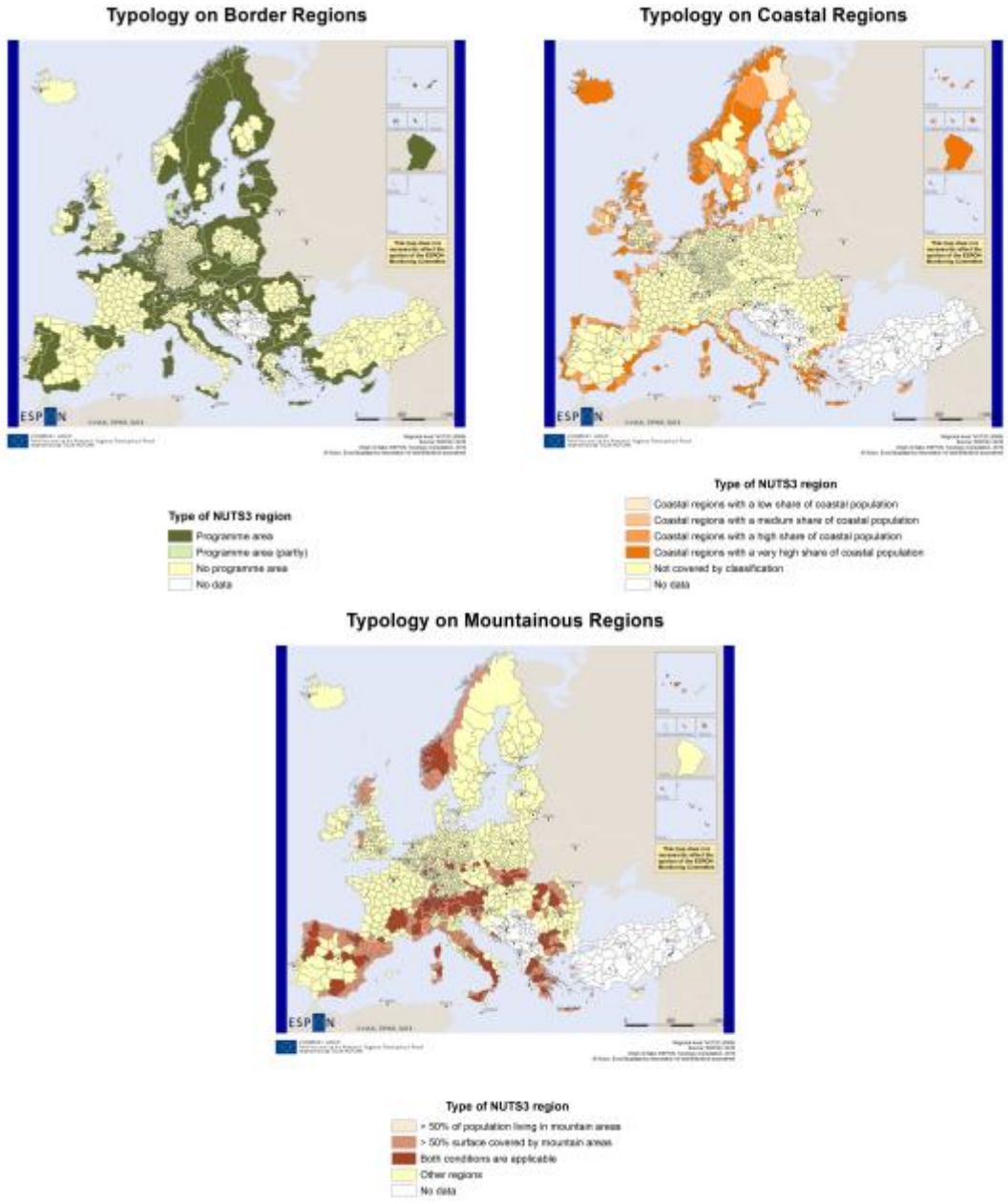
Different patterns of peripherality

Rurality has a strong relationship with peripherality. The above mentioned spatial patterns of vulnerability to social exclusion affecting rural areas are partly consequences of the peripheral character of these regions converging in severe drawback of access to the concentrations of economic activities or services of general interest. Nevertheless, spatial patterns of peripherality hold such (occasionally overlapping) peculiarities which make the distinction between the general interpretation of rurality vs. peripherality and other aspects of social exclusion patterns necessary (or in some cases the proof against them).

Remote areas within countries are mainly rural ones, there are no such urban regions which would be "isolated" from other centres of social and economic life. Remote areas usually lack sufficient opportunities of participating in the active labour market, so these regions are generally affected by higher rates of inactivity or unemployment. And this is a common character of remote regions in Europe. At the same time, different patterns can be drawn in the Mediterranean area and in Eastern Europe compared to other parts of Europe, considering educational attainment in remote regions – Western remote areas show no such significant handicap as the former ones do. Access to adequate housing conditions in remote areas are also shaped by similar factors and disparities. However, other characteristics related to remoteness affect regions in Western Europe more. For example old age dependency rates are higher in remote regions of these areas.

Peripherality also might stem from different physical-geographical factors, such as the mountainous or the coastal character of regions. Mountainous regions are also often associated with remoteness. In this sense similar problems of potential exclusion affect these areas (compared to the simply remote ones). The case of coastal character is more complex. Coastal regions are often peripheral parts of a country, and their relative location (unfavourable accessibility of in-country centres, insufficient external relations) or other social and economic features sometimes make them more vulnerable to exclusion – for example the high level of unemployment in many coastal regions in France. At the same time, harbours,

coastal cities and urban areas show a different aspect of this dimension. Their challenges related to the vulnerability to social exclusion are more influenced by their urban character and macro-regional positions (they serve as gateways to the global economy, thereby also experiencing positive effects of being a hub in a network) than by their “remoteness”. Furthermore, coastal regions are still entering points of immigrants (however not definitely by sea), so ratios of foreign-born or non-citizen population are generally higher in these areas – followed by several challenges in terms of risks of social exclusion. Coastal regions in Scandinavia are less favoured target areas of immigrants, while and other areas possess of some frequent entering “points” (Northern Atlantic regions, southern parts of Spain or France and Greece).



Map 40: Different Aspects of Peripherality according to ESPON CU Typologies

Coastal areas are border regions in many respects, and mainland borders have similar roles in forming spatial patterns of social processes (or risks of exclusion). For instance, border areas are also entering points for immigrants following a way through the mainland, especially in Western Europe. At the same time, this aspect is less significant in Eastern Europe – except for the difficult case of Balkan countries – due to the formerly weak permeability of borders. As the economies of European states have not yet been integrated in many respects, borders separate them, and make border regions "remote" peripheries within a country in many cases. Thus, a quite unfavourable situation of border regions can be observed all over Europe, particularly considering the opportunities of "earning a living". Most of all, inactivity and unemployment rates can demonstrate this pattern for example in France, Finland, Greece or Poland.

Place specific patterns of social exclusion

Beside the above mentioned "regular" patterns some spatial characteristics of exclusion dimensions in Europe do not fit in these structures. These so called "place-specific" or "local" dimensions are to be analysed below. Most of the place specific patterns seem to be consequences of multiple disadvantages outlining impoverished and/or depression areas within certain countries. These patterns are also often related to "local" (national) cultural, religion-related or other factors rooting in the history of a particular region. In this sense, they cannot always be interpreted as simple and direct social exclusion "symptoms", because they can hold other meanings in the given environment than elsewhere.

In most European countries there is a recognizable spatiality of social and economic inequalities. Its elements cannot always be labelled as Europe-wide patterns, and they cannot always be applied outside a given country: they are significantly influenced by differences between groups of countries, however (e.g. West to East development slopes in Hungary or Slovakia). In other cases their formation follows historical development paths within the country. In searching for risk-areas of social exclusion, several measures show that certain regions within a country are multiply affected by different dimensions of exclusion. In Atlantic and Central Europe such areas are both the Southern and Northern regions of France and (the former Socialist) East Germany. In the Mediterranean countries North-South differences are dominant with lagging southern regions, for example in Spain or Italy. In Eastern Europe the Eastern parts of the countries are usually the most vulnerable to social exclusion factors, like in Slovakia, Hungary or Poland. At the same time, Western regions in Poland and the Czech Republic are more or less depression areas as well due to the relocation of ethnic Germans who were expelled from these areas after WW II – it illustrates the long-lasting impacts of such interventions. Other specific

areas, e.g. the interconnected border region of Serbia and Bulgaria are affected by multiple dimensions of social exclusion.

Exclusion symptoms of these depression areas boost each other. The weaknesses of the local economies are causes and consequences of low capacities of these regions to attract investors that further set limitations in relation to employment capacities what results in the increased number of inactive and unemployed population. At the same time, qualification problems of population as well as long-term unemployment decrease the chances of the affected people in returning to he formal labour market. Thus, they can only make a precarious living under inadequate housing conditions which can lead to lower expectations of a healthy life. Where an impoverished area is populated by a larger concentration of a vulnerable group (e.g. Roma in East Central Europe and the Balkans), additional factors influence the risk of social exclusion in the region.

Certain place specific patterns outlined by indicators of social exclusion are more related to cultural / traditional differences or climatic specifities rather than to concrete cases of exclusion. Typical examples are provided by housing conditions, household composition or gender gap in employment. The lack of adequate housing conditions is basically an important dimension of social exclusion considering access to services. Nevertheless, different technological solutions are hardly commensurable with each other, thus the level of vulnerability of regions from different sides of Europe is sometimes only apparent – e.g. the majority of housing units in Norway is without central heating (since they mostly use electric panel heating), or the same applies to Portugal because of the climatic endowments of the country. In the same way, continent-wide differences of average floor space occupancy are also less accurate in indicating “effective” exclusion of inhabitants. The case of household characteristics is also hard to interpret properly. In several countries bigger family size used to be common rooting among others in religion-related commitments of the majority of the population and/or traditional family patterns. The ratio of bigger households in these countries is still higher (e.g. in Ireland, Albania or Turkey) than elsewhere (advanced protestant and former socialist countries). At the same time, the indicator of families with many children does point to the locations of such vulnerable social groups as the Roma.

The higher rates of dependents might also reflect the concentration of old-aged population. It is partly related to lifestyle motivated retirement migration – for example in the “sunbelt” of France and Spain – which is definitely not an exclusion factor. The presence of these exceptions is also a feedback for public policies targeting regions vulnerable to exclusion.

5 A summary on the indicators of social exclusion – reflections on the analyses and policy practices

Indicators used for representing social exclusion in the ESPON TiPSE project were selected carefully as it was described in work package report 2.6 (Development and mapping of social exclusion indicators). To illustrate this multidimensional phenomenon, ESPON TiPSE identified several indicators as proxy variables for each of the delimited domains and dimensions. The consulted statistical sources (Eurostat, national censuses) do not provide many direct indicators of social exclusion (especially at NUTS 3 level), so these proxies are rather indirect measures of domains and dimensions of the phenomenon and are related to exclusion in various ways.

Accordingly, they refer are results of different social processes, potentially leading to exclusion (e.g. inactivity, unemployment) or to indirect risk factors of satisfying basic needs (such as low qualification – work, housing conditions – accessing services). They might also indicate the potential vulnerability to exclusion (for instance by the features of household structure), and these measures can identify different social (and ethnic) groups more endangered by multiple forms of exclusion (immigrants, elderly people, Roma etc.).

If the selected variables are meaningful measures of exclusion in themselves, the question still arises, how they really work as indicators of different forms of social exclusion, if we make a cross-country analysis of its spatial characteristics. In this sense, different issues might limit the usability of indicators – the macro-regional and synthetic analyses in the report have already touched upon these questions. Scarce spatial coverage of data makes the general validity of the outlined spatial patterns questionable. In this case, while strong features of the spatiality of social exclusion can be revealed, other important parts of the mosaic can be missing. When data coverage is sufficient, the suitability of the dataset for a cross-country analysis is still questionable. If definitional standardization between countries is poor or data tabulation is different, harmonization issues might emerge, which potentially cause false configurations of spatial patterns. When these criteria are both valid, it does not imply a meaningful picture on the given dimensions of social exclusion by all means.

The degree of variation between regions (or countries), the ‘readability’ of patterns can also affect the interpretation of spatiality of indicators related to social exclusion. Furthermore, the interpretation of these measures is very context-dependent. Regional variation of several exclusion indicators in a given place is potentially less interrelated with the degree of vulnerability to exclusion than with other causes. Cultural, historical, technological or policy-related effects can cause that during a fair interpretation of patterns of social exclusion one or another region or country cannot be labelled simply as more affected by symptoms of exclusion, just because the

measures directly tell that. These questions may arise along with harmonization issues mentioned above, however, sometimes the guarantee of definition criteria cannot help to avoid the emergence of such problems of interpretation.

In ‘Earning a living’ domain the role and usability of the selected indicators seem to be unambiguous. The spatial coverage of indicators is generally good: by using data from national population censuses, only the case of Germany is critical, because of major gaps in gender-related variables. Both activity (inactivity) and unemployment indicators are partly affected by harmonization issues. The treatment of being unemployed can vary across countries due to the specialities of different welfare and workfare systems (how the states help their job-seeking activity, how employment related training schemes are organized etc.), and where social security system is denser being unemployed is not directly considered as being excluded. Cultural and traditional factors can also affect participation rates in active labour market. For instance, in the southern part of Europe the weaknesses of local labour markets (higher rates of inactivity and unemployment, high gender related differences), strong family relations and networks can compensate the risk of social exclusion (familialist welfare model).

Indicators in ‘Access to services’ domain also have some limitations. Nevertheless, variables of educational attainment follows an international standard of classification (ISCED) – which helps to avoid problems related to harmonization –, the dataset for several countries is not available for calculating proportions of the population with educational attainment by age groups. Harmonization issues affect more seriously the measures of health and housing conditions. While health indicators are only accessible at NUTS 2 level, they can provide a good spatial coverage by themselves. However, measures of vulnerability to exclusion in the health dimension (health personnel, hospital beds) do not express many aspects of the healthcare system in a given country. Beside several differences in classification, variables cannot reflect on the dissimilarities of healthcare policies, for example the prevalence of non-hospital medical treatments, quotas in healthcare supply, effects of prevention policies etc. Indicators on the adequacy of housing conditions are generally strongly related to risks of exclusion. Naturally, the available measures have certain limitations in giving a perfect representation of this dimension of social exclusion. The spatial coverage (2001 maps) is quite poor, only 1/3 of the NUTS 3 regions under investigation can be covered with housing data (major gaps are in Atlantic, Central and Mediterranean Europe). Furthermore, harmonization and context dependency issues can also emerge, like in the case of the classification of available facilities or judgement of the lack of different amenities (e.g. central heating) which are more related to climatic endowments or technological issues than to cases of exclusion.

Indicators	Comments, limitations
Disposable household income	No coverage at NUTS 3 level
Ratio of people in elementary occupations	-
Activity and inactivity rates	Variable meaning in different regional contexts
Employment and unemployment rates	Definitional and policy-related issues; variable meaning in different regional contexts
Healthy life expectancy	No coverage at NUTS 3 level
Availability of health infrastructure (health personnel, hospital beds)	No coverage at NUTS 3 level; definitional, classification and policy related issues, variable meaning in different regional contexts
Educational attainment (ratio of people with low and high qualification)	Data availability issues in certain ranges of classification
(Un)Availability of housing amenities (water supply, bathing facilities, flush toilet, central heating)	Scarece coverage at NUTS 3 level; definitional and classification issues; variable meaning in different regional contexts
Density standard (occupants per room, floor space per occupants)	Scarce coverage at NUTS 3 level
Dependency rates (child, total old-age)	Slightly variable meaning in different regional contexts
Household structure (household size, ratio of lone-parent households)	Variable meaning in different regional contexts
Ethnicity (ratio of Roma people)	Scarce coverage at NUTS 3 level (except for East Central Europe and Balkan region)
Immigration (ratio of foreign-born population)	Scarce coverage at NUTS 3 level; variable meaning in different regional contexts
Ratio of people without citizenship of the country	Variable meaning in different regional contexts

Table 6. Analytical limitations of dimensions and group of indicators of social exclusion

Certain indicators of ‘Social environment’ domain are sensible to interpretation issues. Age structure indicators are widely prevalent in analysing social exclusion. The ratio of dependents represents a burden on the productive part of population, and both children and old-aged persons can be considered as social groups more vulnerable to exclusion in some parts of Europe. Nevertheless, the higher ratio of children is more related to cultural and traditional phenomena in many countries than to exclusion, while in sun-belt areas of Europe the higher presence of elderly people can show the attractiveness of such places (old-age migration). Indicators of the household structure are similarly culture and tradition-dependent to some extent. Big household size is not a direct measure of exclusion, however it can be considered as a risk factor. The ratio of lone-parent households is related more directly to the vulnerability to social exclusion.

Data on ethnic composition can represent well the presence of vulnerable social groups affected by multiple dimensions of social exclusion (inactivity, unemployment, educational attainment, housing etc.). The selected indicator has sufficient coverage in East Central Europe and the Balkan countries, but in other parts of Europe it is mostly unavailable. Many countries do not collect data on ethnicity, while the presence of vulnerable social groups in most parts of Europe is not specifically related to Roma, but to immigrated population and to nationality issues. Measures on the foreign-born population were scarcely available in the 2001 data collection round, however the patterns they revealed might imply some useful findings on that aspect of exclusion. Nevertheless, it is hard to generalise, because immigrant population is very mixed in every country and simply the higher number of immigrants in a region (without the knowledge on their social background) cannot be directly linked to higher risk of exclusion of that area. The same problem affects the case of the only ‘Political participation’ indicator on citizenship. Citizenship of a country ensures many rights for the person who has acquired it, and the lack of it can mean disadvantaged situation in many respects, but the indicator of ratio of population without the citizenship of the country can over-represent the risk of exclusion connected to that dimension.

Despite these limitations the indicators selected for the analysis of spatial patterns of social exclusion are suitable. They illustrate directly or (usually) indirectly the symptoms of exclusion related to the analysed domains and dimensions. Considerations on certain limitations do not annul the outlined patterns – but they show where the applied indicators do not work –, and by refining the patterns they can contribute to a more careful interpretation of the spatiality of exclusion in Europe. In this way, these reflections can be one type of sources for further development of measurements for analysing (and monitoring) social exclusion. Other inputs for that can come from the findings of policy practices (analysed in macro-regional chapters).

Recent policy documents dealing with social exclusion in the member states of the European Union (e.g. National Social Reports, National Strategic Reports on Social Protection, National Inclusion Strategies, National Reform Programmes, but other governmental programmes as well) generally share the same profile both in

structure, content and selection of indicators. Therefore, most of the key measures in policy contexts are harmonized and based on OMC indicators on social inclusion and related to Europe2020 goals. Some of these commonly used indicators overlap with TiPSE measures by covering the dimensions of employment, housing, education, health and household structure. Other OMC indicators, for instance at-risk-of-poverty rate (and threshold) and variants, income distribution variables, are more related to poverty. Beside this system of common indicators different measures are also used as a reflection on national socioeconomic contexts and relevant priorities.

By making a comparison between TiPSE dimension structure and the applied indicators in national policy documents it might be revealed that the 'weights' of domains are quite unbalanced. Indicators in 'Earning a living' domain are usually over-represented in policy context. Dimensions of 'Access to basic services' and 'Social environment' domains are also frequently covered, especially by measures of education, health, age and household structure. Nevertheless, the frequency of coverage of these aspects of exclusion in policy documents is varying across Europe. For example, indicators related to 'Political participation' almost missing despite their declared significance from national strategies and exclusion reports in several Mediterranean countries and most of the East Central European member states of the EU, while this domain is more stressful in policy documents of Scandinavia and Atlantic Europe.

Naturally, national policy papers provide potential measures of social exclusion far beyond the indicator structure of TiPSE, which might be useful for further considerations about the ways of measuring and analysing social exclusion. Frequented relevant and potentially effective examples are: long-term unemployment rate; ratio of NEETs; ratio of newly entered unemployed persons; ratio of elderly people in employment; school enrolment ratio; different indicators on social and healthcare expenditure; infant mortality rate; ratio early school-leavers; accessibility to pre-school education; participation ratio in life-long learning; access to IT; number of refugees; ratio of people with disabilities; measures of indebtedness; indicators on ethnic discrimination.

Many of the above mentioned indicators are not available for a regional comparison in Europe without limitations. On the one hand, several of them is not available at a lower (NUTS 3) territorial level, as these data usually come from regular surveys involved only a sample population – just like in the case of OMC social inclusion indicators derived from EU-SILC. On the other hand, some measures – fed by data at lower regional levels – are only available through national registers and various data sources which are often non-harmonized and hard to compare (not like national censuses). Other indicators can be derived from TiPSE-like variables from censuses, however they use different classification (like ratio of NEETs or ratio of elderly people in employment).

Policy papers (and academic texts) reflecting to the multidimensional nature of social exclusion in some cases open room for attempts of analysing social exclusion in its

complexity by using composite indices. These examples (Indices of Multiple Deprivation, SIMD and the Hungarian classification system for micro-level targeting) show some alternative approaches of the interpretation and management of different domains of exclusion in a common system and thus they also contribute to a broader way of thinking about analysing social exclusion.

6 References

Aasland, A., Flotten, T. (2001) Ethnicity and Social Exclusion in Estonia and Latvia. – *Europe-Asia Studies*. Volume 53, Issue 7, pp. 1023–1049.

Adaman F., Keyder C. (undated) *Social exclusion in the slum areas of large cities in Turkey*, Report prepared for the Joint Inclusion Memorandum, Research Foundation of Boğaziçi University.

Balourdos, D. (2005) 'Social Exclusion in Greece: methodological problems and indicators'. In *Poverty, Exclusion and Social Inequalities*, Conference proceedings, Athens: EKKE.

Boelhouwer, J. (2010) *Wellbeing in the Netherlands. The SCP life situation index since 1974*. The Netherlands Institute for social Research.

Bohnke, P. (2001) Reporting on Social Exclusion: Standard of Living and Social Participation in Hungary, Spain, and Germany, *Euromodule Working Papers Series*, FS III 01 - 407

Bramley, G., Watkins, D. (2013) *Local incomes and poverty in Scotland*. Developing Local and Small Area Estimates and Exploring Patterns of Income Distribution, Poverty and Deprivation. Report of Research for the Improvement Service on behalf of four Local Authorities (Edinburgh, Falkirk, Fife and Highland) and the Scottish Government

Chakravarty S.R., D'Ambrosio C. (2007) *The measurement of social exclusion* http://www.unipr.it/arpa/defi/papers/social.pdf

Denmark (2010) *European year for combating poverty and social exclusion: National Programme for Norway*. Copenhagen: Danish Government

Denmark (2012) *Social policy in Denmark 2012*. Copenhagen: Danish Government

EC (2008a) *National Strategy Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2008-2010 – Estonia*. European Commission. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/social/keyDocuments.jsp?type=3&policyArea=0&subCategory=0&country=0&year=0&advSearchKey=nsr+spsi&mode=advancedSubmit&langId=en

EC (2008b) *National Strategy Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2008-2010 – Latvia*. European Commission. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/social/keyDocuments.jsp?type=3&policyArea=0&subCategory=0&country=0&year=0&advSearchKey=nsr+spsi&mode=advancedSubmit&langId=en

EC (2008c) *National Strategy Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2008-2010 – Lithuania*. European Commission. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/social/keyDocuments.jsp?type=3&policyArea=0&subCategory=0&country=0&year=0&advSearchKey=nsr+spsi&mode=advancedSubmit&langId=en

EC (2008d) *National Strategy Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2008-2010 – Sweden*. European Commission. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/social/keyDocuments.jsp?type=3&policyArea=0&subCategory=0&country=0&year=0&advSearchKey=nsr+spsi&mode=advancedSubmit&langId=en

EC (2008e) *National Strategy Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2008-2010 – Denmark*. European Commission. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/social/keyDocuments.jsp?type=3&policyArea=0&subCategory=0&country=0&year=0&advSearchKey=nsr+spsi&mode=advancedSubmit&langId=en

EC (2008f) *National Strategy Report on Social Protection and Social Inclusion 2008-2010 – Finland*. European Commission. Available at: http://ec.europa.eu/social/keyDocuments.jsp?type=3&policyArea=0&subCategory=0&country=0&year=0&advSearchKey=nsr+spsi&mode=advancedSubmit&langId=en

Einasto, M. (2002) Income and Deprivation Poverty, 1994 and 1999. Kutsar, D. (ed.): *Living Conditions in Estonia Five Years Later*. University of Tartu, Fafo Institute for Applied Social Research, Tartu University Press.

Estonia (2010) *European year for combating poverty and social exclusion: National Programme for Estonia*.

Estonia (2013) *National Reform Programme "Estonia 2020"*. Available at: http://valitsus.ee/UserFiles/valitsus/en/government-office/growth-and-jobs/Estonia%202020%20in%202013/ENG%20national%20reform%20programme%20Estonia%202020.pdf

European Commission (2008) *National Strategy Report on social Protection and Social Inclusion, Bulgaria, 2008–2010*.

Ferge, Zs. (2002) Struktúra és egyenlőtlenségek a régi államszocializmusban és az újkapitalizmusban. – *Szociológiai Szemle*. Issue 4, pp. 9–33.

Finnish Government (2011) *Programme of the Finnish Government 2011-2015*. http://valtioneuvosto.fi/hallitus/hallitusohjelma/pdf/en334743.pdf

Golinowska, S. (2002) *Poverty in Poland: Causes, Measures and Studies. Poverty Dynamics in Poland - Selected Quantitative Analyses*. CASE – Center for Social and Economic Research. pp. 11-36.

Golinowska, S. (2009) The National Model of the Welfare State in Poland. *Tradition and Changes. Diversity and Commonality in European Social Policies: The Forging of a European Social Model*. Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar Friedreich Ebert Stiftung, Warsaw, pp. 213-260.

Grønningsæter, A. (2003) *Great Expectations – Social exclusion and social policy in Estonia and Latvia*, FAFO. Available at: http://www.fafo.no/pub/rapp/410/410.pdf

Havasi É. (2002) Szegénység és társadalmi kirekesztettség a mai Magyarországon. – *Szociológiai Szemle*. Issue 4, pp. 51–71.

Hoff, S., Vrooman, C. (2011) *Dimensions of social exclusion*. Towards an improved measurement instrument. The Netherland Institute for Social Research

Iceland (2011) *Iceland 2020 – Governmental policy statement for the economy and community Knowledge, sustainability, welfare*. Prime Minister's Office. Reykjavik. Accessed 24 September 2013. http://eng.forsaetisraduneyti.is/media/2020/iceland2020.pdf

Jasilionis, D., Meslé, F., Shkolnikov, V. and Vallin, J. (2009) *Recent life expectancy divergence in Baltic countries*. Available at: http://iussp2009.princeton.edu/papers/92653

Jehoel-Gijsbers, G., Vrooman, C. (2007) *Explaining social exclusion*. A theoretical model tested in the Netherlands. The Netherlands Institute for Social Research/SCP, The Hague.

Kainulainen, S. Saari, J. (2013) Koettu huono-osaisuus Suomessa. In Niemelä, M., Saari, J. (Eds.), *Huono-osaisten hyvinvointi Suomessa (Teemakirja 10)*. Kelan tutkimusosasto: Helsinki.

Kutsar, D., Trumm, A. (1993) Poverty among Households in Estonia. – *International Journal of Social Welfare*. Volume 2, Issue 3, pp. 128–141.

Laparra, M., Aguilar, M. (1996) Social Exclusion and Minimum Income Programmes in Spain, *South European Society and Politics*, 1:3, 87-114

Lithuania (2010) *European year for combating poverty and social exclusion: National Programme for Lithuania*.

Lőcsei H. (2013) *A fejlesztési források szerepe a leszakadó térségek dinamizálásában*. Presentation.

Marksoo, Y., Tammaru, T. (2011) Long-term unemployment in economic boom and bust: the case of Estonia. *TRAMES*, 15(65/60): 3, 215–234. Available at: http://www.kirj.ee/public/trames_pdf/2011/issue_3/trames-2011-3-215-234.pdf

Milanovic, B. (1992) Poverty in Poland, 1978-88. – *Review of Income and Wealth Series*. 38, Number 3.

Ministry of Ministry of Children, Equality and Social Inclusion, Norway (2013). *About the Ministry. Norwegian Government: Oslo.* Available at: http://www.regjeringen.no/en/dep/bld/BLD-arbeider-for-at.html?id=303

Nolan, B., Whelan, C.T. (1996) *Resources, deprivation and poverty*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Nolan, B., Whelan, C.T. (2011) *Poverty and Deprivation in Europe*. Oxford University Press, Oxford.

Nordic Council of Ministers (2012) *The Nordic Model in a New Era. Programme for the Swedish Presidency of the Nordic Council of Ministers 2013*. Nordic Council of Ministers: Copenhagen

Nordic Council of Ministers (2013) *The Welfare state in a Nordic perspective. Programme for the Norwegian Presidency of the Nordic Council of Ministers 2012*. Nordic Council of Ministers: Copenhagen

Nordregio (2011) Demography in the Nordic countries – a synthesis report (*Nordregio Working Paper* 2011: 9). Nordregio: Stockholm

Norway (2008) *Action Plan Against Poverty and Intensified Efforts: Status 2008 and Intensified Efforts 2009*. Norwegian Government: Oslo

Ólafsson, S. (2011) *Iceland's 2020 Goals Compared to EU's 2020 Goals* (Working Paper no. 1: 2011). University of Iceland. Available at: http://thjodmalastofnun.hi.is/sites/thjodmalastofnun.hi.is/files/skrar/icelands_challenges_2011.pdf

Open Society Foundation (2011) *Territorial Targeting for Social Inclusion Application of Crisis Maps*. Presentation.

Paas, T. (2003) Poverty and Social Exclusion as Consequences of Transition and EU Enlargement in the Case of the Baltic States. *The European Union Enlargement Social and Economic Impacts*.

Poggi, A. (2003) *Does persistence of social exclusion exist in Spain?* Departament d'Economia Aplicada, Univertita Autonome de Barcelona, Working paper 03.08

Rajevska, F. (ed.) (2006) Insiders' View about Social Inclusion and Social Security in Latvia. *Fafo report*, 527.

Ramos Lobato, I. (2012) Concepts of poverty and social exclusion in Central European Countries (incl. Portugal). In: Talbot, H., Madanipour, A., Shucksmiths, M. (2012) Review of Concepts of Poverty and Social Exclusion. *ESPON TiPSE, Interim Report*, Annex 1, Working Paper 1, Appendix 2.

Reynolds, M. (2000) A Comparison of the Draft Poverty Reduction Strategies of the Baltic States. In UNDP: *Poverty Reduction in Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia*, 2000. Riga.

Rhodes, M. (1996) Southern European welfare states: Identity, problems and prospects for reform, *South European Society and Politics*, 1:3, 1-22.

Schierup, C.U., Alund, A. (2011) The end of Swedish exceptionalism? Citizenship, neoliberalism and the politics of exclusion. *Race Class*, 53 (45), 45-64

SM (2010) *The Ministry of Social Affairs – Migration Potential of Working-age Population in Estonia in 2010*. Available at: http://www.sm.ee/fileadmin/meedia/Dokumendid/V2ljaanded/Toimetised/2010/series_20108eng.pdf

Stankuniene, V. (1998) *Family Well-being and Fertility in Transition to Market Economy: the case of Lithuania*. Committee for International Cooperation in National Research in Demography [CICRED].

Stranges M. (2007) Social exclusion in the Italian regions: a synthetic approach of measurement, Paper presented for the Quetelet Seminar 2007 Poverty Dynamics and Vulnerability. *Measures and Explanations in Demography and Social Sciences* Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium, November 27-30, 2007.

Sweden (2010) *European year for combating poverty and social exclusion: National Programme for Sweden*. Swedish Government Offices: Stockholm

Sweden (2013) *Sweden's National Reform Programme 2013, Europe 2020 – EU:s strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth*. Swedish Government Offices: Stockholm

Talbot, H., Madanipour, A., Shucksmiths, M. (2012) Review of Concepts of Poverty and Social Exclusion. *ESPON TiPSE, Interim Report*, Annex 1, Working Paper 1.

Tarkowska, E. (2008) Poverty and Social Exclusion in Rural Areas – Poland. *Study on Poverty and Social Exclusion in Rural Areas - Final Report*.

Tõkke, M. (2011) *Poverty and Social Exclusion in Estonia*. Presentation.

Trbanc, M. (2001) *Social Consequences of Transition in Slovenia: Who is Endangered by Social Exclusion?* Paper presented at the sixth meeting of a COST A13 Working Group on Unemployment, Ljubljana, June 8-9, 2001.

Trumm, A. (2003) *Recent developments of Estonia's social protection system. Department of Sociology and Social Policy University of Tartu*. Available at: http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTECONEVAL/Resources/EstoniaSocialPolicyReview.pdf

UNDP (2000) *Poverty, Social Exclusion and Marginalization – National Human Development Report of Slovak Republic*.

UNDP (2006) *Social Exclusion and Integration in Poland - An Indicator Based Approach*. Ministry of Labour and Social Policy – UNDP.

Vecernik, J. (2004) Who Is Poor in the Czech Republic? The Changing Structure and Faces of Poverty after 1989. – *Czech Sociological Review*. Volume 40, Issue 6, pp. 807–834.

VM (1997) *Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Six Years of Regained Independence: Estonia's Achievements*. (An Overview by the Estonian delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly 17 January 1997). Available at: http://www.vm.ee/?q=en/node/3551