

# SUMMARY

## Radiography

### THE LIVING CONDITIONS OF THE WOMEN OF BARCELONA

This article presents the main conclusions of a report drafted in 1995 on the living conditions of the women of Barcelona, which aimed to assess the levels of equality achieved by women with respect to their fellow citizens of the opposite sex. The areas that were studied were the family, school, work, the home, and leisure.

Most of the female population of Barcelona (56%) is married, as compared to two-thirds of the men. Two of every ten women are widows or separated, while only 6% of the men hold such status. The people who live in one-person homes represent 8.2% of the total population in Barcelona, and of this number, 78% are women, usually widows. Single-parent homes are those that have undergone the greatest growth in the last five years owing to increase in the number of separated or divorced persons and because of the delay in the emancipation of sons and daughters. One of every ten women who is the head of a single-parent household is an unwed mother, three are divorced or separated, and six are widows, all with sons or daughters under their care who have not yet left home. This is the group that has suffered the greatest loss of purchasing power in the last five years and its income level is the lowest of all the households in Barcelona.

The report also reflects the effort that the families of the city have made to see that their sons and daughters receive the same level of education. The attainment of middle and higher levels of education is comparable in both sexes. At present, 56.2% of the women over 18 years of age resident in Barcelona have attained the primary-education level (as compared to 42.2% for men). University-educated women who have graduated with middle or higher degrees represent 15.5% of the total, however, as compared to the figure of 19.4% for men. In the younger population (between the ages of 18 and 30 years), a very positive development may be observed in the levels of formal education attained by the women of the city, which are even higher than the percentage of university-educated men of the same age. In any case, the choice of main courses of study continues to be the aspect that marks the differences between the two sexes: women continue to major in courses of the humanistic and social type, which are strongly devaluated in the work market, while men maintain and increase their presence in the courses of the technical type.

The inactivity rate of the women of Barcelona, situated in 1985 at 57.3%, is lower than that of men (81.5%), but the difference has been reduced in the last ten years. The wishes of many women to obtain remunerated work run up against the lack of jobs and the precariousness of the existing jobs. With respect to the working conditions of women, there has also been a con-

vergence with those of men, but with certain nuances, since the presence of women in some activities continues to be quite low, above all owing to their difficulty in achieving managerial and executive positions.

The characteristics of female inactivity have varied substantially in the last five years. Women under 45 years of age are subject to inactivity of short duration, whereas women over that age with a low level of qualification are subject to long-term inactivity. The proportion of inactive women in the city has tended to decrease progressively in the last ten years, but even so, over half the women of Barcelona are inactive, a number that is far higher than that of men, in which group only one-third are inactive. The group of inactive women includes the housewives, whose numbers are clearly decreasing but who still represent one third of all women.

The percentage of women who have no type of income remains very high. Likewise, wage differences continue to exist, and the following paradox has been established: the active women present a higher training level than that of the active men, a fact that is not reflected in their income level, since the higher the responsibility, the greater the difference of remuneration (in high categories the difference may reach 70%).

With respect to household work, in 1995 it continued to be a thing of women. In only one-fourth of the homes is the household work distributed between the sexes. The distribution of the working day and the availability of free time also continues to be quite different for men and women: men have one hour a day more than women for leisure. Among women, leisure is predominated by information-receiving activities, watching television or reading. The habit of enjoying leisure is more common among young women. The presence of women in professional associations or trade unions is also far lower than that of men.

### THE SOCIAL VALUES OF THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF BARCELONA

This article summarises the results of the Survey of Young People of the City of Barcelona, which aims to reveal what young people think and what attitudes they have with respect to social issues. The young people who were interviewed (1,200) are between 15 and 29 years of age; they define themselves as people who are disoriented, critical, solidary and tolerant, less idealistic, respectful of the environment, studious, conservative, racist, and scarcely optimistic with respect to the future. For these young people, the family occupies an outstanding position and it is what they most trust and that for which they are most willing to run risks. 38% of the interviewees were concerned about the idea of leaving home to live on their own, and 70% state that they do not do so for financial reasons.

52% of these young people are students, 28% work, 11.5% are unemployed or are looking for a job, and the rest devote themselves to household

chores, are carrying out their military service or the substitutional social service, or are on holidays. 48% of the young people have some type of work although the proportion varies according to age. Over one half state that they usually express themselves in Spanish, 34% in Catalan, and 13% use both languages.

Unemployment is the social problem that most worries the young people of Barcelona, followed by racism, poverty, drugs, social inequality, the environment, and terrorism. The majority of them are in favour of conscientious objection (66%), sympathise with the gay and lesbian movement (61.5%), and consider that the squatters are moved by a spirit of protest and are not a violent group. Although they show themselves to be open-minded, they do not usually belong to associative movements. Only one-fourth of the young people interviewed express an interest in politics.

## Monographs

### HEALTH BEHAVIOURS OF SECONDARY-SCHOOL PUPILS

The Municipal Institute of Public Health of the City Council of Barcelona periodically studies the health behaviours of the young people enrolled in the city's schools. The study presented in this article is the first one that has been conducted on pupils of the 4th course of Lower Secondary School or equivalent levels (2nd course of Upper Secondary School and 2nd course of Vocational Training School). It describes the behaviours concerning the consumption of alcoholic beverages, tobacco, cannabis and other types of drugs, sexual relations with coitus, and their relationship with certain socio-demographic variables (sex, age, type of school, type of studies, father's and mother's educational level, and amount of money available weekly for leisure).

The questionnaire chosen for the survey was modelled on those used in various European studies, on the Youth Risk Behaviour Survey that has been conducted in the United States since 1991, and on various questionnaires used in AIDS-prevention and drug-abuse prevention programmes. The survey, which was carried out on 981 pupils of 35 different classes, shows that 27% smoke daily. Twice as many young women than young men consume tobacco: 44% of the female pupils smoke daily or weekly as opposed to 29% of the male pupils. There has been a notable increase in tobacco consumption among the pupils in the 8th course of Elementary School, 4.4% of whom smoke every day.

It has not been found that any pupils consume alcoholic beverages daily, but over half had drunk alcoholic beverages at least once during the previous month. 35% of the male pupils consume alcoholic beverages at least once a week, as opposed to 29% of the female pupils. It may be clearly observed that the consumption of alcoholic beverages is far higher among

the older pupils and among those who have at least 1,500 pesetas available weekly.

15% of the young people admit to having had sexual relations with coitus. Of this total, one half have had such relations on a single occasion or rarely. About 80% always or almost always use condoms.

With respect to the consumption and knowledge of drugs, 34% of the pupils state that they have tried cannabis. Of this number, 45% belong to the group of older pupils and 32% to the youngest group. The circumstance of having money available weekly is a determining factor of consumption, although the study does not provide an exact knowledge of the nature of this relationship.

In short, according to the findings of the study, a group already exists that smokes, drinks and has tried cannabis. Moreover, this multi-consumption group may be expected to grow with age. From the educational standpoint, without overlooking the fact that experimentation may play a decisive role in the development of certain adolescents, it cannot be forgotten that drugs are addictive. Consequently, it is necessary to help young people to anticipate and resolve on their own their first exposures to drugs.

### YOUNG PEOPLE AND AIDS

The Survey on Risk Factors in Secondary School (FRESC) was conducted by experts of the Municipal Institute of Public Health of the City Council of Barcelona, and of the AIDS-Prevention Studies Centre, with the collaboration of teachers of the Autonomous University of Barcelona. It involved a total of 981 pupils in the 2nd course of Upper Secondary School, the 2nd course of Vocational Training School, and the 4th course of Lower Secondary School in Barcelona. The risk of infection by AIDS as perceived by the interviewees is very low, since only 13.3% of the male pupils and 14.1% of the female pupils stated that they felt vulnerable. Even so, 81.4% of the young men and 83% of the young women were aware of the seriousness of AIDS and defined this disease as the gravest of all those that may be contracted. The vast majority of the interviewees considered condoms to be the best way of avoiding the contagion of sexually transmitted diseases. However, even though the condom is the most commonly used contraceptive method by young people, it was found that coitus interruptus continues to be used to an excessive extent. The low degree of sexual activity of the young people who were interviewed is also revealing.

### CENSUS OF SPORTS FACILITIES IN THE CITY OF BARCELONA

As a result of a study commissioned to a team of architects by the City Council of Barcelona in 1982 for the purpose of publishing the *Guide to*

*Sports in Barcelona*, which listed the sports facilities and organisations of the city, the Provincial Council of Barcelona promoted the performance of a census in 1983. On the basis of the data that had been collected, with the object of supplementing and adapting them to the present needs of the city, the Sports Area decided to carry out an update that includes a redefinition of the typologies of the sports spaces according to the new trends in the sporting field. Accordingly, it is considered that sports facilities are spaces adapted for the performance of various sporting practices, and they may be divided into two categories: sports facilities that have been built specifically for the practice of sports, and activity areas, which are infrastructures that, while not designed for this purpose, allow the practice of sports all the same.

The census of 1995 comprises 1.037 sports facilities, including 559 which are public or private, 221 belonging to public schools, 239 to private schools, and 18 which are touristic facilities. 32 facilities did not complete the census file, so they were not counted.

A total of 3,359 sports spaces were recorded. They are described in detail in the census, which includes their dimensions, construction and remodelling year, state of service, type of covering, general upkeep, state of dressing rooms, type and preservation of pavement, lighting, users, access system, number of spectators, activities and level of activity. Owing to the large number of sports spaces, facilities are classified according to 14 categories.

A survey was conducted in the public schools on the use of their sports facilities. Of the 220 public schools in Barcelona, only 165 offer extra-scholastic activities, which are organised in 81.1% of all cases by the parents' associations, in 7.2% of cases by the school councils, and in 5.5% by the City Districts. The activities organised by the schools are addressed solely to the members of the school in 47.9% of all cases, whereas in 52% they are open to the neighbourhood in general.

#### THE CITY QUALITY SURVEY

The main results obtained in the City Quality Survey of 1997 are discussed in this article. The survey, which was conducted for the third consecutive year, aims to learn the opinion of the Barcelonans with respect to their city and to the satisfaction they feel in living there. According to the findings of this study, the Barcelonans are hard-working modern people, with a cosmopolitan outlook, and although they are conservative and proud, they are tolerant of other people. Most of the interviewees stated that they were satisfied or fairly satisfied with their life in the city, and women and people over 64 years of age are those who consider themselves most fortunate. On a scale of 0 to 10, they give their satisfaction at living in Barcelona a score of 8.2. What

most bothers people is the massification, dense traffic, cost of living, noise, and pollution.

The results of this survey have not varied substantially with respect to those of the previous year's survey.

**Opinion** (The article entitled *Local welfare policies, The case of the Barcelona city Council* appears at the end of the summaries entirely translated.)

#### References

##### SOCIAL SCIENCES RESOURCES ON THE INTERNET

A steadily increasing quantity of information and services is available on the Internet. It is now possible to carry out a number of proceedings at the websites of the Public Administrations, including that of the City Council of Barcelona, which allows people to enroll themselves in the Municipal Registry, obtain a Residence or Cohabitation Certificate, or even submit suggestions or complaints. One of the most interesting websites is that of the Virtual City Council, which brings together many of the organisations, Municipal Departments and projects that are promoted by the City Council and that already have their own websites. This article aims to simplify search tasks by providing a list of addresses of the City Council of Barcelona, of general search engines, of library catalogues (OPAC: On-line Public Access Catalogue) and of various websites relating to the Social Sciences.

The different Social-Sciences websites listed in this article are grouped according to the following topics:

- General resources in the Social Sciences. websites specialised in Sociology, including those of national and international public and private institutions.
  - Educational resources. National and international websites dealing with Education.
  - Older Adults.
  - Women.
  - Disabled persons.
  - Volunteer organisations, and Associations. Information on public bodies and organisations that work with volunteers and for the defence of human rights.
  - Electronic journals. Periodical publications available on the Net.
  - Mailing lists for exchange of information, requiring subscription.
- The addresses given in this article may also be consulted from the floppy disk that accompanies this publication, by opening the a:socials.htm file from your browser.

## THE SOCIAL-INTEREST STUDIES BANK

The City Council of Barcelona, the University of Barcelona, the Autonomous University of Barcelona, and Ramon Llull University have established a collaboration agreement on the creation of the Social-Interest Studies Bank. Its main objective will be to promote the performance by stu-

dents, of theses, dissertations and final term papers on social topics that respond to the needs and demands of the various bodies of the city of Barcelona. The Studies Bank will enhance the effectiveness of the public and private funds invested in the city and will be a new step forward in the relations between the universities and society within the sphere of the social services.

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## Opinion

### THE LOCAL WELFARE POLICIES. THE CASE OF THE BARCELONA CITY COUNCIL\*

TXEMA CASTIELLA - ALBERT SERRA

#### Introduction

Traditionally, social policy has never been regarded as a sphere of the local authorities. This was particularly true of Spain, where the social component of the national government was minimal and protectionist in nature, related almost exclusively to the main structures of the administration: social security, health, and education. In the past two decades the panorama has changed considerably: on the one hand, the model of the national government is more in line with the standards of countries referred to as the "welfare states" in Europe, and on the other, the creation of the "State of the Autonomies" entailed a significant decentralization of functions and competences, some of which correspond to social policies.

The competence framework has gradually been clarified, most conspicuously since the Ley de Bases de Régimen Local (the basic law regulating local government) came into effect in 1985, but we have not yet arrived at a satisfactory situation which avoids the duplication of efforts and responsibilities and ensures the effective synergy of public resources, regardless of the administration. At the same time, the establishment of the State of the Autonomies involved a herculean decentralizing effort, but the consequences have not yet been felt at the local level. On the contrary, true autonomy has been lost in many fields, and the spending on municipalities as a percentage of the total public sector expenditure has fallen. Far from the 50-25-25 scheme, the distribution of public funds in Spain is currently 62% for the State, 26% for the Autonomous Communities, and 12% for the Local Authorities.

In this scheme, there is still an implicit tendency to reduce the local government to a body that merely administrates and provides services which

are mainly related to the traditional areas of city management (basic services like sanitation, sewerage, electricity, use of the public thoroughfare, and city planning). Nevertheless, during this period the local administration was consolidated as the tier of government closest to the citizens and has shown great vitality. Since the democratic transition, city councils have served as tools to achieve governability, a governability that entails reinforcing, structuring, and organizing harmonious civic coexistence based on the territory, thereby going far beyond the reductionist view that the municipalities are merely producers of services.<sup>1</sup>

This ambition to change from local administrations into local governments explains why the municipalities, in spite of their few competences and scarce resources, have undertaken important initiatives in fields that were off-limits until quite recently. Economic stimulation social policy of the job promotion, city planning, social welfare, the policies of prevention and civic security are some examples of this integral conception of the territory on which the local government acts. In the social realm specifically, the programmes and the initiatives carried out by the municipalities have had a major impact on the living standards of the inhabitants, have meant real improvements in the quality of life, have been perceived as doing so by the citizens, and have contributed resources, discourse and innovative social technology in many respects.

This article is an analysis of the main features of the social welfare policies in Barcelona, based on the experience of recent years, examining their latest developments, their political principles and aims, the allocation of resources, the structuring of the available offer, and the participatory dimen-

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\* Article included in the book *Gobiernos locales y políticas públicas* (Local Governments and Public Policies), compiled by Q. Brugué and R. Gomà (Ed. Ariel, Ciencia Política, Barcelona, 1998)

1. "Informe sobre el Gobierno Local en las democracias avanzadas" (Report on local government in the advanced democracies) contains the speeches and materials from the seminar held in Barcelona in March 1995 at the initiative of the Fundació Pi i Sunyer in collaboration with ESA-DE. Barcelona, 1996.

sion, among other factors. The purpose of the analysis —apart from any particular academic value this case may have— is to explore the specific contributions of the municipal social policy to the “welfare state” scheme in this country and the function of the local administration in the governing of the State.

### The Development of social policy in Barcelona

Although the evolution of social policy in Barcelona has obviously not been immune to the major trends observed in the rest of the country, some of the principal elements that distinguish it should be stressed from the outset:

#### A strong tradition of social action by the municipality

Historically, Barcelona has developed a number of services and facilities, some of which have been in existence for over a century, and they already constituted a substantial inheritance in the social realm. Of special merit in the field of social action are municipal charity and institutions like the Casa de la Misericordia, the city hospitals, and the city schools, which form a consistent base, a singular expression of city government commitment that Barcelona has evinced for many years. This social groundwork has not only had repercussions on the city, but has also perceptibly shaped the role played by municipal policy since the transition and has made Barcelona a rather special case in the panorama of Spanish local government. In concrete terms, the city supplies services and facilities which, according to the current regulations on competencies, are the province of other levels of government.

#### The upsurge in social demands and expectations

In almost twenty years of local democracy, there has been an exponential growth in social demands, which is explained by two very disparate circumstances. On the one hand, there was a shortage of social services and facilities exacerbated by many years of neglect, mainly in the outlying districts of the city and in the areas that were hastily constructed during the sixties. On the other hand, there was the economic recession during the late seventies and early eighties; the high jobless rates had dramatic social ramifications, since the primary tool for implementing social assimilation —employment— was no longer operational. Furthermore, not only in Barcelona but in other large Spanish and European cities as well, certain social problems tend to be concentrated in urban agglomerations. The changes in family structure and the progressive ageing of the population are among the most significant socio-demographic trends. Moreover, certain sectors of the population, among them, foreign immigrants, adult and adolescent drug addicts, people with disabilities, etc., who are relegated to a lower social status or are in danger of exclusion, call for priority treatment from the local authorities.

#### A theory of social change linked to the political orientation of the local government

Barcelona is one of the few large cities in Spain that has been governed by the left uninterruptedly since the first democratic municipal elections.<sup>2</sup> The creation and development of the welfare states in Europe had its main proponents among the leftist parties, mainly with a social-democratic tradition. This phenomenon partially explains an important aspect of the forging of social policies in Barcelona, with regard to both the application of certain paradigms in government action (equality of opportunities, income redistribution, the correction of imbalances, etc.), as well as the allocation of considerable resources to social action. Furthermore, as in other cities in Catalonia, the Barcelona city government has been marked by its strong ties with the community and social-activist movements that arose during the final years of the transition, which often supplied programmes, alternatives and personnel. In a subsequent stage, the conflict-ridden relationship between these activist groups and the local government —a struggle resolved through protest, dialogue, and negotiation— has been instrumental in shaping social policies in Barcelona. Implicit in this evolution is a theory of social change that rests on three assumptions: firstly, that the public sector has a great capacity for social change and transformation; secondly, that this public sector in the European model of social development is strongly infused with the values of redistribution and solidarity; and thirdly, that social expenditure is not simply a cost, but a short- and long-term investment intended to raise the level of the training and education level of the populace, to create healthy environments, to enhance the cultural life of the community and to reinforce social cohesion and peace. Such a conception of government social policy legitimizes the involvement of the City Council in many realms related to improving the citizens’ quality of life, as well as expanding the framework of local democracy.

Based on these components-tradition, the upsurge in social demands and political commitment-Barcelona’s social action has resulted in a number of policies and services which have considerable impact on the social life of the city. The following is a description of the most significant changes brought about during the 1979-1997 period:

#### A substantial increase in the resources allocated to social policy

In 1979 the proportion of the budget attributed to social policy (at the time, health care, charity, culture, education and sport) totalled 3,229 million pesetas, representing 15.7% of the city budget. In 1996 the social welfare budget (which by then had added housing, job promotion and international cooperation) was 59,019 million pesetas, or 25.2% of the municipal budget.

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2. 1979-1987: PSC-PSUC, 1987-1995: PSC-IC, 1995: PSC-IC-ERC.

This represents a spiralling growth of twenty times the original budget, as well as a near ten-point increase in the percentage of the total municipal budget assigned to social spending. In other words, during a period of strong growth of the municipal finances, social spending has undergone a ten-point increase above that growth rate. Similarly, the number of professionals directly assigned to personal services—including the government bodies and the institutional sector—has now reached four thousand. If human resources are the production base in the services sector, in the personal services they are a strategic element. Teachers, health-care personnel, social workers and other professionals are crucial to the personal services.

Professionals in personal services share a number of attributes which are worth bearing in mind: a strong sense of vocation, a high level of specialization and technical training, and the experience of constant contact with the population, a circumstance that has made them the receivers of the pressure and conflict resulting from the discrepancy between the demand and the resources available. This sector is labour-intensive and thus has a vast potential for job creation. In Barcelona, for example, the city social welfare services generate an indirect employment that far exceeds the number of personnel in the public function per se (through service contracts, outside management of sports installations, etc.).

#### The consolidation of sectoral policies and the creation of new services

The past two decades have witnessed the consolidation of the sectoral policies in education, health and culture, which already enjoyed solid foundations laid during the previous period, as noted above. Furthermore, using new operating models, the networks of the social services and sports, the job promotion programmes, and the activities related to the community and participatory life of the city have been initiated and developed. These sectoral policies are manifested in a vast supply of services—more than one hundred catalogued services—mandatory, voluntary and out-sourced. During the first ten years, the accumulated shortages and the absence of any regulatory competence framework, in addition to the political and professional impetus, led to a substantial increase in the available supply of services. Accordingly, this offering is complex and heterogeneous, with a serious product fragmentation which is currently being simplified and rationalized in consonance with new priorities and with the new economic and jurisdictional context.

#### A heavy investment in the creation of public facilities

Although not usually taken into account, the development of the social policy has a significant investment side to it, with a powerful influence on city planning and on the creation of public space, an indispensable condition for ensuring social cohesion; thus it shapes a new urban reality where

the value of the public gains ground with respect to the private. One of the most important undertakings in the past twenty years has been the creation of a vast system of public facilities and infrastructures. The Barcelona Social Facilities Plan encompasses 451 centres; among them are 32 social services centres, 144 sports installations, 21 museums, 31 libraries, 6 hospitals, and 82 schools and institutes. Furthermore, one of the pioneering contributions of the personal services in Barcelona has been the creation of community public space, in the form of premises, resources and opportunities available for group relations and for personal growth, and with group self-management by the users and neighbours. This public space is a network of 86 civic centres and Casales planned for different sectors of the population (the elderly, young people, children, etc.).

Several features of the development of this network are reminiscent of the increase in the supply of services: rapid and unbalanced growth to alleviate historical shortages, the consolidation and expansion of existing networks, a response to the demands and protests of social activist movements, the recovery of emblematic buildings that impart a strong sense of identity and their return to public and community use, and investment in reestablishing the balance of the territory. A characteristic of this network which is relevant to the analysis of the public policies is its geographical distribution. Although the system covers the entire city, the concentration of the centres is uneven. The underlying motive, as noted above, is the strategy of using investment to correct inequalities and to reestablish the equilibrium of the territory. The number of centres for every 10,000 inhabitants varies significantly: the best equipped districts are Ciutat Vella, Sants-Montjuïc, Horta-Guinardó and Nou Barris (working-class neighbourhoods), while the Eixample, Sarrià and Les Corts are at the opposite end of the spectrum. Although other considerations may influence the distribution (for example, the high concentration of cultural centres in the Ciutat Vella (the historical core) and of sports facilities on the slopes of Montjuïc (the main Olympics installations), the variation in proportion is still significant.

#### Political and administrative decentralization

In 1985 the City Council embarked on an ambitious administrative reform, which divided the city geographically into ten municipal Districts. Based on three constituent elements (the territory, government bodies, and competences), decentralization has a powerful impact on all city government activity. Municipal action has a clear significance in the natural setting where human relations are formed—in the neighbourhood, in the District—making the principle of maximum proximity to the citizens a reality. The competences in personal services were the pioneers in the decentralization process. That same year marked the creation of Departments of Personal Services—the first time this concept was used—which carried out the exe-

cutive and managerial functions of the decentralized services: social and youth services (basic assistance, facilities for children, young people, the elderly, etc.); education (mandatory support of the public schools and participation in the School Councils); health (preventative health care, health care in the schools), sport (the management of athletics facilities, sports promotion), and culture (civic centres, popular festivals). Today 23% of the total expenditure of personal services is decentralized, a percentage that will continue to rise in the future.

Barcelona's experience confirms the positive results of decentralization in the social field: a better understanding of the social reality, of the citizens' problems and needs, greater civic participation and a more flexible, better-coordinated and integrated action in the territory. This territorial variable has been identified as an increasingly important factor: the city always has a geography of inequality and imbalance. That is why territories must have a margin for action and manoeuvring, in order to adapt the planning and scheduling (basic central functions) to the circumstances and priorities of the districts.

### Promoting social cohesion

The mission of the social policy, as it appears in the 1995-1999 Municipal Action Plan, is to promote social cohesion in the city<sup>3</sup> through policies aimed at universal integration, as well as programmes to combat social exclusion. This strategy is closely related to the maxim of an EU seminar supported from 1990 to 1994 by the former president Jacques Delors: "fight against exclusion, foster integration". This two-dimensional formulation is the synthesis of a clear political message: the city is the sum of all its citizens. We must work toward the enhancement of the universal quality of daily life, strengthen the mechanisms of social integration (employment, education, and health) and fight against exclusion and marginalization.

However, this mission, these strategic goals, are so general in nature that they tend to create a facile unanimity of opinion. Accordingly, political differences and controversies often arise in relation to the principles, the criteria and the operating tools. The political level—the municipal government bodies—has given substantive content to the principles which guide this social policy and which are embodied in the respective sectoral policies.

The defense of public sector responsibility and the guarantee of social rights.

This principle signifies the determination to deal with social needs and the defense of the public sector as the engine of progress and equity. At the local level, this political commitment has resulted in the radical transformation of many services. These services were developed and structured in a man-

ner that facilitated a crucial step in the right direction, replacing beneficence and charity with the exercise of legal and inalienable social rights. In some instances this principle was taken farther than the legal regulations: in 1985, for example, the Barcelona City Council had already extended its social services, health care and school systems to all foreign immigrants, regardless of their legal status in this country. Public sector responsibility means ensuring the optimum provision of public services, whatever their form of management. From this perspective, agreement reached with the private and the non-profit sectors is not regarded merely as a way of saving public funds, but rather as a mechanism for producing more resources and renewed energy. Finally, the principle of guaranteed social rights obligates the municipality to standardize and clarify its own services, thereby ensuring that their potential beneficiaries have access to both the relevant information and the services *per se*.

Equality of opportunities and the fight against discrimination.

Social exclusion has been defined as a process that is not based purely on economics—the lack of financial resources—but is also characterized by discrimination or marginalization based on factors such as gender, age, circumstances or ethnic origin. The economic side of equality of opportunities has given rise to numerous municipal social resources and programmes, based on a two-fold orientation: firstly, the provision of universal services as the best guarantee of equal opportunity (access to education or to health care); and secondly, the provision of correction mechanisms as a function of income (grants, subsidies to families, conditions of eligibility for social services like the "Pink Card" [discounted or free public transport for senior citizens and people with disabilities], the telephone alarm, etc.). Nonetheless, promoting equality of opportunities goes beyond the economic realm. The main policy strategy in Barcelona also has two complementary orientations. The first course of action is to standardize the services, the aim being to integrate all individuals and groups in the regular services and facilities. This means adapting them to meet the needs of the entire population (adapting public transportation for the handicapped, equipping the school system to assimilate the children of foreign immigrants, etc.). The second course is to implement affirmative action mechanisms whenever this is deemed necessary. Affirmative action is a useful mechanism when full automatic integration cannot be guaranteed (an example would be the employment quotas for people with disabilities).

Reduction of social inequalities and territorial imbalances.

The role of the municipality is obviously subsidiary to the extensive state systems of social protection that help to correct inequalities, but the

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3. *Municipal Action Plan (1995-1999)*, Barcelona City Council.

great capacity for redistribution inherent in some of the local social programmes should not be underestimated. These inequalities have a territorial dimension. As we have already seen, like all cities and urban agglomerations, Barcelona has its geography of inequality. Social indicators, the indicators of income or employment, reveal an uneven distribution of wealth. In this respect, the most powerful tool of the City Council is the total municipal budget, with its capacity for redistribution and compensation, if its use is not based only on demography but on social indicators as well. The decentralized allocation for personal services amounts to 13,625 pesetas per capita in Ciutat Vella, as against 2,974 in Sarrià-Sant Gervasi, for example (1996 budget). Likewise, the investment budget is a tool which is essential to the reestablishment of the territorial balance.

#### Participation of the population as an agent of change

This is another policy principle that transcends any considerations, whether or not they are circumstantial, of the best management of the services. A policy intended to have a truly transforming impact on reality must involve the population as an agent for changing that reality. A progressive policy cannot treat the citizens merely as the users of the services but as the protagonists of these services, fostering personal autonomy and group self-management, which enables the citizens to find solutions to problems and to enrich the quality of life in the community.<sup>4</sup>

### The Main Social Policies

The personal services policies have developed around a strong nucleus formed by the sectoral policies: at the first level, the social services, education and health and, at the second level, the cultural policy and sport. This sectoral approach is firmly entrenched in the public administration for obvious reasons related to the production of services, to the specialization of each sector, and to their different chronology.

#### Social services

In 1979 the social services underwent a radical change. With the restoration of democracy they came to be regarded as personal entitlements, thereby surmounting the charity/relief conception of the preceding period. The Catalan Social Services Law of 1985 corroborated this change, which had already occurred at the municipal level, and served as a regulatory principle of the system. In accordance with this legal framework, the municipalities in Catalonia have centred their efforts on *Atención Primaria* (Basic Assistance/Care) which encompasses the multi-faceted social assistance (individual and family social assistance, legal aid, the detection and prevention of truancy, child care and adolescents at risk, etc.), as well

as domestic social assistance, a battery of services of crucial importance to the elderly —particularly those without sufficient resources and who live alone— and to people with disabilities. This block encompasses help in the home, telephone alarms, meals and house-cleaning services, and household repairs. Basic Assistance also includes social urgency and emergency programmes and programmes for the integration of indigent and homeless people. Assistance to the most marginalized sectors of society is a growing priority and a legitimizing factor of the entire personal services system.

We believe that the development of the social services in Barcelona has been a major contribution to the consolidation of this system of social protection, which is the youngest, the least familiar, as well as the least acknowledged of the social policies. In the field of Basic Assistance, a major responsibility of the City Council, a network of 32 social services centres has been created, thereby ensuring the visibility and proximity of the system, which serves a yearly average of 60,000 users. The establishment of the Minimum Integration Income, along with the regulatory and conceptual development, the computerization of user services, and the provision and training of a professional staff have all helped to consolidate and legitimize the function of the social services in a context influenced by powerful social pressures. Finally, Basic Assistance has a Permanent Assistance Office to cope with urgent situations, which is open 24 hours a day, 365 days a year, with a shelter for homeless people, and with various social promotion programmes (centres for children, for young people, for the elderly, etc.). Much of the responsibility for Special Assistance was also shouldered by the City Council, and it now includes four homes for the elderly, assistance and emergency centres, etc.

#### Education

In the field of education, the city of Barcelona has a long tradition and an impressive pedagogical heritage. Since 1857, the City Council has played a leading role in promoting high-quality education and access to schooling for all citizens, as well as standing at the forefront of pedagogical reform. Although the competences of educational administration are assigned to the Autonomous Government, this historical tradition in Barcelona led to the creation of 82 municipal education centres (child care centres, primary schools, institutes, etc.), a network that supplements the main public school system. In addition, the City Council exercises the competences assigned to it (the upkeep and maintenance of the school buildings and grounds, the monitoring of compulsory education, etc.). Another of the municipal tasks is

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4. Vintró, Eulàlia. *Els principals reptes socials a Barcelona* (The main social challenges in Barcelona). Barcelona City Council, 1991.



to serve on the School Councils —the democratic bodies that run the schools— whose other members are representatives of the educators, the parents and the students. A vast network of additional services —libraries, documentation centres, teaching and resource centres— all make their contribution to improving the quality of education in the city and the training of the teaching staff. Nevertheless, in Barcelona the public school on the whole still has less weight than the private school. The main efforts right now are centred on increasing the quantity and upgrading the quality of the public offer, augmenting its relative importance through land grants for the construction of new schools, the application of the School Plan, and the monitoring of the enrolment processes.

#### Public health

Municipal action in the area of public health, as in education, has a long tradition in the city. The centenary of the Instituto Pr-ctico de Higiene —the present Institut Municipal de la Salut (Municipal Health Institute)— was celebrated five years ago. At the moment, the Barcelona City Council is working to improve the health of its citizens and to build a healthy city, in accordance with the guidelines of the World Health Organization (WHO), concentrating on the aspects most closely linked to public health, preventative health care, and the promotion of good health habits. On the one hand, the activities designed to promote good health undertaken by the Public Health Department include prevention programmes (vaccination programmes, check-ups in the schools, and the control of infectious diseases), the improvement of the health conditions in the Barcelona workplace, the inspection and control of food products, and public hygiene, through control of the animal population, rodent extermination and sanitation in public spaces. A responsibility of vital importance is the collection of information and the monitoring of the general state of health of the population, by means of the Health Survey, the Health Information Services and the Epidemiological Surveillance Service, which monitors AIDS, tuberculosis, infectious diseases and food poisoning.

In 1983 the Institut Municipal d'Assistència Sanitària (Municipal Institute of Health Care) was established to group the municipal medical services, which include two city hospitals, a geriatrics centre, a psychiatric institute, an emergency centre, six family planning centres, a mental health primary care centre, and four research and teaching centres.

In recent years, the fight against drug addiction has become an important area of municipal action. 1987 saw the drafting of the Action Plan on Drug Addiction, which encompasses three approaches: prevention, assistance/care, and deterrence/repression. The preventative measures are undertaken in the schools and communities; as for assistance and support, there are treatment programmes and resources for the social reintegration of people

who want to stop using drugs; deterrent and repressive measures are limited to crimes linked to the use of illegal drugs and to drug dealing. This Action Plan is one of the most outstanding examples of the model of integrated planning and coordinated action by the various city services. The existing political, institutional and citizen consensus on this issue has had positive results, with the launching of innovative, advanced programmes, such as the administration of methadone as part of the detoxification treatment. The Plan manages six drug addiction treatment and monitoring centres, which are scattered throughout the city.

#### Sport

Today, sport is one of the most widely-practised activities in Barcelona. Municipal action through the Sport Department, the social impact of the Olympic Games, and the growing awareness of the correlation between the practice of sports and improvements in health and quality of life have consolidated this sectoral policy, which has considerable influence on the citizens. Historically, Barcelona has always enjoyed a wealth of sporting associations and clubs which have fostered athletics as both a physical and cultural activity. In the past fifteen years, the City Council has developed a policy on sport that resulted in a remarkable change, based on the three lines of action described below.

a) The creation of an extensive network of municipal sports facilities is one of the major accomplishments of this period. The process commenced in the early eighties and was given a powerful impetus by the '92 Barcelona Olympics. There is no doubt about the fact that, along with the upgrade of the roads and the communications systems, and the opening of the city to the sea, this network is one of the most important achievements related to the Olympic Games. We are talking about 144 athletics infrastructures that encompass 367 different sports facilities (athletics tracks, rinks, swimming pools, football fields, tennis courts, etc.) which provide the citizens with access to sports in every neighbourhood in the city. This public network is used by 366,000 people a year.

b) The promotion of sport for all, through the organization of major athletics events in the public arena (the Bicycle Festival, open marathons, skating races, etc.) which have turned into popular occasions for widespread citizen participation and have fostered the use of urban public space by the inhabitants; athletics in the schools, the organization of international competitions, the design of sports programmes for senior citizens, the adaptation of programmes and installations for people with disabilities, the dissemination of information, etc.

c) Promotion and collaboration with the more than 1,200 sporting associations and clubs. This policy of cooperation between the public and private sectors has led to the associations taking part in the management of

many municipal installations, to a line of financial subsidies granted annually, and to the set-up of a Municipal Sports Council co-managed by the City Council and all of the sporting federations and associations.

### Culture

The general aims of the City Council cultural policy are to ensure the preservation and the collective use of the cultural heritage, to foster the creativity, pluralism and freedom of the creators and users; to encourage cultural participation, and to stimulate and encourage cultural consumerism. The conception of culture is comprehensive; culture is considered to be an essential aspect of civic welfare.<sup>5</sup> To establish the context of municipal action, here again we must stress the special status of Barcelona as capital of Catalonia, its emblematic nature, the artistic and architectural heritage, and the vitality of the civil society.

Barcelona's functions as a capital city, as well as the development of numerous cultural initiatives sponsored by the foundations and associations of the city, help to explain the existence of a network of 21 museums (municipal or with municipal support) which foster the spread and democratization of culture. The scope of the municipal enterprise ranges from the great cultural infrastructures (the Liceo [Opera house] MNAC and MACBA [art museums], the Auditorio, etc.), with which other administration levels are increasingly associated through consortia, to a network of 32 civic centres, spaces destined primarily for cultural promotion and social participation, as well as a network of 31 public libraries. It seems obvious that these more decentralized initiatives (civic centres, libraries, street festivals, etc.) embody the concept and the reality of the personal services and partake of the principles of the social policy to a greater extent.

Although the sectoral policies have been developed independently, in the analyses of the common functions of these policies, they can be divided into the three main categories of functional policy —assistance, promotion and prevention— which constitute the corpus of the personal services.

### The social assistance policies

The primary aim of these policies is social integration, the assimilation of individuals who are excluded or at risk of being so. Such policies have a greater palliative effect on results than on causes. In practice, they are mainly services provided to individuals, aimed at improving particular living situations, and their impact on the citizens is both direct and measurable. The majority are concentrated in the social services and in a few of the public health services, notably the care and integration of people with drug addictions.

### The promotion policies

This is the area in which the local personal services have been consolidated and make their contributions, with added value, to the general social welfare scheme. They foster personal growth in a community context, and their roots are found in seemingly disparate sources. However, these policies converge in this area of social democracy. Socio-cultural activities, the promotion of health, lifelong-learning programmes and the pedagogical reform movements, community work, sports promotion, cultural democratization, and health promotion are distinct approaches that share a powerful undercurrent which crystallizes in the urban environment: the search for new forms of participation, involvement in personal growth, and collective work aimed at the improving the community. Most of the athletics programmes, the participation facilities, the cultural dissemination programmes, the educational activities, adult education centres, the promotion of health and several social promotion programmes (social tourism for the elderly, for young people, etc.) all form this area, where personal growth converges with urban community life.

### The prevention policies

Although directly related to the promotion policies, prevention has its own place in social action. These policies are focused more intensely on causes than on effects and are therefore distinguished by their capacity to anticipate the appearance or the spread of social problems. The core of the prevention policies is action in the form of compiling information, communications and assessment. Prevention activities are concentrated in the public health programmes: initiatives against drug addiction undertaken in schools, neighbourhoods, and companies; as well as vaccination programmes and the like, without overlooking the importance of epidemiological monitoring. But other services as well have developed programmes with a substantial preventative content, among them, the Child Care and Adolescents at Risk Teams (EAIA's), truancy control, the prevention and early detection of disabilities, to cite examples of very disparate natures.

From the standpoint of public policy analysis, it is worth drawing attention to the constant tension that exists between what is urgent and what is important. Urgent matters usually involve providing assistance with a serious social problem to an individual or group (drug addicts, homeless people, battered women, adolescents with no schooling, etc.). In contrast, important issues generally entail allocating resources to actions which, in spite of their seemingly interminable nature and their uncertain results, have

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5. Mascarell, Ferran. "Els ciutadans de Barcelona i la capitalidad de la cultura catalana" (The citizens of Barcelona and the capital status of the Catalan culture). *La Municipal*, October 1990.

a powerful impact on the quality of life in the medium term and, from an economic point of view, are usually the most efficient.

### **The organizational framework of the Personal Service**

One of the classical problems in policy analysis is to define what is meant by social policy or by social welfare. The various sectoral policies that have just been described undoubtedly form a substantial part of the social policy, but not all in the same way, nor have all been included. In the Barcelona City Council a wide-ranging conception has been consolidated, which integrates diverse sectoral policies. The integration process is the result of two distinct approaches, which have developed simultaneously and complementarily in this city: on the one hand, reasoning based on political and technical judgements; and on the other, reasoning based on organizational criteria.

To begin with, the political and technical reasons for supporting an extensive integration of social policies are based on the conviction that such an integration is a positive and necessary response to the interdependence of the social problems and challenges. Reality is responsible for showing this supposition to be valid: the rates of school failure, mortality, unemployment, and income levels, to cite just a few examples, are directly correlated. There are, then, technical or pragmatic reasons for arguing that if the various health care, educational and social service systems were better coordinated, they would have a greater and more effective impact on the living conditions of the population.

But furthermore, political criteria exist that reflect differing attitudes toward social policy per se. The reductionist view of social policy has been gaining ground in neo-liberal discourse. According to this way of thinking, social policy should be centred on actions designed to alleviate poverty and to assist the excluded sectors. Opposing this view is a school of thought that regards social policy as the sum of all policies and resources, and what motivates social intervention is the desire to enhance the quality of life of the entire population, to reduce inequalities in all areas and, within this context, to combat poverty and social exclusion.

From this standpoint, the personal services must be regarded as all of the services, benefits, actions and legislation —be they economic, regulatory, sanctioning, etc.— which further the aims and principles of the social policy and its sectoral policies. In spite of its descriptive ambiguity, the concept of 'personal services' has a great capacity to make this group of diverse policies both meaningful and operational; although heterogeneous in nature, they are nonetheless interdependent and share a common denominator: they involve government actions aimed at enhancing the quality of life, meeting social needs, and promoting personal growth.

Turning to the second approach, organizational reasons -inherent in organization theory and as such are not specific to the social sector- also provide considerable support for this integration process. At the present time, the general trend is to structure the government and the local management in four or five major operating divisions. In the case of Barcelona, for example, a centralized structure of more than twenty departments with political/technical status has been reconstructed as an executive structure with five main sectors: city planning, public thoroughfare, maintenance and services, personal services and central services. This process of comprehensive integration and the creation of large operating divisions is in keeping with the principles of organization theory (simplification of structures, flattening of the management pyramids, etc.). But even so, it is interesting to note how the combination of both approaches—the political and the organizational—has made it possible to improve the overall analysis of the social reality, to produce coordinated responses and actions, to rationalize resources, to generate synergies, and to obtain greater consistency in the results.

Both approaches in combination have given rise to an evolutionary process of great vitality, replacing the fragmentation of the early years of local democracy with an advanced level of political and managerial integration. This integration process has occurred at the political level, in management, in the territory, in the public participation space, and in the development of new cross-sectoral policies.

#### **Political leadership**

The 1987-1991 period saw the consolidation of the Social Welfare Commission, which encompassed the political leadership of the Social Services, Public Health, Sport, Youth, and Education departments and became an initial structure of executive integration. The Social Welfare Commission also included the City Councillors in charge of other areas of social policy (Culture, Housing, Employment, and Prevention). Although the Commission had no executive power, it still signified an advance toward a comprehensive and inclusive view of social policy, and exercised responsibilities in analysis, coordination and monitoring.

#### **Management integration**

The establishment of the Personal Services Sector in 1995 represented another step forward in the integration process, combining the managerial bodies of Social Services, Sport and the Institutes of Culture, Education, Public Health and the Disabled. With a different intensity, the Personal Services Sector goes way beyond simple coordination and involves the executive integration of services and investment planning, human and financial resources management and production control, among other functions. The

Management of the Personal Services Sector also makes it possible to develop of common tools for planning and management that bring greater cohesion to the Personal Services, as well as giving them a more prominent position in the municipal organization as a whole. Among these instruments are the unified Catalogue of Services and Benefits, the Barcelona Social Facilities Plan, the Social Indicators System, the social studies journal *Barcelona Societat*, and various training programmes. These tools foster interaction between the various services, joint planning, and the building of a common organizational culture.

#### The Personal Services in the Districts

In point of fact, political/administrative decentralization, which was also initiated in 1985, prompted the first stage of true integration. In this case, the organizational aspect was decisive: the services transferred to the District authorities were divided into three large areas, one them being Personal Services, which encompassed the decentralized services in the terrains of social services, public health, youth, sport and education. This compacting of the services was no longer a matter of mere coordination; rather it entailed unifying the management of the decentralized services under a single governing structure. This process gave rise to extensive professional debate and has been one of the most enriching experiences of municipal social action, in addition to leaving as a legacy the concept of “personal services”, which has made a place for itself in the municipal political/organizational domain.

#### The Municipal Council of Social Welfare

The creation in 1988 of this participatory body directly strengthened and consolidated the sectoral policy integration process. As a result of its broadly based composition (social associations, trade unions, universities and financial institutions, etc.), its objectives, the most important being to support the creation of a “welfare culture” in the city of Barcelona; and its achieved results, this Council has been an essential interlocutor of social policy.

#### The Plans for population sectors

In 1985 the Plenary Council approved the Barcelona Youth Project, one of the pioneering experiments in integrated work. Departing from a comprehensive diagnosis and an extensive participatory process, the aim was to devise public policies that extended across the entire municipal organization to impact on the reality of youth, related to education, health, culture, leisure time, and other aspects. This model made a valuable contribution to the processes of coordination, communications and the integration of the various sectoral policies. Fragmentation of the social structure is on the rise in urban

dynamics. An approach that is strictly sectoral is recognized as being incapable of providing satisfactory solutions or of setting rational priorities with respect to the needs and characteristics of the various population groups. In some instances, the new social movements enjoy a strong corporate and group identity (women, the elderly, youth, people with disabilities), while in others, the characteristics of the population sector have targeted them for concrete plans (e.g., children, foreign immigrants and refugees). This dynamic coincides with a key objective in the modernization of the public services: to focus on the citizens and to identify the users of the services. Taking this population variable into account means inverting the pyramid and ceasing to base our planning on the organization, but on its intended beneficiaries. At the present time, in addition to the Youth Project, the Barcelona City Council has also set up the Senior Citizens' Plan, the Children's Plan, the Barcelona Women's Plan and is currently designing the Plan for Interculturalism. The key aspects of the methodologies used are similar: a comprehensive diagnosis, planning elements and guidelines laid down for the municipal services as a whole, technical coordination instruments and methods of assessment. These Plans become components of integration in as much as they transcend the domain of a single sectoral policy—traditionally, the social services—and further the effective coordination of all the municipal areas.

As we can see, there are tangible instruments and circumstances which have fostered this process of integrating the social policies. Nonetheless, we must regard it as a process because the degree of integration could be still more inclusive (for example, adding housing and economic promotion), or it could be more limited as well, depending upon the political/organizational choices taken into consideration. In the same vein, the most interesting point for the current debate is, in our opinion, how to reconcile the necessary specificity of the services with their overall aggregation. In other words, each system (education, health, social services) incorporates and develops degrees of specificity and of specialization which are highly beneficial and essential for social progress. Maintaining and refining this degree of specialization at the same time as the sectoral policies are being integrated might seem contradictory and, at the very least, may result in dysfunctions and conflicts that must be resolved.

We believe that the proper balance lies in integrating the functions that offer an added value, such as the information systems, the principles of economic and personnel management, strategic planning, service production methods, communications and the general framework. The degree of integration should not be stifling; it must allow for sectoral development and an operational decentralizing of sectoral systems, which, however, are integrated in a whole.

## Participation and agreement with the social fabric

The main contribution of the local government to the concept of governability is clearly not its function as a provider of services—a responsibility it shares with other levels of administration—but its incorporation, made possible by its proximity and its size, of mechanisms for participation, dialogue and reaching agreement with the citizenry. Furthermore, as a result of forty years of dictatorship, the recent development of municipal political theory in Spain has firmly entrenched the “participatory democracy” dimension in government action.

The Barcelona City Council has accumulated substantial assets in this area. In 1985 the Regulatory Standards of Citizen Participation were passed, in many aspects an innovative and pioneering piece of legislation in Spain. These Standards govern mechanisms of participation, the right to information, and the right to petition, public hearings and the sectoral or territorial participatory councils. Within this legal framework, the personal services have formulated various mechanisms of participation and new avenues have been explored with the intention of creating a new model to govern the relationship between the local administration and the social movements, organizations and groups.

Underlying this policy is the recognition and acceptance of the important role played by associations in social welfare. This role entails such crucial functions as identifying new needs, protecting sectors that are poorly served, making formal complaints and demands, putting pressure on the public authorities, providing their own innovative services, and mobilizing civic energy and resources. In Barcelona, the association network is an essential aspect of city life, which also serves to indicate the extent of social cohesion in the city. It is estimated that there are more than eight thousand social organizations, voluntary associations, cultural groups, women’s groups, athletics clubs, mutual support groups, organizations for adolescents and children, associations for the elderly, and many, many more. These groups produce services and create a framework for interaction that constitute an irreplaceable part of the quality of life in the city.

Furthermore, it should not be forgotten that participation must also have a personal and individual side. In the case of Barcelona, there are the individual rights stipulated in the Standards mentioned above (the rights to information, to petition, etc.), in addition to electoral processes based on personal suffrage (notably those of the School Councils and the elections to the Board of the Institute of the Disabled), and opportunities to take part in the management of facilities as an associate or member (e.g., the sports installations and the centres for the elderly). Certainly, participation by the citizen as user could be improved in many of the services by ensuring (for example) effective mechanisms for complaint.

The phenomenon of collective participation in Barcelona has gone through various stages, which are cumulative in the sense that more and more mechanisms and areas of participation are incorporated, without eliminating those in existence, and these vehicles range from general government support for associationism to citizen participation in decision making.

### Support for associationism

As the expression of organized citizenry, has taken concrete form in the allocation of considerable financial resources to organizations. In 1996, for example, the agreements reached and the subsidies provided to organizations in the city involved a transfer to the non-profit sector of nearly one thousand million pesetas. In the same vein, one of the integration actions of the Personal Services Sector was to combine in one set of Regulatory Standards the criteria and procedures for granting subsidies in the areas of the social services, sport, public health, and youth, at both the central and territorial levels. This economic backing has been reinforced by the regular publication of guides to organizations, intended to promote the social function of associationism at the citizen level; by joint promotional campaigns, and by the creation of the Municipal Agency of Services for Associations in 1994. The impact of these financial and material resources is making itself felt in the enhanced organizational capacity of the associations, and in the upgrade of their management, infrastructure and training resources.

### Cooperation in providing services of general and civic interest

In recent years, many services which had initially been managed directly are now run in cooperation with associations, the aim being to take advantage of sectoral or territorial specialization as well as joint efforts and resources, while at the same time preventing the City Council from becoming a competitor in fields in which associations have an acknowledged expertise. The management of the holidays for children and adolescents by youth associations, cooperation in the management of some of the civic centres with associations in the District or neighbourhood, the opportunities offered by the Regulations on the management of sports installations are some of the experiments that illustrate this cooperative spirit.

### Association participation and consultation in the design of municipal policy

The creation of advisory and participatory councils has resulted in stable mechanisms for participation and dialogue between the associations and the local administration. The past several years have seen the esta-

ishment and satisfactory development of the Senior Citizens' Advisory Council, the Barcelona Women's Council, the Council of Health in the Workplace, the Municipal Sports Council, the Municipal Council of Voluntary Associations, and the Economic and Social Council. These bodies have a number of features in common: they provide opportunities for interaction between the associations and City Hall, they meet regularly and, although they have no official decision-making powers, they have a real influence on city life. The Municipal School Council, established in accordance with the legislation in effect, completes this map of participatory councils, with the Municipal Council of Social Welfare being one of the most noteworthy.

#### Participation in decision making

The participatory model of municipal government has expanded in recent years as the councils are consolidated and the advantages of social consensus are confirmed. There have been new initiatives that go beyond the advisory role, making it possible for associations and social and economic agents to assume joint responsibility and to participate directly in certain realms of municipal action. The foremost example is the Barcelona Youth Project which was designed by the City Council in 1985 with the joint responsibility of the Barcelona Youth Council, which represents the organized youth associations of the city. The aim was to approve the master plan of the youth policy and to do so together with the young people themselves. This same philosophy inspired the Integral Development Plan of the Social Services, drafted in 1995 by the Barcelona City Council and more than 130 social associations, for the purpose of setting strategic goals for the future which would be equally binding on all the signatories.

#### Future Trends

The social policy, and the personal services in particular, face a two-fold challenge that will grow more critical in the immediate future. On the one hand, we will have a controversial budgetary and economic situation; public funds will not increase in the same way or at the same rate as in the eighties. On the other hand, the dichotomizing and exclusion processes that affect particular sectors will provoke an upsurge in social demands and requirements, and the changes in the demographic and family structures will generate pressure for increased social spending on health and other social services. In short, a familiar equation: an increase in demands and a decrease in, or contention over, resources. This is the context of the ideological criticism of the welfare state, fuelled by highly diverse interests.

The local administration cannot escape this dynamic and the personal services must be prepared to consolidate their legitimacy, to increase the

return on resources, and to strengthen the impact of their actions. In this area policy and management must go hand-in-hand in order to achieve the difficult equilibrium between economic efficiency and social effectiveness. The reflections below are some suggestions for making headway in this future situation which is already present.

#### Upgrade the competence framework

Public administrations have a wide margin for manoeuvring to improve their results, by clarify the respective levels of action, avoiding duplication of efforts, and ensuring the smooth coordination of their activities. The Barcelona Municipal Plan provides a fine opportunity to make progress toward these goals, which common sense tells us are both rational and inevitable. At the social level as well, the Plan should offer a chance for further decentralization, transferring more programmes and services to the local level, particularly in cases where experience has shown that flexibility and proximity to the citizens have resulted in greater social effectiveness. The allocation of competencies, which is stipulated in our legal framework, is an avenue that should be used with greater frequency. Consider the fact that at the present time, only one out of the one hundred Barcelona city services is delegated—the EAIA's (the Child Care and Adolescents at Risk Teams). In our opinion, the creation of consortia or similar bodies may be an agile mechanism in some cases but, generally speaking, the tendency should be to simplify the levels of operation by assigning clear managerial responsibilities to each administration, but without losing sight of the fact that collaborative planning and regulation ensures equal rights in a territory, be it regional or national. In Barcelona, for example, it would be far more advantageous to allocate the competences of all the basic assistance of social services to the local level, with the city taking over services and centres from other levels of government and, vice versa, to transfer the local residential and special assistance facilities to the autonomous government. The immediate repercussions would be a greater cost-effectiveness in the use of resources, the elimination of a competence with no creative aspects, and the allocation of distinct responsibilities— a situation quite different from the present jungle of competencies that seems to dilute responsibilities. In any case, however difficult it may seem, the aim is clear: to build single public service systems (educational, social, health), that share the same access criteria and conditions of provision.

#### Structure and simplify the service offer

Essentially, the task before us is to set new priorities and to re-order actions after a period of remarkable growth and development. Such a structuring of the service offer must be responsive to three factors: firstly, as mentioned earlier, it must comply with the competence framework, concentra-

ting on our own mandatory responsibilities as stipulated by law, but without renouncing any attempts to go beyond them. Secondly, structuring must reflect clearly established policy priorities. In this area, policy formulation must be exercised with care, in so far as an analysis of election platforms shows that in the realm of social welfare there is a very strong tendency to promise overall improvements and extended coverage that far exceed what is actually possible. The debate on the services provided, in the context indicated above, cannot avoid the consideration of cost: there are no free services, by definition. What is free is access to particular services under specified conditions. In some cases, as is occurring already, the regulation of access to social benefits should be increasingly strict and include financial charges that are in proportion to family and individual incomes. This is a structuring mechanism of the offer which prioritizes the target population of each service and ensures the redistribution of resources, while at the same time informing on the cost of the services. Thirdly, structuring must be based on an in-depth knowledge of reality; in other words, on reliable information systems. Only with sound information tools can governability be insured in the context of conflicting interests, pressure groups, and growing demands that characterizes social policy. At the planning level, furthermore, sectoral, territorial and population-sector rationales must be increasingly integrated in a master structure.

#### Improve the management of the personal services

Recent experiences show that there is a wide margin for manoeuvring to streamline the management and production of personal services: on the one hand, by clearly designing the components of the production process (the service, the benefits, the intended beneficiaries, etc.) and, on the other, by utilizing the methods of management that are most appropriate for each service. The almost exclusively internal management of the personal services is now tending to diversify and should do so to an even greater extent in the future. Subcontracting parts of the production and management processes is acceptable in many fields. In Barcelona, for example, a great percentage of the assistance provided in the home, of the programmes in the fight against poverty, as well as the management of sports installations and social promotion facilities are subcontracted, with no adverse effects, no qualitative or quantitative losses in the service, nor of their public nature. Some of the most important innovations with respect to the involvement of the non-profit and private sectors have been achieved in the management of facilities. The sports installations are managed under a wide range of models (concessions, service contracts, etc.) in which sporting clubs and federations, companies and civic associations participate. The centres for children and for young people are managed through service contracts mainly with youth organizations. And several of the civic centres

have already initiated interesting models of joint management by the City Council and associations, going beyond the advisory-council formulas shared by all the centres. Indirect management is not privatization; on the contrary, it should lead to a greater capacity for control, for participation and for regulation. The crucial point is to clearly establish which parts of the process can be subcontracted and which cannot. Besides the aspects stipulated by law, such as those that involve the exercise of authority; in our opinion, the out-sourcing of the following responsibilities is unacceptable: the selection of priority needs, the decision to create a service, the allocation of resources, the establishment of the conditions of access to the services, and their monitoring and assessment. Therefore, the added value of local administration lies in ensuring the provision and access to the service, while the production per se may be out-sourced, in accordance with these guidelines.

#### Provide quality and citizen-oriented services

The underlying concepts of private-sector administration and the new theories of management seem to have met with resistance in the personal services. And yet, not only are these concepts positive contributions to the process, but in many instances they are already part of the occupational background of many social workers and professionals. The policy in the fight against drug addiction sets clear priorities based on the concept of focusing on the citizen (the prevention of death, ensuring contact with the public services, enhancement of the quality of life of the individuals affected). The philosophy of keeping the elderly in their own homes or familiar surroundings is supported primarily by the wishes of these same individuals, regardless of the fact that this is the least expensive solution, which is always a legitimate objective. The crucial goal is to standardize the criteria of quality and client-oriented organization throughout the personal services. Eliminating waiting lists, supplying appropriate information, being prepared to provide the service needed, and meeting the demands are among the requirements for achieving this goal. Of course, the personal services have their particularities and that is precisely why they can contribute valuable elements to this public service culture. In our field, concepts of quality and of client-oriented service are manifested in the growing tendency to go out to meet the target sectors, excluded individuals and groups, structuring the service offer and organization in tune with this method of operation. The methadone bus that travels around the city guaranteeing that the users have daily access to this substitute narcotic, the "Wintertime Shelter Operation", through which social workers are mobilized to inform and to provide shelter for the homeless who sleep in the streets; and the actions undertaken to ensure that the potential beneficiaries of the Minimum Integration Income enjoy this entitlement are examples of what we mean.

### Place public sector-private sector cooperation in a strategic perspective

In other words, what is called for is a long-term view of the model city we want to create, and of the responsibilities that must be assumed by the various institutions and associations, as well as a net increase in the resources allocated and in the forces mobilized, as mentioned earlier. The Integral Development Plan of the Social Services in Barcelona is a good example of this joint strategic planning.

### Integrate the social policy in a city plan

The personal services and the sectoral policies are not the only tools available for municipal social action. The city planning policies, the urban renewal plans, tax treatment according to income level, and economic promotion focused on job creation are some of the key elements to ensure that the city plan fully integrates the social dimension we have been defending and that, as a consequence, it has a strong political and ideological content. In the development of the city model that Barcelona has undergone over the past twenty years, we believe it is obvious that the social dimension has been deeply ingrained in all aspects of the processes of urban revitalization and of territorial re-balance. The consolidation of large personal services departments or macro-areas must further this purpose, rather than oppose it by restricting social action to these areas.

In conclusion, we must recognize that the social policies in Barcelona and the development of a solid core of personal services have exerted, and still exert, a powerful impact on the social cohesion of the city. We are talking about a concrete, decentralized, and integrating contribution to the national government, supplementing the main social protection systems. Although the dynamic of the services themselves is focused on social problems and needs—often the most pressing—the socio-economic indicators of Barcelona (life expectancy, educational levels, income distribution, citizen security, and civic participation, among others) have shown a favourable trend in recent years. A detailed analysis of the relationship between the social policy and the vitality of the city, its economic and cultural dynamism, its degree of cohesion and harmonious coexistence, would require another article. However we can affirm that the personal services, with their combination of social assistance, promotion, prevention and participatory development, are at the heart of many of the positive changes that have taken place in our community: the higher levels of education and training of the citizens, the healthy environment, cultural development and the mechanisms of solidarity, among others. For the same reason, they have the potential for coping successfully with the present and future challenges in the urban environment: integration, the fight against unemployment and access to housing.