

SUMMARY

Social profile

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE PROFESSIONS OF THE BARCELONESE. GENTRIFICATION AND POLARIZATION

This study analyzes the changes in the socio-professional structure of Barcelona and is centred on the confirmation of the hypothesis that the city has undergone a gentrification process: firstly, through the rise of the socio-economic levels of the population living in the city; secondly, through the simultaneous decrease in the lowest occupational categories, and thirdly, (as an outcome of the two previous factors) the polarization existing between Barcelona and the rest of Catalonia. To reach these conclusions, data was analyzed on jobs and unemployment, as well as the change in professions, using a sequence from 1970 to 1991. The study found that there has been an increase in employment, an increase in the high-level and mid-level professions and an unemployment figure which has been oscillating throughout the sequence. Employment among the Barcelonese increased from a level of 39.44% to 42.8%. As for unemployment, 12.5% was recorded in 1981; it rose for several years and later fell until reaching 11% in 1991. With respect to the professions, the high categories virtually doubled in specific weight, rising from 11.8% in 1971 to 18.9% in 1991. The number of mid-level professions remained much the same, rising slightly 36.1% to 40.4%. However, the greatest change found is in the worker category, which underwent a notable reduction of 12 points. The study also explored the difference by sex, noting the incorporation of women in the working population, particularly in the mid-level professions, and a higher rate of female unemployment.

Opinion

(The article entitled *The European Social Dimension and the Local ambit: Histories in Parallel or Meeting Point?* appears at the end of the summaries entirely translated.)

Dossier

DRUG ADDICTION IN BARCELONA: A RECORD OF DRUG USE AND RELATED ISSUES

This article analyzes drug addiction in Barcelona, based on information from various social-service and health-care sources. The Barcelona Drug Addiction Information System (SIDB) collects data systematically on the abuse of illegal drugs, through the tracking of the individual cases treated in the various centres of the social-service and health-care network, the hospital emergencies, and the deaths related to drug abuse. On the basis of this in-

formation, it is now known that from 1992 to 1994 11,433 individuals addicted to various substances were treated 75% male and 25% female. Of the total number of cases, 85% were heroin addicts. Through this information system it was also established that in 1994 2,841 initial treatments were provided in the Social Service Centres for Drug Addiction (CAS), there were approximately four thousand hospital emergencies among users of illegal drugs, and during that same year, 125 individuals died of causes related to drug abuse, 75% of whom were resided in this city. Through this same system it was possible to construct the sociodemographic profile of the users of heroin, cocaine and other substances. Furthermore, the article offers the data from a study on the incidence of cocaine use in Barcelona, and also explores alcohol consumption among the Barcelonese through an analysis of the data from the Health Survey conducted regularly by the City Council.

RISK REDUCTION PROGRAMS: A NEW PERSPECTIVE IN THE APPROACH TO DRUG ADDICTION

On a world-wide scale, the approach to drug addiction has been re-examined since 1987. The reasons for this reconsideration were the unsatisfactory results in the treatment of drug addicts, the outbreak of aids, and the difficulties inherent in eradicating/reducing drug use. The original philosophy entailed reducing or eliminating drug use, and achieving abstinence from drug use through moral or paternalist approaches or simple punitive law enforcement (theory of abstinence). The framework has since been expanded, focusing on a "social and health policy that prioritizes the objective of diminishing the negative effects of drug use, from a pragmatic perspective on public health, rooted in humanitarianism and libertarianism." This second approach is referred to as 'risk or harm reduction'. The advantages are obvious, since it has allowed a broadening of objectives within the policies on drug addiction.

Since 1989 in Barcelona, the original policy based on an abstinence philosophy has been extended to include new 'harm reduction' strategies. This change has taken concrete form in the areas of education, criminal justice and the treatment of drug addicts.

SOCIAL CHANGES AND COPING WITH THE DRUG PROBLEM IN THE CAN TUNIS NEIGHBOURHOOD

The subject of this article is the drug problem in the Can Tunis neighbourhood, a marginal area of the Sants-Montjuïc district populated by families of Gypsy origin. The study establishes certain cultural and social factors that influence drug use and the related medical problems. According to the article, the presence of drugs in the neighbourhood was detected in the early

sixties, and what are known as hard drugs flooded the quarter during the mid-eighties. Drug dealing gradually became a major source of income and a *modus vivendi* for many families. By the nineties, heroin and cocaine use was very widespread, affecting one out of three families. Between 1992 and 1994, a substantial number of users contacted the Sants Drug Addiction Centre (CAS). The article ends with an analysis of the data on the users treated by the CAS between the 1st of March 1993 and the 30th of June 1995, and compares the individuals from the Can Tunis quarter with the rest of the cases treated by the centre. It was found that among the users from the Can Tunis neighbourhood, the drug was mainly snorted or smoked, while the majority of the rest of the cases injected the drug. The groups showed a similar incidence of tuberculosis and hepatitis, but there were fewer HIV positive cases in the Can Tunis group.

DRUGS AND THE VICTIMIZATION SURVEY

This article is a summary of the findings of the Victimization Survey, which has been conducted periodically in the city of Barcelona since the eighties, providing information on the perception of the problem of drug use among the citizens. The relationship between urban insecurity and drug addiction is analyzed. According to early data from 1987, drugs were considered to be one of the major causes of crime, and drug addicts engendered insecurity. In more recent years a change in this trend has been observed: drug addicts are beginning to be perceived as human beings with problems as victims of the drugs and the individuals surveyed now tend to place more value on preventative, as opposed to repressive, measures. Generally speaking, however there is still little tolerance of the drug addiction problem, and this is particularly true of the narcotics trade.

EL RAVAL AS AN OPEN DRUG SCENE: STUDY OF A NEIGHBOURHOOD WITHIN THE FRAMEWORK OF SIX EUROPEAN CITIES.

In 1995 the European Union Commission subsidized a study entitled *Open drug scenes in six European cities: Amsterdam, Barcelona, Hamburg, London, Paris and Rotterdam*.

The Barcelona Municipal Action Plan on Drug Addiction played an active role in the study. The neighbourhood chosen was El Raval, where a survey was conducted of residents, shopkeepers, police and addicts, exploring their attitudes and reactions to the visible presence of addicts.

Regarding their perceptions and emotional reactions, the residents, and the shopkeepers even more so, showed a greater uneasiness than was justified by the small dimensions of this 'open scene'. The strongest emotional reaction was aroused by abandoned syringes and the invasion of the addicts in

their private lives (hanging out in doorways, entrances, etc.). Although in El Raval the addicts are not highly visible, nor do they create any major problems, more than 50% of those surveyed wished they would disappear.

Our conclusions, which coincided with those of the European report, indicate a balance in favour of the harm reduction policy, so long as the open drug scenes do not involve socially disruptive behaviour. The study conducted confirms the soundness of the strategies in effect in El Raval.

Radiography

SOCIAL SERVICES FOR THE ELDERLY IN THE CITY OF BARCELONA

This study, which is structured in three different sections, first provides an analysis of the available services for the elderly population of the city of Barcelona. The services studied were divided into two levels: the first level of care (all the services provided in the individuals' homes) and the second level of care (all the services provided in special facilities). The public services at the first level are analyzed with a break-down by district. At the second level of care, both public and private services are included, with the same study-area breakdown.

The second section of the study establishes the recommended extent of coverage, based on the different gerontological plans that now exist in the country, with a calculation of the present extent of coverage by services and the shortage of openings. In the third section two potential strategies are outlined from the public-sector standpoint, with the financial resources of the users of these services considered as a classification variable.

Monographs

THE SOCIAL NETWORK AND THE HEALTH OF THE ELDERLY

During the past few decades, various studies have shown the correlation of high-quality personal relationships with better health and greater longevity (Cohen 1984, House 1988). In order to gather information on the social support of the elderly and its relationship with their health in our city, the Municipal Health Institute conducted the present study, based on the findings of the 1992 Barcelona Health Survey. A notable aspect of the descriptive analysis is that women perceive their health as being worse than men do, and this factor is related to cohabitation: there is a very high percentage of widows and women who live alone. However, no differences were found with respect to the social network and emotional support which, generally speaking, is extensive. Only 10% reported that there was no one they could ask for a small favour or for emotional support.

The results of the study indicate that cohabitation and social support is related to mortality. An excessively high mortality rate was found among the unmarried, people who live alone, and people with no emotional support.

THE SCHOOL PLAN OF THE CITY OF BARCELONA

The article deals with the proposals of the Barcelona School Plan which was passed in January of 1995, arising from the confirmation that Barcelona has serious weaknesses in its school system, particularly with regard to the low percentage of public schools and their territorial distribution. Within the framework of the application of the LOGSE (Law for the General Regulation of the Educational System), the School Plan (Mapa Escolar) places special emphasis on the quality of education, equality of opportunity, universal secondary education, and the adequacy of the available professional training facilities to meet the socio-economic demand of the country. The article then examines the principal options of the Municipal Institute of Education in the overall revision and the development of the Plan.

SPENDING ON SOCIAL SERVICES IN BARCELONA

Within the framework of the Social Services Integral Plan, one of the proposed areas of study was the financial resources allocated to Social Services. The economic study conducted was a cross-sectional analysis of the spending on Social Services during 1993 in Barcelona by both the public administration and the non-profit organizations. In addition to the total amount spent in this area, other targets of analysis were the financial flows between the public sector and the private non-profit organizations, the percentage of the expense assumed by each sector, and how much is allocated to each type of programme. According to this article, in 1993 the amount spent by all the public and private non-profit organizations as a whole was 29,179,79 million pesetas. Of this total, 81% was spent by the public administration and 19% by private non-profit organizations. Sixty-two percent of the expenditure was allocated to Social Service facilities, 25% to pensions, 8% to subsidies and 5% to investments.

MOSLEMS IN BARCELONA: ASSOCIATIVE DYNAMICS AND COMMUNITY SPACES

In this article the author presents a summary of a study conducted in the province of Barcelona between 1995 and 1996, which was commissioned by the Barcelona City Council. This is a qualitative study based on interviews and visits to centres and places of worship, as well as documentary research. The

main objective was to attain an initial approach to the reality of the Moslem communities in Barcelona, and this entailed a review of the recent period, starting in the sixties. The article is focused mainly on the founding of associations, the opening of mosques and establishments such as the halal butchers and on the community dynamics generated in these settings. The main Moslem religious centres in the province of Barcelona appear in the article.

HOMELESS PEOPLE IN BARCELONA: PROFILE OF THE USERS ASSISTED BY THE MUNICIPAL SERVICES

This article provides a general description of the individuals without homes living in the city of Barcelona, based on an analysis of the data on the users assisted by the municipal services. The sources of the information are the personal reports on the cases handled by the Social Integration Teams and by the Social Assistance for the Homeless Programme of the Barcelona City Council. The following variables were used in this analysis: age, sex, marital status, level of education, birthplace, employment status, causative factors, mobility, time spent on the street, and dependency on addictive substances, among others. The last section of the article is a general description of the family units contacted and assisted throughout 1995. The work is supplemented with a reference to the European Observatory on the Homeless, initiated and run by FEANTSA, a federation of European NGO's working in this field. There are also two Barcelona case references, taken from the study entitled "The sky for a roof" conducted by a group of COU students (University Preparation Course), which received the 1995 Young Researchers Prize that is awarded by the Ministry of Social Affairs.

THE USER/FAMILY ASSISTANCE PROJECT

The User Project was started as a result of the need for a tool to organize and systematize all of the issues, actions and interventions carried out in the social services centres and, more specifically, in their basic health care facilities.

The User Project consists of a file with information about the user, a file with data on the family and the activities schedule, and an envelope where all the documentation related to the case is kept.

Computerization plays an important role. Information is entered in single oracle relational database, organizing the work, so that any data needed for tracking, evaluation and planning can be obtained.

The User-Family project is designed to achieve three key objectives.

1. To unify the information-gathering system of all the municipal basic health care centres.
2. To have a work tool that meets the requirements and objectives of the social worker and the social services centre where he/she is employed, as

well as the requirements and objectives of the District personal services, the Social Services Office and of the management of the personal services sector.

3. To have the objective and reliable information required for planning and evaluation, so that the head offices can provide the necessary resources, in terms of personnel, services, etc.

THE VALDAURA RESIDENCE: A NEW MODEL FOR RESPECTING AND ACCEPTING DIFFERENCES

The Valldaura Residence has 22 places for the preparation/rehabilitation of adults with serious disturbances in personality structure (mental deficiency, psychosis, neurosis, perversion). The Barcelona Municipal Institute

of the Disabled drafted a design for the residence, which was approved by the Department of Social Welfare of the Generalitat of Catalonia (the regional government). According to the model, all residents must receive support in the following seven areas: 1. legal; 2. psychiatric/psychoanalytic; 3. behavioural; 4. pedagogical; 5. leisure and sports; 6. employment/ occupational; 7. sanitary-health.

With the exception of behavioural training, all the other activities take place outside the residence, using all the resources of the community to the greatest extent possible.

Valldaura is conceived a half-way point. It is not meant to be a lifetime residence, and the end goal is for the residents to become more independent and move into supervised flats.

Opinion

THE EUROPEAN SOCIAL DIMENSION AND THE LOCAL AMBIT: HISTORIES IN PARALLEL OR MEETING POINT?

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This article attempts to contribute some ideas on the recent development and possible interconnection between European Union (EU) social policies and new social welfare roles at a local level. To this end it is divided into three sections: the first deals with Europe (political Europe, or the EU, as it actually is); the second deals with the dimension of social welfare in various European local government models, and the third puts forward some ideas on the possibility of devising a meeting point between the two areas: local and European.

The European Union Social Dimension: Potential and (Especially) Limits

1. From the Treaty of Rome to the Revision of Maastricht: a developing panorama

Social policies have always played an incidental role in the process of community integration. Lip-service has been paid to social Europe in an attempt to legitimise, but substantive manifestations of it have been feeble. The founding Treaty of Rome incorporated only a very limited social agenda

and did not go so far as to breach the legislative monopoly of member states. Furthermore, getting community social initiatives underway was institutionally limited on two fronts: the European Parliament's almost null and void role and the Council's system of unanimous voting. The situation saw little change of any scope until the end of the 'eighties. The culmination of the common market project in the Single European Act of 1987 brought with it a modest expansion and game rules partially altered by the inadequate community welfare system. Change took place on three levels: symbolic (the 1989 European Social Charter), normative (the Treaty of Maastricht Social Accord) and substantive (Social Action Programmes 1989-92 and 1995-97). Some deepening in the evolutionary dynamic of community social policies leads us to be able to discern at least four phases and their respective turning points (Gold, 1993).

(1) 1958-1972: A Common Market with no Social Agenda

Throughout this stage, the national welfare systems of the six founding member states was almost uniformly based on the corporate model which helped to keep conflict over labour and distribution off the community agenda. It did, however, prevent complexity seeping into an embryonic process, strengthening and keeping the general view of the Community on a strictly economic and trading keel.

(2) 1973-1980: The Emergence of the Community Welfare Regime

The Paris summit (1972) represents the departure point of an initial modest social revolution. On the basis of decisions taken there the Commission drafted the Social Action Programme (1973-1980) which serves as a fra-

mework for drawing up public policy on three fronts: the Action Programme I against poverty, regulation of the employment market, (directives on worker protection in the event of dismissal, insolvency or change of ownership) and the adoption of three basic directives on equal treatment for men and women (remuneration, working conditions and social security).

(3) 1980-1988: Neo-liberal Pressures and Social Paralysis

The new ideological hegemony spearheaded by Thatcher governments, linked to the advance of highly Eurosceptical stances, gave rise to a general arrest (or even reversal) in the development of the fragile community welfare regime. Only in the area of sex discrimination was there any clear advance with the approval of the Equal Opportunity Programme I and the adoption of the principle of positive action (1984). Between 1980 and 1987 the Council paralysed any proposals on labour directives: both those concerned with the protection of individual rights (non-indefinite contracts or authorship) and those intending to affect collective labour relations (worker representation in multinationals).

(4) 1989-1995: The Genesis of the Social Dimension of the EU

The Maastricht social policy accord provides the European welfare regime with the potential to expand and breaks away from the principle of unanimous decision-making. Beyond constitutional change, the many initiatives for action to have come out of this can be classified into two areas: Firstly, those that penetrate further into areas of already consolidated European public policy: the Framework Directive on health and safety in the workplace, the directive on works committees or the reform of structural funds as instruments of the policy of cohesion. Secondly, those which signify a highlighted extension of the limits of European social policy: the recommendation on convergence of objectives in pension schemes, initiatives regarding social exclusion (Poverty-III, ERGO and HELIOS) or the implications of equality of the sexes on the domestic front.

The Social Dimension of the EU: towards a new transnational welfare regime in Europe?

Having looked at the evolutionary dynamic, we shall now turn to considering the present character of the European Union social dimension. Besides technological change and segmenting patterns of social consumption, globalisation processes centre on the heart of the new production models adopted by post-Ford economies. The failing legislative protection framework of former national markets has had a huge impact on employment and on the dynamics of the social distribution of generated wealth. In western Europe the transformation of the European Union into a transnational neo-federalist organisation also brings with it the prospect of taking related political decisions on a growing range of economic and social issues.

As regards the economic sphere the EU has put the seal on its commit-

ment to economic integration grounded on neo-liberal values and monetarist operating criteria. As regards the socio-employment sphere things are much more complex. The European social dimension today is a conglomeration of regulations, policies and action programmes shaped by the concrete distribution of power resources on the basis of two semi-autonomous foci of conflict: the substantive divider, polarising public regulation and trade assignments; and the territorial divider, polarising decision-making capability between the Union, member states and state bodies (regions and cities).

Preliminary analysis of the social dimension reveals a three-way panorama. Firstly, community decision-making rules in the social ambit, with markedly weak democratic and federal components, are such that they appear to have given rise to a European welfare policy structure that is incomplete, asymmetrical and leans too far towards regional relief aid (cohesion policies) via structural funds. Secondly, the relationship of dependence in the social dimension on economic and monetary union is such that it appears to have taken shape in a global adjustment of the former to the ideological values prevailing in the EMU: the supremacy of the market as a mechanism to generate social welfare and a functional (rather than structural or equitable) relationship between social and economic policies. Finally, the diversity of national welfare systems looks increasingly to be an insurmountable obstacle for the process of social convergence or highly Europeanised social policies. We shall take a brief look at these three aspects below.

-EU policies that do not fall into the strictly mercantile bracket can be divided into three major areas. Social dimensions in the strict sense combined with the regional together form the social dimension in the broader sense. The social dimension comprises four sectors of action (employment, social protection, sex discrimination and exclusion). In addition, the intersection between labour-based components of social exclusion with the regional dimension make up the fifth sector: the policies of cohesion. If we analyse this structure, three characteristics stand out in particular: (a) the spread of the European social dimension is below the minimum common denominator of national welfare states, i.e., issues falling squarely inside national ambits continue to be excluded on a EU scale (for example, housing policies or minimum income programmes). (b) The European social dimension has not yet overcome its labour bias. The actively employed population, rather than its overall citizenship, appears to be the real subject of the community welfare regime (for example, the employment market is privileged as a mechanism in generating rights of social protection and non-placement in this market is a source of social exclusion above and beyond generational, ethnic or health rifts). (c) Finally, the financial reinforcement of structural funding in the face of the weakness of the social dimension in the strict sense ends up by predetermining a selectivist relief aid-based social dimension, above any possible universalist considerations (Hantrais, 1995).

-EU social dimension policies are shaped on the basis of the unequal relative weight of three ideological working hypotheses and on the respective abilities of support coalitions to convert these into concrete Union decisions. The neo-liberal hypothesis supports a purely instrumental relationship between social action and the EMU. Community welfare policies have to be limited by the criteria of efficiency without entering the area of redistribution. The relief aid hypothesis advocates an EMU-DS relationship of a functional kind: social policies (without taking issue over its strict conformity to the imperatives of nominal Maastricht convergence) must correct new transnational social welfare divisions instigated by the single market. Finally, the social rights hypothesis lends support to a universal social dimension, with a strongly redistributive component, a structural and fairness-based dialogue containing a reformulated model of economic convergence pivoting on employment. Of the three scenarios, recent social dimension development shows strong signs of the first two (for example, the exportability of contributory pensions and structural funds) and marked weakness in the third (although there have been several directives regulating employment and equality of the sexes) (Sbragia, 1993).

-There is a true displacement taking place of social policy decision-making to the European political arena. In other words, on a parallel with the pronounced Europeanisation of economic and environmental policies, there is an emerging process of public welfare scheme integration. The responses are complex (Adams, 1992). To begin with a theoretical scale of social Europeanisation can be established on the basis of four progressively staged hypotheses:

(1) The EU is not the appropriate place to draw up welfare policies: it is too large to administer personal service programmes and too large to meet the social challenges of globalisation.

(2) The EU must limit itself to playing the role of catalyst and driving force underlying the exchange of experiences and mutual learning between member states, regions and municipalities as regards social policy.

(3) The EU must single out the strategic objectives and the desired standards of a shared European social model. And it should do this by means of legislation. The drawing up of policies derived from these objectives, within the framework of community legislation, would fall to member states, regions and municipalities.

(4) In order to meet the social challenges of globalisation and the EMU there is no other solution but to pursue a process of parallel harmonisation of all national social policy systems. The EU must primarily and practically exclusively take the initiative in this.

Figure 1. Levels of Europeanisation of social policies, relation with the EMU and the employment/citizen In fact the EU social dimension, as it currently stands, cannot be monolithically placed in relation to the hypotheses

mentioned (Gomà, 1996). There are, however, two solidly defined constants to be observed. Firstly, there are major trans-sectoral obstacles to high levels of Europeanisation arising from the diversity of national models and the staunchly held traditional conception of the principle of subsidiarity. Secondly, there is a selective polarisation of very concrete policies at high levels of integration and, significantly, there is a high correlation between the latter and two variables: functionality in respect of the EMU and the linking of public policy to the employment sphere (Figure 1 see page 22).

The Foundations and Rules of Change and Diversity in Local Welfare Provision

Theoretical Argument

From the 'forties up to the 'seventies advanced capitalist countries did not present very complex social structures. Class divisions became a reference point for identity and almost exclusively collective action. This brought with it the consolidation of homogenous lines of social need concentrated in the working classes, derived from an inability to obtain basic goods because of inadequate incomes or emerging labour market junctures. In response to this structural setup, the political system (an expression of the social correlation of forces) came up with the classic Keynesian welfare model. The model incorporated a three-way strategic objective: high taxation on stable male occupations, a massive increase in the work force, and a relative guaranteed income for unemployed segments. The final objective was brought about by a specific agenda of social policies (education, health, social security, housing, transport, etc.) which took the form of centralised, monopolistic, bureaucratic and standardised transfers of supply/production and universal services. Within this framework local governments played low-profile substantively secondary roles (the drawing up of policies and all economic administration was the domain of central departments), although in many cases they played widely embracing operative roles: municipalities became the executive arm of universal public services.

Over the course of the last ten to fifteen years, however, change has taken place on many fronts. A whole new range of socio-economic processes, international in their scope, are fast emerging in advanced democracies: technological change, structurally entrenched unemployment, an ageing population and a transition towards post-nuclear forms of family life. These changes are all eroding the capacity of the Keynesian welfare state (KWS) to regulate society, and place its public policies under heavy pressure to restructure. The need for a new approach is inescapable and the direction this will take is open to ideological political debate (Pierson, 1991).

Certain changes have a special effect on local governments, insofar as they fundamentally redefine the parameters of the contribution made by

municipalities to collective welfare provision. There are two in particular. (a) Social fragmentation arising from a whole set of new fissures: identity reference points have multiplied and new needs have appeared that do not fall in with the underlying logic of the KWS. Within this context sectors facing structural difficulties in job placement and those subject to non-class based inequalities have become enormously vulnerable to the dynamics of social marginalisation and exclusion. (b) The change in the production paradigm (from Fordism to flexible accumulation), which rapidly filters through to systems providing public services. In short, the capability of local administrations has substantially grown to offer de-standardised, territorializable policies containing strong components of communitisation and personalisation (Brugué, 1996).

Both features recreate the basic conditions for municipalities to make a specific significant contribution to broadening and deepening the social state. Local governments are in a position to expand their agenda in taking action and playing a more highly qualitative and strategic social role. Various factors lend weight to this argument: the central position of territory and endogenous resources as variables in economic reactivation; the reinforcement of local communities as realms of collective identity and expression; the realisation that new sectors vulnerable to processes of social exclusion have links of a community type, with very weak levels of high aggregation; the comparatively greater capacity of the local sphere to diagnose and be on the receiving end of demands and highly segmented needs; and the positive capacity differential insofar as they are able to make the supply of services flexible. As a result local governments are fast moving into the areas of economic promotion and continuous training, putting personal service policies into operation, increasingly taking action to deal with the dynamics of social exclusion and resettlement, putting forward flexible social service design and provision and are oriented towards applying community and potentially participative welfare policies.

What is the underlying argument that gives solidity to this new re-evaluated conception of the local social arena? The above-mentioned contextual changes are filtering through to the political thinking behind welfare and are constituted in a new dimension. Welfare is no longer merely understood as the security derived from the state's public capacity to safeguard certain universal social rights: it is also the result of building a set of participative integrating social relations in the municipal ambit that perform multifarious local and public roles.

Empirical Diversity

It should be pointed out that the line of reasoning pursued so far is somewhat abstract and is in no way intended to detract from the great diversity of the present situation in Europe as regards local regimes or models of mu-

nicipal welfare service design/provision. It is a common for academic literature to take as its departure point the two great principles upon which local governments in liberal democracies began building their structure: statutory and general competence. The former gave rise to the Anglo-Saxon model, in which local authorities are conceived as prestation agencies that only intervene where authorised by the specific competent authorities. The latter gave rise to the continental model, where municipalities and supramunicipal ambits are conceived as places where the problems of the community are expressed and ways of solving them found. However, the current situation of local European governments is today much more complex, as a result of two great historic movements of change (Batley, Stoker, 1991).

From 1945 to the end of the 1970s, the emergence of the welfare state and the correlative readjustment of territorial structures caused an enormous expansion in British local sociobureaucracy, the political, financial and managerial strengthening of Scandinavian municipalities and heightened intergovernmental tension in Germany and France as a result of fiscal dependency between their local governments over the Länder and central government respectively. Finally, during the 'eighties and 'nineties three new lines of change began to emerge in European models of local government. Firstly, Thatcherism began to have a devastating effect on the prestation capacity of British local government. Secondly, continental local governments were benefitted by new internal decentralising dynamics: the Länder passed highly important social policies over to municipal and supramunicipal ambits and the de-centralising strategy pursued by President Mitterand strengthened the democratic dimensions and provisions of the French département structure. Lastly, southern Europe entered the forum of European municipal debate through democratic transitions. In the Spanish state, local governments were incorporated into continental tradition, exponentially increasing their budgets, though their relative stake remained practically unchanged in the overall management of public resources within the new state of self-governing communities.

In short, a look at the current situation reveals that the traditional Anglo-Continental rift has been overtaken by a new map in which four, if not more, European models of local government make their appearance. In the Central Continental and Anglo-Saxon regimes the elements of internal coherence between democratic dimensions (policy drafting and community identity) and prestation (resource management and economies of scale) predominate, although in opposite directions: in Germany local government presents a powerful profile, in the post-Thatcherite United Kingdom the local councils are shown to be in a highly depressed state. As regards the Scandinavian and Mediterranean models, on the other hand, a high potential for internal tension can be observed due to the community deficit in the former and the resource deficit in the latter (Figure 2 - see page 22).

On the basis of this review of the panorama and development of local European diversity, there is a key question to be asked: what implications does this heterogeneous diversity hold within the ambit of social policies and how are the aspects of participation and efficiency of municipal welfare services provision linked? (Norton, 1994).

As Figure 3 (see page 24) shows, the provision of welfare in European models of local government can be defined in accordance with three basic indicators. Firstly, the spread and depth of the municipal social services provided. It is worth noting here both the unequal decommercialisation between the models (degree of cover by depth of protection supplied overall) and the specificity of Mediterranean models which do not share in the European tendency to municipalise universal services.

Secondly, there are the predominant management values. It can be observed here how the Scandinavian model has moved further towards the internal dimension (strategy/flexibility) of the new post-bureaucratic paradigm, while the German and Spanish local welfare systems incorporate a greater number of external elements (sharing/pluralist), and the British model has shown strong techno-bureaucratic resistance as a defensive response to attack from neo-liberal centralism. Finally, the underlying political values reveal the ideological nature (not to be confused with party lines) of the choices made over the two previous variables. Redistribution, fairness, protection, security, the market, relief aid and integration operate as strong values, asymmetrically present in each of the local European welfare models. (Gomà, 1996)

By Way of Tentative Conclusions: Social Welfare, Europe and Local Government

Section one described the social dimension of the European Union, section two dealt with the welfare dimension of various European local government models. Below we put forward some ideas on the possibility of creating a meeting point between the two worlds, European and local. The ideas gathered above enable us to detect certain threads of argument and put forward some, albeit necessarily tentative and cautious, ideas on the local European scenario.

(1) It is important to get away from the classic concept of subsidiarity, which is leading to a pattern of sectoral distribution of responsibility between the Union, the member states and territorial powers, and move towards an alternative notion. Transgovernmental concurrence should be strengthened within each sphere of action, using functional criteria in the distribution

of responsibility. The classic concept tends to perpetuate the exclusion of key themes from the local agenda. The alternative could strengthen the strategic role of regulation without exclusion from the EU and open up the possibility of specific local roles in all areas of public effort and collective welfare provision. The principle agreement between the European Commission and the Committee of the Regions on the role of cities in training and occupation policies may be a first-off example of this.

(2) The social dimension of the EU has not as yet extended to a range of universal social rights specified in European federal regulations. It pivots rather on transfer mechanisms within the framework of action against social exclusion and the objectives of cohesion. This approach, despite its basic inadequacies, also provides clear opportunities for local authorities. The weight of municipal management within the social funds of the EU taken as a whole has seen sustained growth since 1989. Beyond this, however, community programmes have acted as catalysts of the first order in processes of change in democratic relations, and organisational and operative management. This is a qualitative aspect which should not be underrated (the action model of east Onyar in Girona or the present local network of economic promotion, training and occupation within the Youthstart framework are interesting examples).

(3) Local government today is well placed to play substantive, qualitative and strategic roles in providing welfare, not just operational as in the KWS period. The new cultural dimension of welfare puts local personal service policies at the forefront. The responses of local European regimes, far from being uniform, pursue diverse paths. This diversity could and should be a constant source of learning. The realm of the community should create conditions which enable the sustained transfer of cognitive maps and local welfare technology (both democratic and management).

In short, the EU/municipality focus could form a key vector in the political Europe of the future, provided that it strengthens the constitutional and programming side of the social dimension, that it takes the transversal notion of subsidiarity further forward, that the EU continues to encourage radical change in the logics of local action, and that it gets inter-local mutual learning networks underway with clear support from the EU. Failure to do so, however, will lead to a much less exciting scenario in the future, with the social dimension bogged down in the Europe of business and local powers blocked by a Europe of worn-out state mechanisms. Again, the ordinary citizen up against merchants and princes.