



Combating Social Exclusion in Europe: The New Urban Policy Challenge

Rob Atkinson

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Introduction

The past 20 years have witnessed what many would regard as an extraordinary change in the language and concepts employed to discuss, analyse and inform policy in the area of social policy in general and urban policy in particular. Many of the notions and strategies that dominated the post-war era until the mid 1970s, which were closely associated with the consensus based around the 'Keynesian social democratic welfare state' (Offe, 1984), were subject to withering criticism from a resurgent new right during the 1970s and 1980s (see Joseph and Sumption, 1979; Green, 1987). What had previously been conventional wisdom suddenly became heresy, most notably the ideas that the state could manage the economy and intervene effectively to solve social problems. This new conventional wisdom, with a political base in the new right Thatcher and Reagan administrations and global institutions such as the IMF and World Bank, argued that the state actually made matters worse—the solution was to unleash the power of market forces and entrepreneurial initiative to reinvigorate the economic and social infrastructure of nations. One of the earliest and most notable casualties of this resurgent 19th-century liberalism was poverty. Governments of a new-right persuasion effectively defined it out of existence (see Joseph and Sumption, 1979, for a clear statement of these views).

Ironically, this terminological 'eradication' of poverty found a distorted echo in the views of north-west European states that believed that their highly developed social protection systems had *actually* eradicated poverty. For instance the European Commission (1992, p. 7) pointed out that in the 1970s many member-states assumed that poverty had been reduced to a "residual state of affairs which would disappear with progress and growth". In both cases, there was a tendency to move towards a 'victim-blaming' strategy in which any residual 'poverty' was deemed to be the result of inappropriate forms of individual behaviour. In Britain, following the example of the US, there was a brief flirtation during the 1980s with the notion of the underclass (McNicol, 1987; Murray, 1990). Thus during the 1980s there was something of a hiatus in the European vocabulary of social policy as politicians, officials and academics searched for new terms to discuss social problems. The urgency of this task was intensified by the return of mass, often long-term, unemployment, and a not unrelated increase in problems such as the numbers of people living on low incomes, homelessness and general urban decline. All of these factors were obvious to the citizens of western Europe in their everyday lives (see Eurobarometer, 1990) and politicians felt obliged

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