THE FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY
AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN PORTUGAL

The Strategies and Tools against social Exclusion and Poverty global programme (STEP) of the International Labour Organization (ILO) is active in two interdependent thematic areas: the extension of social protection to the excluded and integrated approaches to social inclusion.

STEP supports the design and dissemination of innovative systems intended to extend social protection to excluded populations, particularly in the informal economy. It focuses in particular on systems based on the participation and organization of the excluded. STEP also contributes to strengthening links between these systems and other social protection mechanisms. In this way, STEP supports the establishment of coherent national social protection systems, based on the values of efficiency, equity and solidarity.

STEP's action in the field of social protection is placed in the broader framework of combating poverty and social exclusion. It gives special emphasis to improving understanding of the phenomena of social exclusion and to consolidating integrated approaches at the methodological level which endeavour to reduce this problem. STEP pays special attention to the relationship between the local and national levels, while at the same contributing to international activities and agenda.

STEP combines different types of activities: studies and research; the development of methodological tools and reference documents, training, the execution of field projects, technical assistance for the definition and implementation of policies and the development of networking between the various actors.

The programme's activities are carried out within the Social Security Policy and Development Branch of the ILO, and particularly its Global Campaign on Social Security and Coverage for All.

THE FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY AND SOCIAL EXCLUSION IN PORTUGAL

Experiences from the National Programme of Fight against Poverty

International Labour Office

Preface by Portugal's Minister of Social Security and Labour

In recent decades development has brought new social phenomena to the world, confronting today's societies with new realities and endowing them with the very specific characteristics of this new age.

The global economy, the trends in world markets, the changes we have witnessed in the labour market, recent migrations have caused social changes, created new phenomena and complicated existing ones. This complexity of the social panorama has also resulted in the discussion and analysis of new ways of approaching these issues.

In this context, poverty, social exclusion and precariousness are the object of national, European and world attention. In fact, in an increasingly universal society it is vital that asymmetries are corrected and social inclusion is promoted not only by the State but also by civil society, notably through the direct participation of the people, involving them and giving them co-responsibility in the pursuit of social policies whilst also giving them autonomy and promoting the respective insertion. Today there is not so much a Welfare State but a Welfare Society and it is essential that each individual is aware of his social responsibilities and shares them. This is the social right and the duty of us all.

Conducting a study on poverty and social exclusion in Portugal which examines the framework and characteristics of these phenomena is not only a noble and complex task but is also essential to the diagnosis of Portugal's social situation.

The importance of a study of this kind also lies in its decisive contribution to clarifying the causes of the most serious social problems and hence in trying to define the most appropriate and above all the fairest social policies.

Furthermore, the study has provided the fundamental basis to evaluate the effectiveness of existing social policies. However, if social justice is to be a reality, this task must be completed, namely through planning new strategies and bringing the policies up to date in accordance with the new instigating phenomena.

Conducting a study of this nature is a valuable public service which provides the different social agents with information, clarification and understanding. Although this material is wide ranging, the truth is that this study has not neglected the complexity and the multidimensional nature of poverty nowadays. At the same time it promotes a more up-to-date social culture, including rights and

respective duties, and highlights the pressing need for extensive inter-institutional coordination and different sectoral policies.

This contribution of this analysis must be recognised, the problems assumed and examined and new reforms must be embarked on which promote solidarity, foster equity and strengthen social cohesion.

António Bagão Félix

Preface by
the General Director of ILO

Poverty and social exclusion have not disappeared; far from it, in many countries it has increased and worsened. All humanity is affected as nobody can ignore the fact that there are millions of people who live in highly precarious circumstances, are on the margin of the circuits of production and consumption, have no decent work and cannot participate in economic, social, political and cultural life.

We must therefore do more to combat these urgent and serious situations and create conditions for a fairer distribution of resources worldwide so that standards of living can be improved, citizens' rights can be extended and discrimination and racism can be eliminated. In the working world, we want to ensure that everyone has access to more decent work.

The International Labour Office has always taken an active role in the world of work and social justice and is strongly committed to all those from the four corners of the globe who fight both against material poverty and for social, political and cultural inclusion. Their past and present efforts to improve labour relations, the normative framework, social dialogue and social protection go hand in hand with the specific determination to confront social exclusion. This determination is expressed in a number of activities of which we highlight the STEP Programme (Strategies and Techniques against Social Exclusion and Poverty) of the Social Protection Sector and the current world Campaign for social security and coverage for all. This means that it is important to place the fight against poverty and exclusion on the agendas of governments and public administrations so that all the actors, employers' organisations, trade unions and the associative world pledge to reduce it. Equally, it is necessary to analyse and provide a better response to the needs of people and communities who find it particularly difficult to integrate in economic circles (women, emigrant workers, workers in the informal economy, people affected by AIDS, the disabled, youth, older persons, indigenous people and tribes). All ask to have their needs thoroughly analysed and articulated with the proposals which are being discussed as policy decisions.

The Portuguese Government has shown its willingness to collaborate with the ILO since the start of the STEP Programme; at first this was directed to the Portuguese Speaking African Countries but this has recently been reinforced with a new phase. This publication is a further demonstration of that collaboration.

Portugal has shed its own light on the panorama of the fight against poverty and social exclusion in many countries, including those of the European Union. Portugal's journey to overcome its difficulties in relation to poverty has been a long

one and its ability to develop different programmes to tackle this problem is therefore noteworthy. This book illustrates some of these programmes in the context of the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty; a number of experiences are presented which involve the principles of partnership, an integrated approach, careful placing of actions and the participation of target groups in an attempt to prevent and reduce social exclusion.

This is the duty of each and everyone of us and we can all learn from analysing the experiences worldwide. The aim of this book, and others which follow, is to serve as the instruments of the ILO and its STEP Programme in the pursuit of its manifest objective to combat social exclusion.

Juan Somavia

General Index

Abbreviations

ADCE	Associação de Desenvolvimento do Concelho de Espinho (Espinho Council Development Association)
ADESCO	Associação para o Desenvolvimento Comunitário de Amarante (The Amarante Association for Community Development)
ANEFA	Agência Nacional de Educação e Formação de Adultos (National Agency for Adult Education and Training)
ATL	Actividades de Tempos Livres (Free Time Activities)
CAIC	Centro de Apoio Infantil Comunitário (Community Child Support Centre)
CESIS	Centro de Estudos para a Intervenção Social (Study Centre for Social Intervention)
CIES	Centro de Investigação e Estudos Sociológicos – ISCTE (Sociological Research and Study Centre)
CIRIEC	International Centre of Research and Information on the Public and Cooperative Economy
CLA	Comissão Local de Acompanhamento (Local Monitoring Committee)
CLAS	Conselhos Locais de Acção Social (Local Councils for Social Action)
CSF	Comissões Sociais de Freguesia (Parish Social Committees)
CRSS	Centros Regionais de Segurança Social (Regional Social Security Centres)
DAR	Projecto Desenvolver, Acolher e Recriar (Develop, Shelter and Recreate Project)
EAGGF	European Agriculture Guidance and Guarantee Fund
ECU	European Currency Unit
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
EPFAP	European Programme for the Fight against Poverty
ERDF	European Regional Development Fund
ESF	European Social Fund
EUROSTAT	European Statistics
FAO	United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FEOGA (EAGGF)	Fundo Europeu de Orientação e Garantia Agrícola (European Agriculture Guidance and Guarantee Fund)
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GMI	Guaranteed Minimum Income

IDS	Instituto para o Desenvolvimento Social (Social Development Institute)
IEFP	Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional (Employment and Occupational Training Institute)
ILE	Iniciativas Locais de Emprego (Local Employment Initiatives)
ILO	International Labour Organization
IMF	International Monetary Fund
INE	Instituto Nacional de Estatística (National Statistics Institute)
INTEGRAR	Programme co-financed by the European Social Fund for the integration of disadvantaged social groups
INTERREG	Support programme for the social and economic rehabilitation of the border regions
IPSS	Instituições Particulares de Solidariedade Social (Private Social Solidarity Institutions)
ISCTE	Instituto Superior de Ciências do Trabalho e da Empresa (College of Further Education in Business and Labour Sciences)
LEADER	Liaison Entre Actions de Développement de L'Économie Rurale (EU support programme for the development of the rural economy)
MEPAT	Ministério do Equipamento, do Planeamento e da Administração do Território (Ministry of Equipment, Planning and Territorial Administration)
MESS	Ministério do Emprego e da Segurança Social (Ministry of Employment and Social Security)
MQS	Ministério para a Qualificação e o Emprego (Ministry for Qualification and Employment)
MTS	Ministério do Trabalho e da Solidariedade (Ministry of Labour and Solidarity)
NGO	Non Governmental Organization
NPFAP	National Programme for the Fight against Poverty
OECD	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development
OID	Operação Integrada de Desenvolvimento (Integrated Development Operation)
PAII	Programa de Apoio Integrado a Idosos (Programme for Integrated Support for Older Persons)
PALOP	Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa (Portuguese Speaking African Countries)
PDR (RDP)	Plano de Desenvolvimento Regional (Regional Development Plan)
PEDAP	Programa Específico para o Desenvolvimento da Agricultura Portuguesa (Specific Programme for the Development of Portuguese Agriculture)
PEDIP	Programa Específico para o Desenvolvimento da Indústria Portuguesa (Specific Programme for the Development of Portuguese Industry)
PELCP (EPFAP)	Programa Europeu de Luta Contra a Pobreza (European Programme for the Fight against Poverty)

PER	Programa Especial de Realojamento (Special Re-housing Programme)
PhD	Philosophiae doctor (lat. Doctor of Philosophy)
PIA	Plano Integrado de Almada (The Almada Integrated Plan)
PIC	Projecto de Intervenção Comunitária (do Conselho de Reguengos de Monsaraz) (Community Intervention Project of Reguengos and Monsaraz Council)
PISACA	Projecto de Intervenção Social Articulada do Concelho de Almada (The Almada Council Project for Integrated Social Intervention)
PNAI	Plano Nacional de Acção para a Inclusão (National Action Plan for Inclusion)
PNDES	Plano Nacional de Desenvolvimento Económico e Social (2000-2006) (National Plan for Economic and Social Development)
PNE	Plano Nacional de Emprego (National Employment Plan)
PNLCP (NPFAP)	Programa Nacional de Luta Contra a Pobreza (National Programme for the Fight against Poverty)
PPP	Purchasing Power Parity
PROACT	Research and Technical Support Unit for Local Development, Enhancement of the Environment and the Fight against Poverty
PS	Partido Socialista (Socialist Party)
PSD	Partido Social-Democrata (Social Democratic Party)
RDP	Regional Development Plan
REAP	Rede Europeia Anti-Pobreza (cf. REAPN) (European Anti Poverty Network)
REAPN	Rede Europeia Anti-Pobreza Nacional (cf. REAP) (European Anti Poverty Network at a national level)
RMG (GMI)	Rendimento Mínimo Garantido (Guaranteed Minimum Income)
STEP	Strategies and Tools against social Exclusion and Poverty Programme
TEIP	Territórios Educativos de Intervenção Prioritária (Priority Intervention Education Areas)
EU	European Union
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nation Children's Fund
UNIVA	Unidade de Inserção na Vida Activa (Unit for Integration in Working Life)
WB	World Bank
WHO	World Health Organization
YOUTHSTART	Community Employment Initiative for the Young

General Introduction

Poverty and social exclusion must be combated if we are to safeguard the future of mankind; other factors include conserving the environment, combating terrorism and fundamentalist movements of different types, furthering peace, eradicating new infectious and contagious diseases, ensuring that correct use is made of the genetic code, developing new technologies which solve our most pressing problems, controlling population growth and defining conditions for global competition.

Many international organizations, notably the International Labour Organization (ILO), place the fight against poverty and social exclusion among their concerns and include it on their agenda.

Hence, this study aims to describe and analyse the Portuguese experience in this area, because the formulation, implementation and results of measures to combat poverty and social exclusion are of undoubted interest and the lessons learnt from it can contribute to:

- enhancing the pertinence and effectiveness of policies and programmes to combat social exclusion and poverty, mainly in Europe but also in other parts of the world;
- identifying responses in terms of methodologies and strategies to reduce poverty and social exclusion in other countries;
- identifying a set of principles and approaches to the problems and action which may be applied in different contexts.

This document therefore aims to reach different audiences, but in particular:

- decision makers and those responsible for formulating and applying policies and programmes in these areas;
- experts, specialists and researchers who contribute to formulating and applying these policies and programmes;
- specialists and agents working in these fields;
- those interested in studying this topic.

To this end, the work is divided into four parts:

The first part aims to provide the theoretical and historical background to the creation of the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty (NPFAP) in Portugal by demonstrating:

- the growing awareness on this subject in the world, in Europe and in Portugal and the corresponding emergence of a theoretical framework which defines the explicit concepts and models of poverty and social exclusion (chapter 1);

- a broad outline of the evolution of Portuguese society during the two decades prior to the creation of the Programme and the identification of the main manifestations of poverty which gave rise to this Programme (chapter 2);

- the first attempts to respond to these problems, before the Programme was initiated, in particular in terms of the application of EEC directives in Portugal under the European Programmes for the Fight against Poverty (chapter 3).

The second part deals specifically with the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty (NPFAP), created in 1990 in Portugal, and describes:

- its philosophy and original model, as regards its conception, application and organization (chapter 4);

- the evolution of Portuguese society in the 1990s and consequent changes made to the NPFAP (chapter 5).

The third part analyses six specific and concrete experiences related to projects supported by the NPFAP (chapters 6 to 11), focusing particularly on their methodological choices and some of their results.

Finally, the fourth part reflects on the results and the lessons learnt from NPFAP and some of its projects in Portugal thus contributing to conclusions and suggestions (chapter 12) which may be useful in other contexts and other experiences in the fight against poverty and social exclusion.

In short, an attempt is made to situate the Portuguese problems of poverty and social exclusion (in theoretical and historical terms) (Part I), leading to the creation of a specific Programme in Portugal to tackle and attenuate these problems and also other social policy measures and other programmes (Part II). The six case studies illustrate how they were applied in practice (Part III), thus permitting some final reflections by way of conclusion or pending questions, which might be useful in other contexts (Part IV).

No attempt however is made to evaluate the NPFAP, but rather to identify and illustrate its methodological principles and implementation strategies based on the analysis of concrete projects, the lessons from which serve as a reference to other countries and situations.

Furthermore, although the Programme is called the Fight against **Poverty**, the relationship between the two concepts used throughout this study – **poverty and social exclusion** should be the reference for its analysis and understanding; *poverty* is considered more as the lack of access to the resources fundamental to living in society while *social exclusion* is the breaking of the social ties which permit social cohesion (cf. Chapter 1).

Although our methodology has been consistently to focus on this dual approach and the interaction between them, poverty is nonetheless given preferential treatment in the analysis. This is because these two concepts have only recently begun to be considered independently and therefore most of the existing studies still focus on poverty. Moreover, this approach coincides with the approach adopted by the projects in question.

Nevertheless, we consider it useful to maintain this dual reference because it is one which is increasingly used (at least in doctrine) and also because it will make for a clearer understanding of the final reflections, as shall be seen principally in chapter 12.

To conduct this work on the Portuguese experience, it was necessary to adopt various methodologies which are outlined below:

- research of the bibliography and existing reports in chapter 1;

- the use of conventional techniques for documentary analysis and collection and analysis of statistical data, particularly in chapters 2, 3, 4 and 5;

- the use of semi directive interviews and participant observation in chapters 6 to 11 in line with a (more intensive) case study approach.

This study was produced within the framework of ILO's STEP Programme.

The organization of the tasks required to conduct the study involved a team from Proact – Research and Technical Support Unit for Local Development, Enhancement of the Environment and the Fight against Social Exclusion, composed of the following members:

- Amélia Bastos – economist (contributing to chapter 1 and points 2.3. and 5.2.);

- Ana Rita Monteiro – economist (contributing to points 2.1., 2.2. and 3.1. and to chapter 11);

- Isabel Rodrigues – sociologist (contributing to points 3.2., 2.2. and 5.2. and to chapters 4, 6, 7 and 8);

- Susana Neves – sociologist (contributing to chapters 9 and 10);

- Susana Sousa – sociologist (contributing to points 3.2. and 5.2. and to chapters 4, 6, 7 and 8);

- Teresa Pinto Correia – administrative support;

- Rogério Roque Amaro – economist, project coordinator and writer of the whole report.

In addition, the following panel of specialists from different regions of Portugal collaborated on the project:

- José Portela – sociologist (North)

- Pedro Hespanha – sociologist (Centre)

- José Manuel Henriques – economist (Lisbon and Tagus Valley)
- Marcos Olímpio dos Santos – sociologist (South)

The work presented here is the result of the research and reflection of the above mentioned Proact team together with important contributions and suggestions from the STEP Programme Pilot Committee, consisting of specialists from ILO and Portugal's Ministry of Labour and Solidarity.

Part I

THEORETICAL AND HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK

Introduction

The aim of the first part of this work is to situate the introduction of the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty (NPFAP) in the context of the theoretical discussion on poverty and social exclusion and the socio-economic changes which took place in Portugal during the two preceding decades.

In order to understand the factors which led to this Programme we must first discuss the prevalence and growing awareness of the poverty and social exclusion issues in the world of today, in political and academic circles and in society as a whole.

Poverty and social exclusion are among mankind's greatest current concerns and challenges for the future and are no longer seen as being anomalous and secondary. Their consideration as structural problems of contemporary societies (in both the so-called underdeveloped and developed countries) has brought about the need to consolidate these concepts and their interpretative models (relating causes, forms and effects of a new kind). **Chapter 1** presents the general picture and an introductory overview of how this discussion may be applied in Portugal.

On the other hand, it is also important to describe the changes in Portuguese society in the 70s and 80s, prior to the introduction of the NPFAP in 1990.

This analysis tries to demonstrate the main changes (as well as the expectations) that have taken place since the Revolution of April 25th, 1974, together with the changes in the 80s following Portugal's accession to the European Union in 1986.

The manifestations of poverty and social exclusion can be viewed in the light of the evolution marked by these two "moments" (the 1974 Revolution and Portugal's membership of the then European Communities) as well as of the new world contexts influenced by the economic crisis which started in the late 60s/early 70s. This systematic and innovative analysis was made possible by the studies conducted in Portugal at that time.

These are the criteria underpinning **chapter 2.**

Lastly, this section presents the inadequate nature of the social responses organized in Portugal given its poverty and social exclusion problems, with the non-existence of the Welfare State in the country during the so-called "Salazar" period, that is until 1974, or more precisely until the end of the 60s when the Prime Minister stood down for health reasons after more than 30 years in office and was substituted by Marcello Caetano.

The effectiveness of responses to the range of social problems in Portugal were hampered by the belated introduction of the Welfare State in Portugal, at a time (the 70s and subsequent years) of widespread signs of the ideological and financial crisis which would weaken it. This situation prevailed until very recently.

Portugal's accession to the European Communities was an important turning point and attempts were made to find more suitable responses to the problems which had been identified and analysed in the meantime. The application of the European Programme for the Fight against Poverty was a significant step in this evolution, in part because of the influence it would have on the philosophy and model adopted in 1990 by the NPFAP

These questions are covered in **chapter 3**.

Chapter 1 – Poverty and social exclusion in contemporary societies – concepts and contexts

1.1. Poverty and social exclusion in the world and in Europe in recent decades – changing attitudes

For a long time poverty was not the centre of political or theoretical attention because, considered an "anomaly" in the normal evolution of modern society, no need was seen for either systematised interventions by society as a whole, notably through the State, or for specific theories.

In fact, there was no doubt that economic growth was linked (and often confused) with the idea of development which was one of the trademarks and successes attributed to industrial societies of the last 200 years; an inevitable and automatic consequence of this would be the reduction of poverty through the creation of greater job opportunities, consumption and wealth.

Hence, poverty was seen as the absence of wealth, with the resulting **deprivations** that would be resolved under normal circumstances by economic growth, or from time to time by compensatory action providing assistance (to the poor).

As a result, the so-called rich countries were thought to be free of this "problem" or had at least confined it to "civilised" levels through their development process. Poverty was therefore the trademark of underdeveloped countries.

It is well known that this is, unfortunately, one of the greatest structural scourges of the underdeveloped countries, where indescribable levels of infrahuman squalor and misery frequently exist.

Nevertheless, as long as these countries imitated the (good) examples of the richer countries through the processes of industrial-based economic growth this problem could also be eradicated.

However, recent decades (above all since the mid 70s) have shown what shocking lies these blatant myths really are.

Reports from a number of international organizations such as the World Bank, the European Commission, FAO, OECD, ILO, WHO, UNDP and UNICEF, among others, as well as other studies and scientific research published meanwhile, describe the growing malaise due to the realization that the problems of poverty and social exclusion have been getting worse in recent decades. Not only do traditional forms persist and worsen but there are also new manifestations and forms as well as increasing inequalities between countries, social classes and individuals (cf. Table 1.1.).

Table 1.1. Widening gaps between rich and poor since the early 19th century.

World inequalities have been growing constantly for nearly two centuries. An analysis of long term trends in world income distribution (between countries) shows that the gap between the richest and poorest countries was about 3 to 1 in 1820, 11 to 1 in 1913, 35 to 1 in 1950, 44 to 1 in 1973 and 72 to 1 in 1992. Most surprisingly, the income of the British in 1820 was nearly six times greater that of the Ethiopians in 1992!

These trends disguise the fact that many countries have caught up with the most advanced. For example, Japan had only 20% of the US income in 1950 but this had reached 90% in 1992. Southern Europe also shows a similar trend – with 26% of the US income in 1950 and 53% in 1992. Some Arab countries have also registered a significant income growth.

Richest and poorest countries, 1820-1992
GDP per capita (1990 US dollar)

Richest

1900	1992	
United Kingdom 1,756	United Kingdom 4,593	United States 21,558
Holland 1,561	New Zealand 4,320	Switzerland 21,036
Australia 1,528	Australia 4,299	Japan 19,425
Austria 1,295	United States 4,096	Germany 19,351
Belgium 1,291	Belgium 3,652	Denmark 18,293

Poorest

1820	1900	1992
Indonesia 614	Myanmar 647	Myanmar 748
India 531	India 625	Bangladesh 720
Bangladesh 531	Bangladesh 581	Tanzania 601
Pakistan 531	Egypt 509	Democratic Congo 353
China 523	Ghana 462	Ethiopia 300

Source: Maddison, 1995

Source: adapted from UNDP (1999) – "Human Development Report 1999", New York: Oxford University Press

Table 1.2. Poverty rates (%) by region[a]

Region	1987	1998[b]
East Asia and Pacific	26.6	15.3
Europe and Central Asia	0.2	5.1
Latin America and the Caribbean	15.3	15.6
Middle East and North Africa	43	1.9
Southern Asia	44.9	40.0
Sub-Saharan Africa	466	46.3
Total	**28.3**	**24.0**

[a] The poverty rate is defined here in absolute terms as the percentage of people living on less than one US dollar a day.   [b] Estimate

Source: adapted from World Bank (2001-a), "World Development Report 2000/2001 – Attacking Poverty", New York: Oxford University Press.

The advances made in recent decades in combating hunger, illiteracy, infant mortality, endemic diseases, low life expectancy at birth, lack of drinking water and basic sanitation, lack of adequate living conditions, desertification and the degradation of the environment are just a small drop in the "ocean"; the gravity of the problems yet to be resolved and the constant appearance of new problems cause and result in ethnic conflicts and tensions, genocides, the massive displacement of populations, among other effects.

Table 1.1. demonstrates that, although some improvements and economic growth have been achieved meanwhile, poverty rates,[1] remain high, principally in the so-called underdeveloped countries.

But not even the so-called rich countries are free of these problems today.

Many of the above-mentioned reports, above all those of the European Union and the OECD, have shown not only that poverty was not eradicated in these countries but that it appeared in an increasing number of pockets (in line with the levels of social and income inequality), new situations were emerging (mainly among children, long-term unemployed, the retired and pensioners, female single-parent families, people with low schooling levels and ethnic minorities), and a dramatic increase in the situations of social exclusion where there was no evident poverty (among the elderly and children and young people uncared for by their families).

It is therefore not surprising that in recent years poverty and social exclusion have become one of the issues of greatest concern to the leaders of international bodies, national authorities, academics in this sphere and experts involved in trying to tackle and reduce these situations at the grass roots level.

National and international agendas as well as (so called high level) summits and meetings have started trying to find common strategies to manage the major current concerns of our planet: environmental threats and risks, insecurity, unemployment, population explosion (and implosion), terrorism, management of strategic resources and, of course, poverty and social exclusion.

An example of this was the Conference on Social Development which took place in Copenhagen in 1995 where many of these concerns were raised and guidelines established which still serve as the reference when dealing with these problems, be it nationally or internationally.

However, just as with other conferences (Environment in Rio de Janeiro in 1992; Population and Development in Cairo in 1994; Women and Development in Beijing in 1995, Cities in Istanbul in 1996; among many others), actions and results have fallen far short of intentions and declarations.

Nevertheless, compared with the ignorance and passiveness of previous decades, something has changed and the problem of poverty and social exclusion is now considered to be one of the most intolerable and unjust situations and a threat to world peace and development; it is clearly linked for example to current terrorism and the fundamentalism associated with it.

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[1] "Poverty rate" can be defined in various ways but here it is defined as the percentage of persons living on less than one US dollar per day.

It is no surprise therefore that the United Nations decided to make 1997 – 2007 the decade dedicated to eliminating poverty.

In this context, we note the World Bank's interesting initiative which, in their 2000-2001 Annual Report, decided to give the poor the opportunity to express themselves and describe their own situations using 60,000 witnesses from 73 countries.[2]

The eradication of poverty and the fight against social exclusion are therefore among the main challenges to development and human rights of the XXI century; indeed, it is no longer possible to live in the presence of a situation in which nearly 800 million people suffer from hunger and have no food security and about 1.2 thousand million live on less than 1 dollar a day (PPP dollars, 1993). Even in the OECD countries, nearly 8 million people are undernourished. In the United States alone, nearly 40 million people are not covered by health insurance and one in five adults is functionally illiterate.[3]

As a result of the newfound awareness of these problems, the need was felt to undertake a deeper analysis of the manifestations of poverty, notably those which emerged as new (unknown until that time) by conducting more studies, research and reports on the subject at various levels.

This led to a more in-depth knowledge of situations of poverty which had only been analysed very superficially until that time and which had nearly always been associated to low incomes (or no income). As a result, there was a better and more rigorous basis for the formulation and discussion of the concepts (cf. point 1.2.).

In addition to the observation that poverty and social exclusion were not just phenomena of the poorer countries, together with more precise and far-reaching concepts defined in the above mentioned reports, it also became possible to identify an extraordinary heterogeneity of the situations of poverty and social exclusion between countries and within countries (cf. point 1.4). This required highly diversified observation and analysis grids and intervention strategies and policies.

On the one hand, in the poorer countries the situations of scarce resources predominated (linked to the concept of poverty), leading to unsatisfied basic needs in absolute terms (deprivation) and to non-enjoyment of minimum standards of living. Very often, however, community ties based on family and neighbourhood networks continued to be very active and so absolute social exclusion (at least for the most immediate members) was avoided.

In the richer countries, scarcity of resources exists in more relative terms (in relation to a predominant or average standard of living), although the situations of absolute deprivation have increased in recent years (e.g. the number of homeless). On the other hand, situations of social exclusion have worsened with the break-down of social ties (notably among the elderly, children, young people from broken families, the long term unemployed and ethnic minorities), even though other resources are not scarce.

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[2] Cf. World Bank (2001-b) – *World Development Report 2000-2001 on Poverty and Development – Voices of the Poor* (3 volumes): http//www.worldbank.org/poverty/voices/reports.htm.

[3] Cf. UNDP (2000) – "Human Development Report", Lisbon: Trinova Editora.

Table 1.3. Poverty rates (%) in the European Union in 1994 [a]

	Households	Persons
Denmark	8	6
Belgium	12	16
Netherlands	13	16
Luxemburg	14	15
Germany	15	16
Austria	15	16
Italy	15	18
France	18	17
Spain	20	21
Greece	23	21
United Kingdom	23	24
Ireland	25	26
Portugal	26	24

[a] The poverty rate is defined as the percentage of households/persons whose "equivalent average monthly income" is below 50% of the "equivalent average monthly income" of the respective country.

Source: Eurostat. MINISTRY OF EQUIPMENT, PLANNING AND TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION (MEPAT) – Secretary of State for Regional Development (1999) – "PNDES – Plano Nacional de Desenvolvimento Económico e Social (2000-2006) – Diagnóstico Prospectivo", Lisbon, p. V-25.

In the European Union, due to a certain tradition of making people aware of social questions, there is some concern about poverty and social exclusion, albeit somewhat sporadic.

A European Programme for the Fight against Poverty was set up on an experimental basis as far back as 1975 and at the initiative of the Commission itself; it lasted until 1980 when it was followed by a second Programme between 1984 and 1989, and a third between 1989 and 1994 [4].

The existence of these programmes proved to have a decisive influence on the approach to these questions in Portugal and on the creation and philosophy of the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty.

In 1994, poverty in the European Union was still extensive [5] (cf. Table 1.3.).

Nevertheless, between 1994 and 2000 there were no more initiatives in this field at EU level for a number of reasons, notably the concentration of efforts in other directions (consolidation of the single market and the construction of economic and monetary union, with the adoption of the single currency.

There were however some programmes (such as LEADER, Urban, Integra, among others) which took up these concerns in this period although they had other specific objectives.

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[4] Cf. below, chapters 3 and 4.

[5] In this case a concept of "relative poverty" is used, that is, the households or persons who have an "equivalent average monthly income" below "the poverty line", which in turn is (in these statistics) 50% of the "equivalent average monthly income" of the respective country.

Meanwhile, national programmes for the fight against poverty were set up in some countries including Portugal.

It was only in 2000, with the Lisbon Summit, that the theme was taken up again as a central objective of European construction, and social cohesion was placed on a par with economic growth and employment (which had already been embodied in the Treaty of Amsterdam).

At the Nice Summit (December 2000), **inclusion** entered the discussion with the creation of National Inclusion Plans, as a result of a **European strategy** explicitly assumed as such.

Following this, during Belgium's presidency of the EU (second semester of 2001), a great effort was made to construct more rigorous indicators on poverty and social exclusion which took into account the conceptual changes that had been introduced (cf. point 1.2.).

This is the very general context in which the appearance of the first more systematized studies on poverty in Portugal took place from the mid 80s (cf. points 1.2. and 2.3.), as well as the first projects for the fight against poverty, firstly with the EPFAP (point 3.2) and then with NPFAP (Part II).

1.2. The origins and recent evolution of the concepts of poverty and social exclusion – main forms

In the light of what we have described above, it is not difficult to understand why the concepts of poverty and social exclusion have sparked increasingly fierce debate, not only among social scientists, but also among politicians and those working directly in these fields.

However, it is difficult to define their boundaries and contents, both because they are so closely linked and because of the growing complexity of the aspects and factors considered.

These concepts are generally confused, in political discourse and in the actual formulation and evaluation of social policy, with the concept of social exclusion which is assuming growing importance in relation to poverty. This is certainly not unrelated to the proliferation of new kinds of poverty, notably in the so called First World, and also the more complicated and broader nature of social exclusion.

Although distinct, the two concepts aim to transmit a set of social disadvantages which some people experience in relation to a given norm, defined in terms of satisfaction of specific needs which are considered to be basic needs, or in relation to the predominant social standard of well being.

The poverty concept is the oldest and was linked for a long time to lack of income and/or consumption (material well being); it has evolved in recent decades as a result of a better understanding of its manifestations in contemporary societies.

Hence, five broad approaches can be considered which are divided into two groups[6]:

a) Physiological deprivation

This focuses on material living conditions, from two different angles:

a.1.) An income and consumption-based approach

This is the most traditional approach developed by the so called "economy of well being"[7], in which a poverty line is defined in absolute or relative terms according to a specific level of income and/or consumption, the poor being those who fall below this line.

a.2.) A basic human needs-based approach

In this case a certain level of basic human needs is considered which includes food, clothing, shelter, drinking water, basic health and education as the minimum needs to prevent illness, malnutrition and ignorance[8].

This perspective was developed mainly in the 70s and allowed the concept of well being to cover a broader range of basic needs than the former approach.

b) Social deprivation

This underlines the social aspect of poverty resulting from the breakdown of social relations; as we shall see below, it comes closer to the **social exclusion** concept.

Three different approaches can be identified in this group.

b.1.) Approach focusing on the human poverty concept

This was developed by the UNDP particularly in their 1996 and 1997[9] reports; it is based on the works of the economist Amartya Sen[10] and uses the concepts of **capacities** (what we can do) and **functions** (what we do) as references.

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[6] Cf. World Bank (2001)

[7] Cf, among others:
– LANJOUW, J. (1997) – "Behind the line: demystifying poverty lines", in *Poverty Reduction – Module 3, Poverty Measurement: Behind and Beyond the Poverty Line*, New York: UNDP.
– LIPTON, M. (1996) - *Defining and measuring poverty: conceptual issues*, New York: UNDP.
– RAVALLION, Martin (1994) – *Poverty Comparisons. Fundamentals of Pure and Applied Economics*, Chur, Switzerland: Harwood Academic Publishers.

[8] Cf., among others:
– STREETEN, Paul et al. (1981) – *First Things First. Meeting Basic Human Needs in the Developing Countries*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
– STREETEN, Paul (1984) - "Basic Need: some unsettled questions", in *World Development*, 12(9).

[9] Cf. UNDP (1996) and (1997) – "Human Development Report", Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[10] Cf., in particular:
– SEN, Amartya (1984) – "Poor, relatively speaking", in *Resources, Values and Development*, Oxford: Basil Blackwell.
– SEN, Amartya (1993) – "Capability and well-being", in NUSBAUM and SEN (1993) – *The Quality of Life*, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Hence, poverty is the incapacity to have a long, healthy and creative life and to enjoy a decent standard of living with freedom, dignity, respect for oneself and for others[11].

b.2.) Approach focusing on the resulting social exclusion

Adopted notably by the International Labour Office's International Institute of Labour Studies, this is based mainly on the proposals of the sociologist Peter Townsend[12] who believed that poverty should essentially be seen as not having the available resources to obtain the living conditions and comfort enjoyed by the majority (predominant standard of living) and to participate in the social and cultural activities of the society to which a person belongs.

The concept of poverty is therefore linked to the discussion of the concepts of citizenship and social integration.

b.3.) Participative approach

Those defending this approach believe that the fundamental question is not the content of the concept but who defines it and they therefore propose that the poor themselves actively participate in this[13].

The poor start by not participating and according to this approach non-participation is caused above all by lack of dignity, self esteem, safety and justice and this impedes their access to health and a social life, more than income.

The concept of poverty has therefore been growing broader and it now focuses on the lack of **resources;** it is defined from a **multidimensional** perspective; that is, it includes economic, social, cultural, political and environmental dimensions.

The definition of poverty adopted since 1984 in the European Union follows this line: "The poor should be understood as being the people, families and groups of people whose (material, cultural and social) resources are so limited that they are excluded from the minimally accepted standard of living of the Member State in which they live."[14].

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[11] Cf. UNDP (1997), p. 15.

[12] Cf., in particular:
– TOWNSEND, Peter (1979) – *Poverty in United Kingdom*, London: Allen Lane.
– TOWNSEND, Peter (1985) – "A sociological approach to the measurement of poverty: a rejoinder to professor Amartya Sen", in *Oxford Economic Papers*, No. 37.

[13] Cf., among others:
– CHAMBERS, Robert (1983) – *Rural Development – Putting the Last First*, Essex: Longman Scientific and Technical.
– CHAMBERS, Robert (1995) – "Poverty and Livelihoods: Whose Reality Counts?", Institute for Development Studies, Discussion paper, No. 311.
– IIED – International Institute for Environment and Development (1992) – *Special issue on applications of wealth ranking*, Rapid Rural Appraisal, note No. 15.
– SCOONES, I. (1995) – "Investigating difference: applications of wealth ranking and household survey approaches among farming household in southern Zimbabwe", in *Development and Change*, Vol. 26.

[14] Council Decision 19th December 1984.

On the other hand, poverty can be considered in **relative** or **absolute** terms, depending on whether or not the poverty line is defined respectively with or without reference to the standard of living which predominates in the society.

A second analysis grid of poverty concepts that is also commonly used is linked to how the poor population is identified. There are therefore subjective concepts where the identification process includes the evaluation a person makes of his living conditions in relation to poverty (the case of the participative approach), or the objective concepts, when this evaluation is not considered.

Meanwhile, as we have seen, like many other factors, globalisation has led to the appearance of new manifestations of poverty, particularly visible in the most developed economies.

This new poverty is not restricted to the scarcity of material resources; it can be expressed by non-participation in the dominant life pattern due to factors such as schooling, age, lack of human relationships, skills in the new technologies and in the vast world of cyberspace information.

In this broader context, the **social exclusion** concept has been gaining ground in comparison with the definition of poverty as can in fact be seen by its actual evolution.

Essentially, social exclusion means social non-integration at different levels: economic, social, cultural, environmental and political. It is reflected in the fragility of family and social ties and in non-participation in community life and implies what Robert Castel calls "disaffiliation" in relation to society: the non-recognition of a person's place in society[15].

Social exclusion is therefore a more far-reaching concept than the notion of poverty and is expressed by the absence of various kinds of power: economic, decision-making, influence and participation in community life as the full expressions of the citizen's rights and duties.

On the other hand, it has a strong relational character; social relations are considered fundamental to the well being of populations and their break-down is a form of non-participation in society or, in other words, "having no place" vis-à-vis the opportunities it offers[16].

However, the poverty and social exclusion concepts have to a certain extent converged as they have evolved; while they highlight distinct aspects, in many cases they are found in conjunction with each other.

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[15] Cf.
– CASTEL, Robert (1995) – *Les métamorphoses de la question sociale: une chronique du salariat*, Paris: Fayard.
– CASTEL, Robert (2000) – "The roads to disaffiliation: insecure work and vulnerable relationships", in *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, Vol. 24, No. 3, September, pp. 519-535, Oxford.
[16] Cf., among others:
– BHALLA, A. S., and LAPEYRE, Frédéric (1999) – *Poverty and Exclusion in a Global World*, London: MacMillan Press.
– XIBERRAS, Martine (1993) – *As Teorias da Exclusão – Para Uma Construção do Desvio*, Lisbon: Instituto Piaget.

In other words, social exclusion is rooted fundamentally in poverty, though it is not limited to this. There are poor people who are not socially excluded from their community contexts (particularly in the rural environment) and there are excluded (above all in rich countries) who are not poor from the material point of view.

The distinction between the two concepts thus makes it possible to identify relatively similar situations of poverty but which are expressed in different kinds or levels of social exclusion (for example between rural and urban environments, between different cultural contexts or between different age groups)[17].

Wide-spread discussion of these concepts began in the mid 80s when the first systematic work appeared on poverty and social exclusion, as referred above.

Manuela Silva and Alfredo Bruto da Costa[18] were among the pioneers in this field, together with João Ferreira de Almeida, Luís Capucha, Leonor Ferreira and José Pereirinha[19], among others, in a second phase (in the 90s).

Besides these most quoted authors, poverty and social exclusion has been the subject of more than 200 publications, notably books (10), monographs (53), arti-

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[17] From a more practical point of view however, because of the difficulty of putting the concept of social exclusion into practice, the indicators linked to the concept of poverty are the ones used more frequently in various analyses.

[18] Cf. notably

– SILVA, Manuela (1982) – "Crescimento económico e pobreza em Portugal (1950-1974)", in *Análise Social*, Vol. XVIII, No. 72-73-74, pp. 1077-1096, Lisbon.
– SILVA, Manuela (1984) – "Uma estimativa da pobreza em Portugal em Abril de 1974", in *Cadernos de Ciências Sociais*, No. 1, June, pp. 117-128, Porto.
– SILVA, Manuela (1989-a) – *A pobreza infantil em Portugal*, Unicef.
– SILVA, Manuela (1989-b) – *Ser pobre em Lisboa. Conceitos e questões*, Lisbon: Centro de Reflexão Cristã.
– SILVA, Manuela (1991) – *Precariedade e vulnerabilidade económica. Nova pobreza em Portugal – uma aproximação empírica*, Lisbon: Centro de Reflexão Cristã.
– COSTA, Alfredo Bruto da (1984) – "Conceitos de pobreza" in *Estudos de Economia*, Vol. IV, No. 3, April-June, pp. 275-295, Lisbon.
– COSTA, A. B. et al. (1985) – *A pobreza em Portugal*, Lisbon: Cáritas Portuguesa.
– COSTA, A. B. (1991) – *Minorias étnicas pobres em Lisboa*, Lisbon: Centro de Reflexão Cristã.
– COSTA, A. B. (1993) – *The Paradox of Poverty, Portugal 1980-1989*, Ph. D Thesis, University of Bath, UK.
– COSTA, A. B. (1998) – "Exclusões sociais", in *Cadernos Democráticos*, No. 2, Lisbon: Gradiva.

[19] Cf.

– ALMEIDA, João Ferreira et al. (1992) – *A Exclusão Social – Factores e Tipos de Pobreza em Portugal*, Oeiras: Celta Editora.
– CAPUCHA, Luís (1998-a) – "Pobreza, Exclusão Social e Marginalidades", in VIEGAS, José Manuel e COSTA, António Firmino, *Portugal, que Modernidade?* Oeiras: Celta Editora.
– CAPUCHA, Luís (coord.) (1998-b) – *Rendimento Mínimo Garantido: avaliação da fase experimental*, Ministry of Labour and Solidarity, Lisbon: CIES.
– FERREIRA, Leonor (1995) – "A Pobreza Infantil em Portugal, 1980/1981 – 1989/1990", in *Estudos de Economia*, Vol. XIV, No. 4, July – September, pp. 451-464, Lisbon.
– FERREIRA, Leonor (1997) – *Teoria e Metodologia da Medição da Pobreza. Aplicação à situação portuguesa na década de 80*, doctoral thesis, ISEG/UTL, Lisbon.
– PEREIRINHA, José (1988) – *Inequalities, household income distribution and development in Portugal*, Ph. D Thesis, The Hague, Netherlands.

cles in scientific reviews (63), doctoral theses (4) and masters dissertations (more than 50), among others[20] in the last 25 years in Portugal.

The number of publications has grown consistently every year, reaching a peak in the mid 90s[21]:

- 1975/1980 – 0
- 1981/1985 – 2.9%
- 1986/1990 – 6.8%
- 1991/1995 – 50.7%
- 1996/1999 – 37.1%
- Undated – 2.4%

In many of these publications the discussion of poverty and social exclusion follows the lines described above and follows its evolution in more general terms.

The reflections of Manuela Silva and Alfredo Bruto da Costa can be said to have had the greatest influence on the **poverty** concept in Portugal in recent years and are consistent with Peter Townsend's proposals; that is, it is considered to be a situation of insufficient resources from a multidimensional perspective (with implications at all levels of a person's, family's and group's existence), which inhibits effective participation in the living standard predominating in society[22].

When we turn to **social exclusion**, we find that some authors have clearly recognized the importance of distinguishing it from poverty, linking it to the discussion on the concept of citizenship in its implications of rights and duties.

The social cohesion criterion may therefore be important for the distinction between poverty and social exclusion:

"Poverty may exist without social exclusion, as happened to the poor of the *ancien régime*, in that the serfs were poor but they were part of a network of group or community relationships. Something similar can happen today with the poor in the rural environment. From this perspective, poverty and social exclusion are therefore distinct realities and they do not always coexist."[23]

The notion of social exclusion therefore emerges in Portugal linked mainly to a reference situation from which a person is or has been excluded. It consists of five basic social systems: social, economic, institutional, territorial and symbolic[24].

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[20] Cf. SILVA, Manuela (1999) – "Pobreza e Exclusão Social – a investigação em Portugal nos últimos 25 anos ", in CESIS, *Pobreza e Exclusão Social – percurso e perspectivas da investigação em Portugal*, Seminar Minutes, November pp. 17-22, Lisbon.
– Cf. also CESIS (1999), *Pobreza e Exclusão Social na Investigação em Portugal (1975-1999) – inventário bibliográfico*, Lisbon.

[21] Cf. SILVA (1999), p.19.

[22] Cf., for example, SILVA (1989-b), COSTA (1984) and COSTA (1993).
– Cf. also CAPUCHA (1998-a).

[23] COSTA (1998), p. 10.

[24] Cf. COSTA (1998).

As we shall see later (Parts II, III and IV), these formulations had a decisive influence on the perception of and approach to poverty and social exclusion in the various programmes and projects which were developed in Portugal from the late 80s, although poverty is the term most frequently used.

1.3. Factors and causes of poverty and social exclusion

The multidimensional and systemic nature of poverty and social exclusion make it quite complex to identify what causes it and also to clarify the potential relationship of the causality.

Both result first and foremost from the interaction and convergence of various social disadvantages which, when not viewed in isolation, combine to create a scenario which favours their propagation.

In this context, it is more correct to speak of poverty and social exclusion factors, given that the possible relationships of causality are not linear. Therefore, our analysis focuses on the definition of a set of elements potentially linked to those situations and tries to clarify the relationships which these elements can establish with them, notably in the Portuguese case. For the purpose of the analysis, three sets of factors are considered: (i) macro (global) factors, (ii) meso (local or sectoral) factors and (iii) micro (personal and family) factors.

1.3.1. Macro (global) factors

The macro factors considered to be potentially linked to poverty are related to the structural configurations of the world economy and development and organizational models, and the working of the economic and financial systems which predominate in the world in a given period of time, as well as the values, norms and principles resulting from them.

The following factors can be given as some examples:

- Economic and financial globalization with the increase of competitiveness and fierce trading which have uncontrolled and unshared social and environmental costs.

- The predominant development models excessively based on economics, production, consumption and also quantitative aspects.

- Ethnocentric domination of these models in relation to the poorer countries, accentuating the traditional problems in these fields.

- Flexibilisation and increasing precariousness of labour relations which frequently results in unemployment, reduction or loss of income and social instability.

- Use of new information and communication technologies with negative effects in terms of the divide between those who benefit from them and those who have no access to them (info-exclusion).

- A less efficient response from the Welfare State and the trend towards the liberalization of economies, leaving economic and social regulation to the market (well illustrated by the Structural Adjustment Programmes, proclaimed by the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank, which left profound social scars in the poorest countries.

- Degradation of environmental conditions (such as desertification, salinisation and contamination of subsurface water, depletion of natural resources, extinction of animal and vegetable species, air pollution, increase of waste and difficulties in waste treatment, inadequate conditions of the basic water supply system, etc.), which gives rise to increasingly fragile living conditions, above all among the most vulnerable populations.

- Growing individualism, which is the predominant cultural and behavioral trend in today's societies (compounded by the crisis of the socialist experiences), implying and/or resulting from the reduction or breakdown of family, community and social networks of mutual support.

- Other dominant values and preconceptions of marginalisation and disdain of social, ethnic, cultural and political groups, including the various forms of fundamentalism and ethnic, religious and political extremism.

- Public **national** policies of a discriminatory nature.

Most of these are general factors, that is, they are not specific to any one country, and they are related to the structural characteristics of the predominant development models of industrial societies (of European origin) in the last 200 years.

Generally speaking it can be said that these models swing between two extreme basic paradigms of reference, although with different focuses throughout history:

- The "**liberal capitalism**" paradigm which values competitiveness and stimulates individualism as opposed to solidarity and a sense of the collective, and which gives rise to serious injustice and social exclusion;

- the "**bureaucratic socialism**" paradigm which values collectivism and imposes solidarity, as opposed to individual freedom and efficiency, leading to a neglect of basic individual human rights.

Both, in turn, scorn ecological interaction and environmental constraints, upsetting some of the most vital balances of nature and putting the future of mankind at risk.

All this results directly and indirectly in very acute situations of poverty and social exclusion, often cumulatively: see, for example, the wide-spread degradation

in which all poor people in Sub-Saharan Africa live (suffering from hunger and drought, with no access to health and education and without minimum housing conditions) or, in Portugal, those living in shanty towns or slums in cities like Lisbon and Porto (with numerous deficits: employment, income, consumption, education, health, social and environmental status and in unsightly neighbourhoods with very poor basic sanitation and/or planning).

This level also includes the factors associated with national public policies (as mentioned above); their action may have negative effects on poverty and social exclusion when this dimension is not taken specifically into account and the results can be discriminatory (as may happen with policies of an excessively economic nature).

1.3.2. Meso factors (local or sectoral)

These factors may originate in macro policies and in dominant cultural features, but have a more significant impact at the local or sectoral level. In turn, the geographical or sectoral position may modify or magnify their importance. Examples in this set of factors include:

- Cultural attitudes and preconceptions and social behavior of a discriminatory nature: for example, that of a community towards immigrants, drug addicts, those who are HIV positive attending particular institutions, etc.

- Regional and local policies (e.g. local authorities) which create, strengthen or block situations of poverty and social exclusion: building and urban modernization policies which result in the poor losing their housing; re-housing policies which create islands of social exclusion; decisions which discriminate against ethnic minorities; failure to take decisions, with the result that public services, etc. are not accessible to persons with disabilities.

- Institutional practices (of public services, private organizations, religious associations, etc.) which actively or by omission exclude the most vulnerable (e.g. those who make fewest demands or who are most passive), in the way they serve the public, provide services, information etc.

- The existence of closed local cultures which accentuate ghettos.

- Sectoral restructuring which leads to profound changes in the production process of certain sectors of activity (e.g. iron and steel industry, ship building and repairs and automobile industry sectors in the 70s and 80s).

These factors are the backdrop to the daily lives of social groups or persons, serving as a filter for the macro factors and either modifying or weakening them or intensifying or strengthening them.

In Portugal, these factors are found to have an effect on the existence and/or increase of poverty and social exclusion (e.g. gypsy communities not accepted by the residents of some neighbourhoods).

Of particular interest is the fact (cf. Parts III and IV) that some of the most innovative and interesting experiences in the fight against poverty and social exclusion are based on a decisive contribution of factors at this level. The logic is the reverse of the one described above, that is, a process of change and **local development**: e.g. with local authority policies and institutional practices, established in partnerships, which include locally based strategies for the social integration of disadvantaged groups and makes them viable (cf. the Espinho project presented in chapter 6).

1.3.3. Micro (personal and family) factors

The following variables are among those included in this set: family size and status, health, age, education, personal history and background, individual choices, opportunities taken and lost, etc.

This set of variables is closely interlinked and its importance, as factors of poverty and social exclusion, is felt basically through personal and family interaction.

For example:

Family size and status – The transmission of poverty from one generation to the next is undoubtedly a significant means of perpetuating the phenomenon. Family living conditions affect the future of children born into poor households from very early on, both through the material resources available and the social and cultural characteristics of some life styles in poverty situations. Hence the importance of the State, social support institutions, NGOs and the community as agents serving to counter family cycles of poverty and social exclusion.

Health – The state of health has a direct influence on income level through productivity and expenses incurred for health care. Therefore, it can be said that illness, (above all chronic illness) can lead to poverty and social exclusion. However, the relationship between health and poverty can also be inverse as scarce resources lead to poor nourishment and meagre primary health care which are common among the poor. It is in fact empirically proven that the poor are more exposed to illness. There may, however, be more frequent causality between poverty and illness than the reverse.

Age – The elderly, in particular those living on social security pensions, are particularly exposed to poverty and social exclusion. As age generally implies increased health care, aging may function as a mechanism of vulnerability to these situations, particularly social exclusion (isolation and social neglect) and especially in terms of its intensity.

Education – Almost all poor populations have low education and occupational training levels which works against them on the labour market. The relationship between education and poverty seems to form a vicious circle: people are poor

because they were unable to invest or invested little in themselves, but the poor have few resources to spend on training. The way that the labour market and globalization itself work brings the causality relationship between education and poverty into question, as we have already analysed. Therefore, it is more prudent to state that low levels of schooling accentuate vulnerability to poverty and social exclusion.

In addition, some situations which arise during a person's life and which result from choices made or imposed, or some of the accidents of the life experience, can lead to situations of poverty and social exclusion and cause uncertainty and insecurity.

It is not unusual for people with apparently stable family and professional lives to become involved (at an advanced age) in spirals of rejection which cost them their jobs (dismissal), family (conflicts and breakdowns), health (work accidents and chronic illness) and dignity, forcing them to live on the streets among the homeless (as has happened in Lisbon for example).

In short, poverty and social exclusion can be said to be related to other factors:

a. **Linked to society**, more global or closer (therefore, macro and meso), that is, linked to the absence of **opportunities** and responses from society which prevent people and social groups having access to them and therefore depriving them of the predominant standard of living and/or in a situation of losing their social ties;

b. **Linked to specific personal and family background** (therefore micro), that is, the weakness of skills and/or the lack of advantage taken of those skills and competences by people who therefore do not have sufficient means to participate fully in society.

In the second half of the 80s it was the prevalence of these factors, in conjunction with the influence of the European directives, that led to the development of new **social policies** (cf. chapter 5) to raise **opportunities in Portuguese society** and to more numerous programmes and projects to combat poverty and social exclusion, focused above all on the **empowerment** of persons and social groups (cf. Parts II and III).

1.4. *Main forms, processes and occurrences*

As stated previously, manifestations of poverty and social exclusion vary according to the region, form of socio-economic organization, the predominant culture and level of development. Furthermore, they depend on the way in which the different social categories suffer the effects of the processes and the occurrence of the factors described above and of the strategies adopted to deal with the situation.

Therefore, analysis of the various manifestations of poverty and social exclusion in Portugal involves identifying (i) the most vulnerable social categories and (ii) the different life styles in situations of poverty and social exclusion.

i) *Social categories most vulnerable to poverty and social exclusion*

The various studies conducted in this field in Portugal have made it possible to identify some sub groups of the population which are particularly vulnerable to poverty and social exclusion[25].

The following are generally the most vulnerable social categories[26]:

- small farmers and farm workers;
- hired agricultural workers;
- unskilled workers and those with precarious jobs ;
- middle-aged workers made redundant in the production restructuring process;
- unemployed persons, particularly long-term unemployed and those with low schooling and qualification levels;
- older persons (pensioners or not);
- single mothers;
- children, particularly orphans and those from single parent or broken families;
- those who are formally or functionally illiterate
- those with acute or chronic illnesses which are socially stigmatized (tuberculosis, AIDS, hepatitis B, cancer, etc.);
- persons with disabilities;
- ethnic minorities;
- displaced persons and refugees.

The vulnerability of these different categories has varied over the last 20 years; as we shall see below, the changes (both positive and negative) have depended on the effect of the various factors referred in point 1.3 (chapters 2 and 5).

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[25] Cf., for example: ALMEIDA et al. (1992), CAPUCHA (1998-a), COSTA et al. (1985), COSTA (1993) and SILVA (1991).

[26] This list is practically the same in all countries, although the hierarchies and proportions differ.

ii) Life styles in situations of poverty and social exclusion

There are different life styles among the poor and excluded. This diversity results from the strategies followed by those who find themselves in circumstances of poverty and social exclusion, their cultural framework of reference, predominant forms and styles of consumption, social status and position in relation to the past, present and future.

To illustrate this diversity of life styles of poverty and social exclusion, a typology is presented which was proposed by one of the above mentioned authors based on a number of studies in this field[27].

Seven life styles are considered in this typology:

a) transitory state;

b) investment in mobility;

c) dual reference;

d) companionship;

e) restriction;

f) saving;

g) destitution.

The basic characteristics of each are presented briefly according to the following variables:

● predominant social category,

● life strategy, and

● positioning in relation to the past, present and future.

a. Transitory state

● New poor (resulting from redundancies linked to the restructuring of the production process and the instability of the labour market and/or the breakdown of social and family structures).

● To camouflage the situation of scarce resources which has suddenly hit them by turning to families and close friends.

● Powerless in relation to the present, live the past nostalgically. The future is uncertain with no defined strategy.

b. Investment in mobility

● Salaried workers integrated in the labour market with some schooling and skills and on a stable but low income.

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[27] Cf. CAPUCHA (1998-a) and also ALMEIDA et al. (1992).

- To invest strongly in children and/or in appearance and domestic comfort in an attempt to come closer to the predominant life style.

- Live in the present in a disciplined way, conforming to the social norms with the aim of leaving this condition of poverty in the future. The past is a negative reference of which they are ashamed and from which they wish to distance themselves.

c. Dual reference

- Immigrants (from Cape Verde, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Ukraine or other East European countries, Bangladesh and Pakistan, etc).

- To cave money to return to their homeland. Live with a dual reference: that of their birth place which is their main cultural reference, and the country to which they have immigrated where they feel they have better living conditions.

- The present is filled with uncertainty as they are often in an illegal situation. They face the future with hope and have strong emotional links with the past despite recognizing the lack of material means.

d. Companionship

- Those living in old neighbourhoods in urban centres or slums, social housing (resulting from re-housing) and certain ethnic groups, such as gypsies.

- Involved almost exclusively in the parallel economy and living on an uncertain income, they often turn to social security and survive by unconventional means[28].

- The present is lived intensively with exuberant sociability and a very strong cultural group. They are linked emotionally to the past, have no worries about the future as it is the present that determines their life.

e. Restriction

- Those with few professional qualifications (notably the unskilled), old age pensioners and unemployed (particularly long-term unemployed).

- Try and make the best possible use of their consumer goods as they have very limited resources which are therefore used with great care. Daily survival is their main life objective.

- Resigned to the fact that they live the present in great difficulty and the past has sometimes been negative. The daily difficulties do not give them time to plan the future.

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[28] More recently (since 1997), they are nearly always those on the Guaranteed Minimum Income.

f. Saving

- Small farmers.

- The subsistence farming they generally practice makes it difficult for them even to maintain their property, to which they are strongly attached.

- Although emotionally linked to the past because they have lived a very rural life, they deal with the difficulties of the present so they can maintain or enlarge their property which will guarantees some security for their old age.

g. Destitution

- May be in any of the social categories. Identify themselves/are identified with squalor; that is, the most extreme poverty and social exclusion. Includes people with marginal life styles linked to other problems such as alcoholism, drug addiction and chronic illnesses.

- Live on random charity and have no defined life strategy.

- Their present has no shape and they have no ties to the past or plans for the future.

The different initiatives to combat poverty and social exclusion in Portugal show that it is necessary to vary the strategies adopted in relation to the individual and the group, and to improve skills in keeping with the life style in question.

Generally speaking, it can be said that the definition of a life plan for change (social insertion) will be more successful in the cases of "investment in mobility" and "dual reference" and occasionally in "saving" and "transitory state".

On the other hand, the most difficult situations to modify with the commitment and involvement of the individual him/herself are those of "companionship", "restriction" and, above all, "destitution".

Chapter 2 – Changes in Portuguese society and manifestations of poverty and social exclusion in Portugal in the 1970s and 1980s

2.1. Changes in Portuguese society after the revolution of 25th April 1974 and the main social effects up to the mid 1980s

The revolution of 25th April 1974 brought changes at almost every level of Portuguese society. Nothing remained the same and it was after this date that the most significant and rapid transformations were clearly felt in what was called the economic, social and political "modernisation" process of Portuguese society, in line with the dominant patterns of post-war Europe.

With the end of the dictatorship which had lasted for nearly half a century, democracy was established in Portuguese society. However, the start of this new phase was marked by a degree of political, economic and social instability which was inevitable in the light of the changes that had taken place.

This period also saw a number of disruptions in the world economic system related to:

- The economic and social crisis which began in the late 60s;
- The oil shocks of 1973-74 and 1979-80 which had an influence on trade and inflation and brought about profound changes in energy choices and the sectoral structures of the economy;
- The decline of the international monetary system with the rise in interest rates and the overvaluing of the dollar;
- The weakening of the Fordist production model with the employment and productivity crisis and radical changes in the labour systems;
- The loss of autonomy of national economic policies with the acceleration of the trans-nationalisation of production, commerce and finance.

These external factors, together with other internal constraints, were responsible for the deterioration of the economic and social situation in Portugal in the late 70s.

The sudden change from a dictatorship to a new democratic system had immediate consequences at various levels. One of the first was the end of the liberation

wars which Portugal had been fighting in its colonies, involving the mobilization of thousands of soldiers.

In addition, after the 1974 Revolution, the active population no longer needed to emigrate in order to find work and better living conditions or to escape from the colonial war imposed by the old regime, or even to flee for political reasons.

Moreover, with the end of the colonial war and the resulting loss of the colonies, there was quite a significant – and sudden – return of entire families whose lives had been established in the colonies but who were forced to return and start their lives again virtually from scratch. Essentially in 1975 and 1976, the number of so-called *retornados* reached nearly 700,000, approximately 7% of the Portuguese population. Their integration in Portuguese society was initially considered to be a drama of untold consequences (particularly for unemployment and basic living conditions) but this came to an end after a few years without any major crises and even in some cases with some success and positive repercussions in some parts of Portugal[1].

However, after 1974-75, there was a significant rise in the population due to the repatriation of the *retornados* and the demobilisation of the armed forces, as well as the return of many emigrants. Some of these emigrants came back because the colonial war had ended and a freer regime had been established, others because of their longing to return home which was finally possible with their accumulated savings. As a result, the State, still formed by a provisional government, was forced to adopt measures to ensure the country's stability, notably with regard to job creation.

The nationalisation policy (resulting from the socialist trend of the post 1974 regime), together with job creation in the civil service, agrarian reform in the southern regions and large landholdings (Alentejo), contractualisation of working relations, reduction of average working hours, extension of social and health protection, transformation of the salary system with the introduction of wage bonuses and the national minimum wage were just some of the measures taken by the State to improve living conditions immediately after the Revolution. This took place in the unfavourable international context of the first oil shock of 1973-74.

With the strengthening of trade unions made possible by the Revolution, the right to strike and job stability were established and holiday and Christmas subsidies were widely introduced. The situation of women on the labour market also changed, as a result notably the long-desired free access to all occupations which was legally guaranteed for both sexes after 1974.

During this phase, when all these structural changes were being assimilated and with the start of the democratisation process, Portugal was still struggling

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[1] Many of the dynamics of the last 25 years in local authorities, businesses and universities, particularly in the interior regions (for example: Vila Real, Viseu, Castelo Branco and Évora), were started by people who returned from the former colonies.

The various effects of this movement of *retornados* in Portuguese society is a theme of great interest and a comparative analysis could be made, for example, with what happened in France in the early 60s with the return of the French living in Algeria ("pieds noirs") after its independence.

Graph 2.1. Weight (%) of salaries in available income of private individuals in Portugal (1973-1983)
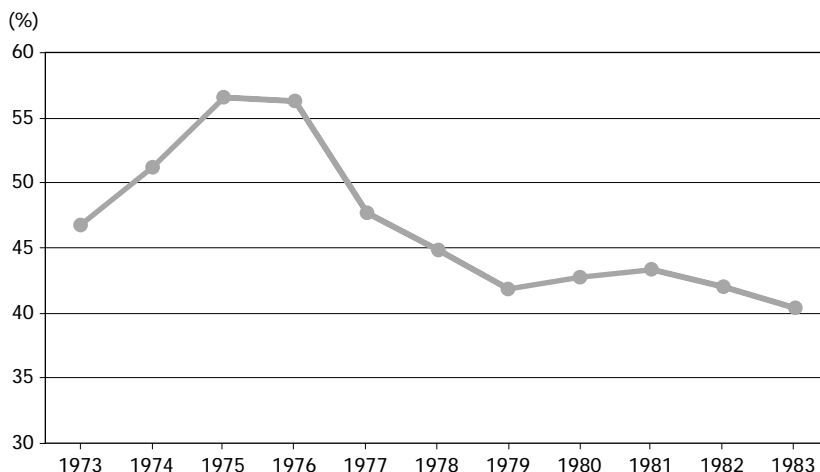
Source: Graph constructed from: MATEUS, Augusto (1985) – "25 de Abril, transição política e crise económica: que desafios 10 anos depois?", in *Revista Crítica de Ciências Sociais*, No. 15-16-17, May, p. 292, Coimbra.

with basic needs compounded by an international economic crisis of very considerable proportions: dependence on foodstuffs, energy and capital goods, loss of control of public finances and high inflation, the need to resort to external debt, among others.

As a result, in the periods 1977-78 and 1983-85 Portugal was obliged to accept the conditions of economic stabilisation programmes as a prerequisite for external loans from the International Monetary Fund.

These cycles of austerity imposed by the agreements made with the IMF were meant to remedy the difficult situation of the economy and led to an economic slowdown with a fall in production, income, domestic consumption and investment and a drop in the real value of wages.

As a result, the weight of wages in the available income of private individuals in 1977-1979 declined markedly, after a clear improvement in 1974 and 1975 (cf. Graph 2.1.)

In this context, it was the State's welfare benefits and current transfers (resulting from the welfare state approach introduced at that time), along with interest from term deposits and private external transfers (essentially remittances from emigrants) which considerably raised its weight in the available income of private individuals between 1973 and 1983, "compensating" for the loss of workers' purchasing power[2].

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[2] The weight of welfare benefits and other current transfers coming from the State went from 4.1% in 1973 to 12.1% in 1983 reaching a maximum of 12.8% in 1981.

Graph 2.2. Evolution of the unemployment rate in Portugal (1974-1985)
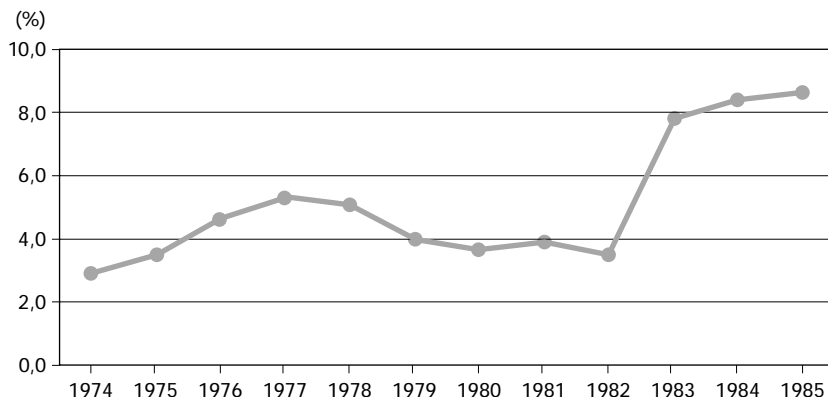
Source: Graph constructed from: BARRETO, António (Organ.) (1996) – *Situação Social em Portugal, 1960-1995*, Lisbon: ICS – Lisbon University, p. 105.

These situation-based policies, which were very strict, were hampered during the first IMF agreement by cycles of political and electoral instability, causing economic development and recovery to get out of hand.

The main objective of these policies was to restore external and public deficits and they were based on purely financial and short term mechanisms, with the devaluation of the escudo, the imposition of a wage ceiling and increased interest rates being of particular note. As a result, there was no space for the development of medium and long-term structural and sectoral policies.

With the austerity imposed by these measures, society and the economic system went through adjustment crises which led to a recession at various levels.

A number of industries went into decline at this time, partly because of the depletion of a specific industrial model (based on steel and oil and on industries such as metal manufacturing and the automobile industries) but also because of the negative influence of the international economic crisis and the effect of the short term austerity measures imposed by the IMF.

As a result, the more industrially developed regions, in some cases with just one industry, suffered total economic and social collapse with a general decline in real earnings, non payment or delays in wage processing, more lay-offs and unemployment and an increase in precarious work (use of short term contracts, sub-contracting, clandestine work, home-based work, etc.) and leading to widespread poverty and social exclusion. The most serious cases were in the areas of the wool manufacturing industries (Centre/Interior), glass (Centre/Coast) and metal manufacturing and ship building and repair (South Lisbon).

Therefore, unemployment rates were high at the start of the 80s and reached a peak of 8.7% in 1985 (cf. Graph 2.2.).

In short, it can be said that after a brief period with improvements in some areas, living conditions worsened for many segments of the population, in particular those most affected by unemployment, industrial restructuring, the social effects of austerity policies and increasingly precarious jobs.

People spoke of hunger and dramatic situations of economic difficulties in some parts of Portugal, such as the above mentioned old industrial zones with problems of restructuring, and also the agricultural region in the South (Alentejo) where the socialist agrarian reform which started in 1974-75, but later reversed, created pockets of poverty and collective frustration.

2.2. The process of economic growth in the second half of the 1980s in the context of EEC membership

When Portugal signed the Accession Agreement to the then EEC, the initial economic situation reflected the austerity policies adopted in 1983 and 1984 under the second agreement made with the IMF. As a result, in 1984 there was little growth, with the production structure operating below capacity, high inflation, real wages in decline, high unemployment and serious social situations, as outlined above.

Economic recovery began after 1985 and may be explained by a number of factors, of which we stress the following:

a) A stable government for the first time since the 1974 Revolution: the Social Democrat Party was able to govern alone from 1985 to 1995, serving two terms with an absolute majority between 1987 and 1995.

b) A more favourable international context, with a fall in oil and other commodity prices, a drop in international interest rates and the devaluation of the US dollar.

c) On the other hand, the changes resulting from EEC membership included the elimination of various barriers to foreign trade. In addition, community funds contributed significantly to boosting economic growth. This aid led to increased and improved vocational training, the start of a number of public infrastructure projects and numerous investment projects, among others.

The government in power, which as we have already indicated was very stable, promoted a series of measures involving the liberalisation of the economy, privatisation [3] and less state intervention. The labour market was also liberalised with a new labour law (1989) in an attempt to introduce greater flexibility.

The upturn in the economy again brought about a rise in employment but in a way which did not imply such a stable compromise between the enterprises and

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[3] Notably the banking sector and the large industries which had been nationalised in 1974-75.

Table 2.1. Evolution of the GDP per capita index in Portugal, between 1980 and 1985 (1985 =100)	
Years	**GDP per capita**
1980	97.4
1985	100.0
1988	114.0
1989	120.0
1990	125.4

Source: INE (1992) – *Portugal Social* – 1985/1990, Lisbon.

the workers; in other words, jobs were more precarious and there was greater flex-ibility in the labour agreement. As a result, the unemployment rate fell in this pe-riod (from 8.4%, in 1986 to 4.7%, in 1990); however, there was a rise in the atypical [4] forms of work. For example, the proportion of fixed term contracts among salaried workers went from 15.8% in 1986 to 18% in 1990 (with a peak of 19.2% in 1988).

The growth of the economy led to the need for more labour and this, together with further liberalisation of the labour market, brought about a real increase in wages which in turn resulted in an improvement in people's purchasing power. The fall of external prices, due in part to the drop in oil prices and lower exchange rates for the dollar, was partly responsible for the decrease in the inflation rate prior to 1987, because imported goods became cheaper and easier to purchase.

All these factors contributed to GDP figures which were very favourable for the economic well being of the population as a whole in this period of significant growth (cf. Table 2.1.).

It can therefore be said that there was a distinct improvement in the socio-eco-nomic situation in Portugal in the second half of the 80s, although pockets of poverty and social exclusion remained from the previous period which did not enjoy this improvement in **average** living conditions.

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[4] Atypical in relation to the Fordist model of a secure job, characteristic of capitalist countries in the period after the Second World War.

2.3. Poverty and social exclusion in Portugal in the 1980s – main characteristics

As we have already seen, (point 1.2.), the first comprehensive studies on poverty and social exclusion in Portugal date back to the mid 80s. Their appearance at this time can be explained by the combination of a number of situations:

- the greater political openness made possible by the 1974 Revolution favoured a greater awareness of social issues, inequalities and injustices sparked by the previous political regime and this stimulated and opened up the possibility of conducting research about these questions prior to 1974[5];

- the worsening of unemployment, poverty and social exclusion registered in certain regions of Portugal (mainly the areas with a single industry most badly hit by restructuring and the conversion of production, and the agricultural area with large landholdings in the South) at the end of the 70s/first half of the 80s, due to the effects of the international economic crisis, political and economic disruptions in Portugal after 1974 and austerity measures imposed by the IMF. This made it imperative to analyse and explain these situations and to seek solutions, given the great impact they had socially and in the media;

- Portugal's accession to the EEC led to a greater awareness of the intervention principles and philosophies adopted at European level in the fight against poverty (the case of EPFAP), prompting some of these studies to be conducted, using theoretical references developed meanwhile.

Prior to the 1974 Revolution, there was absolutely no institutional response to poverty. However, SILVA (1984) estimated that 43% of the Portuguese were living in poverty at the time of the Revolution (with the poverty threshold fixed at 75% of the per capita income)[6].

The social policy measures introduced after 1974, such as the introduction of the national minimum wage, the general improvement of working conditions, more extensive social security benefits and the increase of social infrastructures, should have had a positive impact on reducing poverty.

However, the changes after 1977, for reasons analysed above, reversed this trend and as a result poverty was undoubtedly present in Portuguese society in the 80s[7].

Situations of families which had not lived in poverty until then – the "new poor" – dated back to this time and the intensification of poverty made it more visible

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[5] Cf, for example, SILVA (1982), SILVA (1984) and COSTA et al. (1985).

[6] As this estimate was based on a poverty threshold of 75% of the per capita income, it is natural that the calculation of the percentage of poor should be higher than a calculation based on a lower threshold (50% for example which is now the most usual according to EU criteria).

[7] Cf. in particular: ALMEIDA et al. (1992), COSTA et al. (1985), COSTA (1993), FERREIRA (1997), PEREIRINHA (1988), SILVA (1989-a) and SILVA (1991).

not only institutionally but also in the media and in the community as a whole. The careful analysis of the poverty question in Portugal therefore became necessary so as to diagnose the situation and also to determine how it occurred and its intensity, to identify the social categories which were most vulnerable to it, its geographical spread and the definition of a set of possible trigger factors.

Without dwelling on the methodology adopted, the main characteristics of poverty and social exclusion[8] in Portugal in this period can be summed up as follows:

- in the first half of the 80s poverty and social exclusion worsened and increased due to the deterioration of the socio-economic conditions in an internationally unfavourable environment. 25% of Portuguese families are estimated to have been living in poverty at that time;

- these situations were felt in particular in the agricultural regions of the South (Alentejo), in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, in the regions with single industries in phases of restructuring and in the peripheral rural regions in general;

- poverty particularly affected older persons living alone, pensioners, hired farm workers, single parent families (mainly single mothers), those with little schooling and the unemployed;

- new poor appeared as a result of the restructuring of industries and the precarious and unstable labour market (high unemployment in the first half of the 80s, delayed payment of wages, bankruptcies, atypical and insecure working situations, etc.), as well as the fragility of family and social bonds;

- families with just one member or households of six or more were the categories with the highest rates of poverty; however, during the 80s the percentage of two, three or four-member families increased which is explained by the fact that their percentage of the total population grew in relation to that of larger families (the "modernisation" of demographic behaviour resulted in fewer large families);

- the dominant life styles among the poor at the time corresponded to the social categories that were most affected, particularly "restriction", "saving" and "transitory state";

- the second half of the 80s saw an improvement in this trend as a result of the brighter socio-economic evolution and the international climate.

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[8] However, social exclusion was still not a much-used concept at this time, at least as analysis indicators.

Chapter 3 – The first social policy responses to problems of poverty and social exclusion in Portugal (up to the early 1990s)

3.1. The belated creation of a welfare state in Portugal (up to the second half of the 1970's)

The factors responsible for the belated establishment of a welfare state in Portugal are closely connected to the political and economic situation in the nearly fifty years which led up to 1974 (the period of the so-called New State[1]).

Until the obligatory social security system was introduced in 1933, social protection was based on public assistance and mutual assistance systems accompanied by reduced state intervention in these areas.

Public assistance and mutual assistance worked on a philosophy which depended mainly on voluntary initiatives linked to a charity and assistance-based approach to the social problems of the time. Obligatory social security was adopted with the 1933 Constitution and "corporativism" also appeared at this time as one of the New State's organizational methods. The obligatory social security system began to operate alongside the previous systems – public assistance and mutual assistance – but, even so, the practical results of these measures were limited.

They did not cover all the population and were limited to cases of illness, occupational accidents, disability, old age, and social assistance funds.

Only in 1962 was the need felt to reform these policies, partly because of the situation within the social security system at the time, but also in response to pressures emerging as the dictatorship lost its hold and sought to promote such measures as a way of ensuring peace and social stability.

Although much of the population remained outside the modest social measures adopted at the time (for example, the farm workers or the unemployed) and the social benefits were low, the 1962 reform was a significant step in the evolution of Portugal's social security system.

New important stages were planned even prior to the end of the "Social State" period (1969-74), which would allow social benefits to be increased and extended.

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[1] However, in the last years (1969-1974), when Salazar was substituted as Prime Minister by Marcello Caetano after more than 30 years of "Salazarist" rule, the expression "Social State" started being used and some social protection measures were introduced as we shall see below.

**Graph 3.1. Number of social security beneficiaries in Portugal,
between 1960 and 1992 (in thousands)**

Beneficiaries
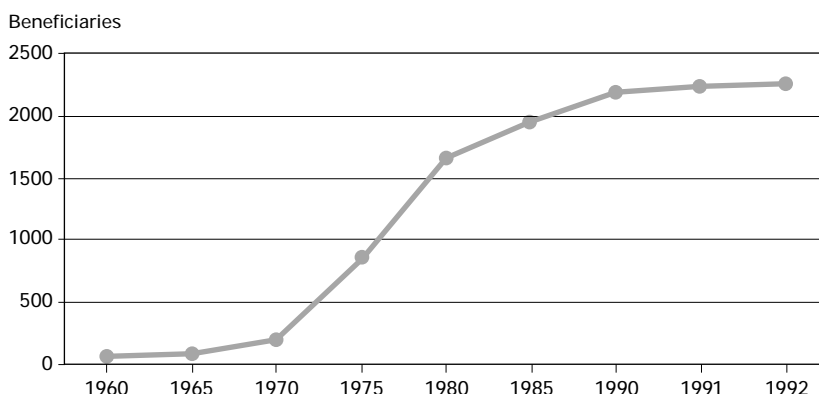
Source: INE (various years) – "Estatísticas da Segurança Social", Lisbon.

In 1974, due to the Revolution and the dismantling of the corporative structure of the old regime, significant changes were made to the social security system, with benefits becoming increasingly available to the population as a whole and with the introduction of the non-contributory system.

Graph 3.1. illustrates this and shows the unprecedented increase in the number of social security beneficiaries between the early 70s and the 90s, the rise being particularly significant up to 1980.

In fact, after the April 1974 Revolution, long-overdue measures were taken in the system to provide assistance to the unemployed and to introduce social benefits.

The measures were structural and included the national minimum wage, a national health service accessible to all citizens, new family allowance schemes, a minimum pension and a social benefit; the systems then in place were replaced by an integrated social security system.

The 1976 Constitution (the first since the Revolution) specified the State's responsibility for implementing social policies to improve the population's social and economic well-being.

The right to participate in trade unions and other associations, almost impossible or problematic under the previous dictatorship, was also endorsed.

The universal social security system, which was considered a right for each and every citizen, was introduced through significant policy steps; social policies tended towards the model traditionally called the welfare state.

Graph 3.2. analyses the evolution of social security expenditure between 1960 and 1992, and the biggest rise in this expenditure (as a percentage of GDP) clearly took place at the end of the 60s and in the 70s, revealing the State's concern to go ahead with the implementation of social policies; the above-mentioned improvements in the period from 1969-1980 are also clearly visible.

Graph 3.2. Evolution of Social Security expenditure in Portugal, between 1960 and 1992 (as a percentage of GDP)

% of GDP
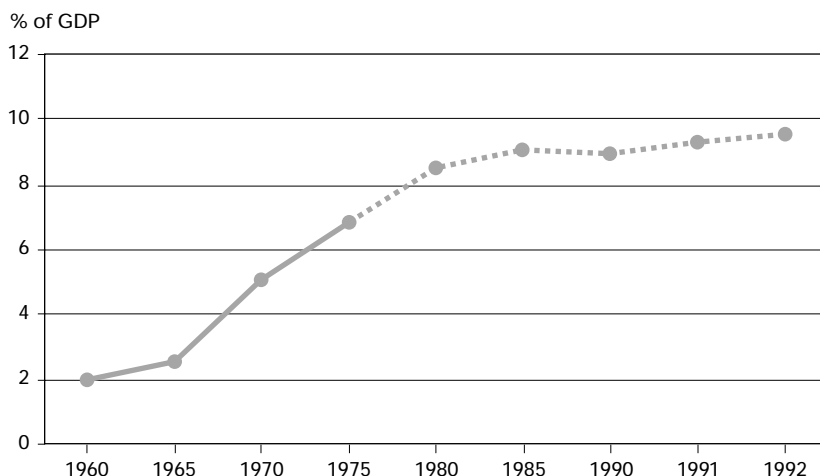
Source: INE (various years) – "Estatísticas da Segurança Social", Lisbon.

Whereas in other European countries the welfare state had started during the favourable economic climate of post Second World War economic growth, in Portugal it really began to develop during this period of economic recession marked by difficult external conditions and internal restructuring.

In most other developed countries, the second half of the 70s marked the start of the (ideological and budget) crisis of the welfare state system which had predominated in Western Europe until that time. This had implications in Portugal where it was difficult to establish such a system so late in the day, particularly when the country was also so fragile.

There had been a dictatorship in Portugal for nearly half a century and this had had a crucial effect on the development of social policies and the intervention philosophy of both the State and citizens; the latter were unable to get used to organizing associations and fighting for common ideals and this complicated their full participation in fostering a sense of citizenship.

Nevertheless, some self-regulation processes emerged in response to the weaknesses of state action. Sometimes these were formal (as in the case of the Catholic Church, the *Misericórdias* (charitable institutions) and many other private social solidarity institutions), and sometimes informal, sustained on the basis of solidarity (family, neighbourhood, community etc.); some authors argue that this justifies talking about some kind of welfare society in Portugal (composed of networks of family and community mutual help or charitable /religious support), in the absence of a real and complete welfare state system:

"However, despite having a weak welfare state, Portugal had a very rich 'welfare society'. Family structures and neighbourhood relations provided a significant and forceful means of protection and mutual help. Portuguese traditions are historically rooted in concern for the poor in society, demonstrated for example by the existence of about 2500 private social solidarity institutions whose activities are financially supported by the State."[2].

3.2. EEC guidelines and programmes to combat Poverty and Social Exclusion in the 1980s and their influence in Portugal – reference to the European Programmes for the Fight against Poverty (EPFAP)

The first EEC initiative linked to poverty and social exclusion was introduced in the mid 70s, as mentioned above, with the European Programme for the Fight against Poverty I (1975-1980). This was essentially research-oriented, perhaps prompted by a measure of "anxiety" arising at the start of the 70s in response to what was going on in European societies notwithstanding that it was generally considered that such concerns had been resolved in the 60s as a result of economic growth: poverty had not disappeared and new situations had emerged.

Although this focus on new poverty was not yet expressed in official political discourse, it was nonetheless already present to some extent in the text of the Council of Ministers resolution which tried to clarify the distinction between the notions of poverty and deprivation, in terms that clearly drew attention to the fact that this was a problem not of deprivation but of lack of resources (cf. point 1.2.). Meanwhile, it was recognized for the first time at the EEC level that not enough was known about the problem; hence, the title of the research area in this first programme.

The "First Programme of Pilot Projects and Pilot Studies for the Fight against Poverty" received a budget allocation of 20 million ECU for its five-year remit. The main aim was to "promote innovation, stimulate public debate, assist the restructuring of agency networks and conduct information campaigns linking reflection and practice"[3].

Although the project had a limited effect in Portugal, the first research work of Alfredo Bruto da Costa and Manuela Silva was associated with it (cf. points 1.2. and 2.3.). Only after Portugal's accession to the EEC in 1986 did these new ideas

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[2] Cf., for example, AA. VV. (1994) – *Pobreza É com Todos: Mudanças Possíveis (Balanço de Uma Experiência)*, Poverty Programme 3, Lisbon: Commission of the European Communities, p. 17.

[3] Cf. REAP (1998) – *Lutar Contra a Pobreza e a Exclusão na Europa – Guia de Acção e Descrição das Políticas Sociais*, Lisbon: Instituto Piaget, p. 75.

and action principles have a more direct influence, notably with the European Programme for the Fight against Poverty II (1984-1989) in which Portugal already participated and contributed with the designation of a national advisor.

The II Programme, adopted in December 1984 and implemented between 1985 and 1989, was entitled "Specific Community Action to Combat Poverty" and had a budget of 29 million ECU.

The aim was to collect statistical data on poverty in member States, exchange knowledge, coordinate action and develop specific research processes which would also permit transnational teams to be formed for discussion and implementation of new ways of combating poverty[4].

This Programme proved more practical than the first and it included a large and varied number of small projects per country, including Portugal, which were well located and were not subject to strict guidelines, in an attempt simply to encourage innovation.

It was organized around the transnational exchange of the practices of various locally based micro projects receiving aid and it provided an understanding of poverty which went beyond the traditional meaning of material need (lack of income). It introduced the expression "social exclusion" in institutional discourse and, as such, opened up the possibility for a deeper analysis of the complexity of the poverty and social exclusion phenomena by simultaneously considering their many manifestations (material, cultural, social) and cumulative effects[5].

The European Programme for the Fight against Poverty III (known as Poverty III) followed these first two experiences in 1989; it ran for the period 1989-1994 and had a budget of 55 million ECU. The aim was to go beyond the exploratory phase covered by the previous two Programmes, by extending its scope and also developing preventive strategies. It was therefore more ambitious than its predecessors, not only because of the financial resources mobilised (almost triple and double the first and second, respectively) but also in terms of its objectives. There were three main objectives:[6]

- to contribute to extending knowledge and awareness of poverty and social exclusion;

- to promote experimentation with new strategies to combat poverty, giving emphasis to innovation in methods, policies and model practices, and to stimulate debate on the actions and their results;

- to establish policy recommendations at the local/regional, national and supranational (European) levels.

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[4] Cf. REAP (1998), p. 76.

[5] Cf. GROS, Marielle (1993) – "Luta Contra a Exclusão Social: Assistencialismo ou Desenvolvimento Local?", in *Estruturas sociais e desenvolvimento* – Actas do II Congresso de Sociologia, Lisbon: Fragmentos, pp. 1003-1004. Cf. also AA. VV. (1994) and REAP (1998), pp. 75-77.

[6] Cf. in particular: AA. VV. (1994), pp. 11,12 and 16 and REAP (1998), p. 77.

In order to fulfil these aims, the Poverty III Programme quite clearly adopted a conceptual reference grid based on three principles "considered essential and potentially able to contribute to the desired coherence of investment in a field which is generally recognised as increasingly complex and widespread"[7]. These principles are[8]:

- **Multidimensional** approach to the problems of poverty and social exclusion, "covering many fields and all kinds of manifestations";

- **Partnership**, calling on "all those in the fight against poverty and social exclusion to come together; this varied group of social agents (and until then dispersed and sometimes unaware of the problem) extended to all kinds of interests, contributions and areas of socio-cultural, economic and political influence", expressed in what is called the "socialisation of exclusion";

- **Participation**, which envisages the "involvement of the population covered by the local intervention process which was intended to be more than taking part in the planned initiatives and suggested notions and practices of solidarity and equality".

Six methodological principles resulted in practice from the cross referencing of the aims and theoretical principles; they were the inspiration of the whole programme and proved to be decisive in defining the future National Programme for the Fight against Poverty in Portugal.

A brief analysis therefore follows of these six methodological principles, namely:

a) action-research;

b) societal and multidimensional focus on poverty and social exclusion;

c) integration of economic and social dimensions in approaching these problems and in defining policies and strategies to combat them;

d) partnership;

e) participation;

f) emphasis on the local aspect of the projects and actions.

a) Firstly, by recognising that it takes more than good will to resolve poverty and social exclusion problems, and maintaining its character as an action programme, Poverty III demanded that practice be based on **scientific knowledge** of poverty itself and on the means of dealing with it effectively.

There was a clear preference for a philosophy of **action-research**, through collecting and analysing information about the nature, extension and cause of this

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[7] Cf. AA. VV. (1994), p. 16.

[8] Idem, ibidem.

phenomenon as systematically as possible. On the other hand, it was hoped that through new practices which had been the subject of reflection and evaluation, new intervention policies and strategies could be proposed as alternatives to those which had been in use until then without great success.

b) On the other hand, preference was given to the adoption of the term social exclusion in official documents, thereby making it possible to restore the relational dimension of poverty. In this way, its potential lies in the break with the more individualist approaches to poverty and the poor which, in turn, allows for the **societal determinants of social exclusion** to be taken into consideration.

The Poverty III Programme's societal perception of poverty and social exclusion resulted in the **multidimensional approach** to the phenomena, stressing their different social, economic, cultural, political and environmental expressions.

c) Also of particular note in the guiding principles and actions of this Programme was the importance given to surpassing the limiting conception of the social; in traditional terms, social intervention is expressed in approaching poverty and social exclusion by merely administrative measures of assistance which do not really allow for intervention to tackle the (structural) causes of the situations identified.

Therefore, the aim was also to **reconcile the economic with the social,** recognising the fragility and ineffectiveness of the sectoral and traditionally based social policies which often tried to cover up the weaknesses caused by evolution and economic policies (in which there was no kind of social correction), often guided towards the less disadvantaged (as opposed to the most disadvantaged), with an intolerable financial burden and based on the logic of subsidies which tended to be perpetuated (without emancipating those subject to exclusion).

This kind of uncoordinated social policy ultimately perpetuated exclusion and marginalisation, although they may have improved some aspects of the people's basic living conditions.

The aim was to react against this kind of social policy and to give more significance to a new attitude and new intervention models promoting the **economic and social integration** of the excluded and the adoption of integrated policies in these fields.

d) The multidimensional perspective of poverty and social exclusion justified and imposed the adoption of corresponding strategies and the need for **partnership**.

This (strong) emphasis on partnership implied that the projects were in fact an appeal to the commitment between the various formal and informal, collective and individual agents and institutions whose involvement until that time had been compartmentalised, each in their own sector, (social action, culture, education, economy, employment, health, etc.) although, possibly in the same field of combating poverty and social exclusion.

In line with this principle, great emphasis was therefore placed on making civil society jointly responsible and on integrated strategies and resources[9].

e) Moreover, it was recognised that the fight against poverty and social exclusion could not be expressed in simple measures. Instead of tackling the root causes and providing self-insertion skills, such measures create a stigmatising solidarity which generate institutional dependence and encourage a culture of failure and inferiority.

Above all, the excessive bureaucratisation of this kind of measure tends to encourage the simulation of poverty[10], at the same time as inhibiting those who are excluded from really participating in directing the course of their own lives (in some way taking away their right to citizenship).

On the contrary, the Programme defended the "active involvement of the persons and groups which the actions concerned", and the "active participation of the most disadvantaged in the actions directed towards their social and economic integration"[11], as the only way of promoting the empowerment of disadvantaged groups and reversing the traditional processes of assistance which inflicted the stigma of dependence.

This **participation** principle presupposed the active involvement of the target groups and, in this way, became a decisive instrument in rescuing people from poverty because it was a way of making full use of energies which were essential in promoting development.

f) Finally, the multidimensional approach, put into practice through locally based partnerships (i.e. **territorial** and not sectoral) bolstered the **local development** approach in the fight against poverty.

This **local** aspect of Poverty III projects was one of its most innovative characteristics, stressing the need for new forms of social intervention to be defined based on the communities themselves and their specific experiences.

In this way, "the projects demonstrated the capacity to relate global and structural questions with the local specificities and the real experience of becoming poor and socially excluded in a concrete multidimensional way"[12].

The analyses made possible by the **local** nature of the projects later proved to be important sources for social policy recommendations and created new opportunities

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[9] However, in this context, the projects to combat poverty, namely through the involvement of civil society and the actual interested parties, were **not intended** to be seen as substitutes for the Welfare State. In fact the central State's role **was not intended to be withdrawn** with this co-responsibilisation of the civil society; it simply proposed additional ways of acting which were more flexible and appropriate to different territorial contexts.

[10] That is, the need to acquire the recognition of the right to be helped, leads people who are at breaking point to develop strategies to stage poverty which transmit their convincing need for help.

[11] Cf. GROS (1993), p. 1004.

[12] Cf. MENDONÇA, Helena (1994) –*Retratos de Vidas em Mudança, Pobreza 3*, Lisbon: Comission of the European Communities, p. 20.

for State action and for the leading role of civil society in the search for solutions to the problems of poverty and social exclusion. However, this was a "triumph" that emerged during the implementation phase of the Programme, more than its initial intention.

This programme was not just concerned with trying to respond to the needs of the most disadvantaged persons and groups by achieving their economic and social integration; it was also an **attempt to transform the socio-economic and cultural contexts in which these phenomena occurred.**

These methodological principles were the basis of a set of prototype experiments conducted by member States in local contexts and divided into:

- thirty "Model Actions", which were intended to test organizational models to combat poverty, bringing together a number of public and private partners at the local level;
- twelve "Innovative Initiatives", or micro projects, which aimed to develop responses to the poverty and social exclusion problems of specific groups. Portugal was included in the Programme with the following[13]:

i. three "Model Actions":

- **"Project for the Historic zone of *Sé e São Nicolau*"** (Porto), which "demonstrated the possibility of linking the processes of physical rehabilitation and urban renovation in a historic centre to the coherent process of the economic and social integration of most disadvantaged groups";
- **"Rural World in Change" Project** (Almeida), which "demonstrated that possible futures could be constructed in poor rural areas by developing local organizational skills and forming suitable development strategies";
- **"Mountain Villages committed to Development" Project** (Covilhã), which "demonstrated how it is possible to combat poverty by conjugating strategies and actions aimed at enhancing the value of human resources and renewable natural resources";

ii. one "Innovative Initiative":

- **"Working with Children on the Street" Project** (Lisbon), which "drew attention to the gravity of social situations involving children living on the streets and the lack of responses to them"[14].

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[13] Cf. AA. VV. (1994), pp. 18 and 19.

[14] Other examples of "innovative initiatives" in other countries: actions supporting gypsies and travelers of Greece, Spain, Italy and the Irish Republic, actions supporting prisoners and ex-inmates of the Bologna prison (Italy); creation of the European network of single parent families. Cf. REAP (1998), p. 78.

With regard the Portuguese projects included in Poverty III, it should be mentioned that the total financial resources disbursed over the five years was less than the cost of building 400 metres of motorway at a time when Portugal was investing heavily in road infrastructures with the aid of European Community funds. This places the achievements of this programme clearly in perspective.

In the first phase, the projects were selected by the member States; subsequently they were examined and the final choice was made by the Commission with the help of an advisory committee formed by representatives of each member State and by a central coordination unit[15]. The projects were partly financed by the Commission, in conjunction with public or private contributions at the national, regional or local levels.

A number of national and transnational meetings were organized within the scope of this Programme for reflection, evaluation and the exchange of experiences.

A bibliographic and statistical database, a monthly newsletter, a quarterly review, a number of evaluation reports and a film were produced[16].

Due to this Programme's influence in the NPFAP, it is important to stress the main results obtained in Portugal[17]:

- more in-depth knowledge of poverty and social exclusion, both from the conceptual point of view and in terms of its manifestations in Portugal;

- critical perspective of conventional actions (based on social policies which "compartmentalise" and "sectorise" social problems) and of the need for new concepts and methodologies of action leading to development;

- inevitable strengthening of the State's role, integrating social, economic and regional policies and fostering a policy of integrated development at the local level;

- need to integrate State action with the involvement of civil society, which means adopting a partnership approach and one which mobilises the participation of the target population;

- increased experimentation and innovation in the projects, leading to the definition of new strategies, policies and practices to combat poverty and social exclusion;

- integration of these activities with the promotion of local development strategies, bringing about changes at the local level and mobilising the respective actors, namely the municipalities.

As we shall see, these results, the main guidelines described above and the overall ensuing reflection provided the real framework for the NPFAP in Portugal and essentially became its framework of reference.

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[15] Cf., for example: REAP (1998), pp. 78-79.

[16] Idem, ibidem.

[17] Cf. AA. VV. (1994), pp. 19-26 (summary of the two national advisors, Fernanda Rodrigues and José Manuel Henriques, who were part of the Programme's Research and Development Unit).

In fact, when the European Programmes for the Fight against Poverty came to an end in 1994, an interregnum occurred in the joint European strategy in this area, which did not end until 2000.

Hence, during this period, it fell to member States to define appropriate strategies in this area, in the context of national programmes to combat poverty and social exclusion, some of which had been launched (including that of Portugal) prior to 1994.

Part II

THE NATIONAL PROGRAMME FOR THE FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY (NPFAP) IN PORTUGAL – ORIGINS AND LINES OF DEVELOPMENT

Introduction

Part I provided the theoretical and historical background of the NPFAP in Portugal; in Part II we will focus directly on analysing this programme.

First, we will identify the factors which gave rise to the Programme, its objectives, action principles and methodologies, together with its organizational framework and models contained in its initial philosophy **(chapter 4).**

We will then go on to analyse the changes in Portuguese society in the 90s, more specifically in terms of the manifestations and trends of poverty and social exclusion; this will be set against the alterations which were made to the NPFAP and to social policies in the meantime, in particular after the change of Government in 1995 when the Socialist Party came to power. This is the aim of **chapter 5.**

In short, before moving on to look at the case studies in Part III, we shall present an overview of how the NPFAP was conceived and put into practice.

Chapter 4 – Setting up the NPFAP

4.1. Heritage of the EPFAP and initial aims and measures. Main factors in setting up the NPFAP

The National Programme for the Fight against Poverty came at a time when many internal and external factors combined to justify it, making it possible or, indeed, perhaps even essential. **Internally**, there was an urgent and imperative need to define the political response[1] to the serious social problems of the first half of the 80s which were given extensive media coverage[2]. At the same time, the studies and work published on poverty and social exclusion over this period (cf. points 1.2. and 2.3.) reinforced this urgency by presenting proof and (sometimes) figures, and also contributed conceptually and methodologically to defining the form and content of the policy.

Externally, there is no doubt that the effect of the EPFAP, the ensuing expectations, the methodological principles, and the Community directives which were being defined in this field, were all decisive factors and strongly influenced the establishment of the NPFAP in Portugal.

The success attributed to the various experimental initiatives included in the different European programmes meant that, from the start, there was a favourable attitude towards using "projects" as the means to combat poverty and social exclusion[3].

Meanwhile, it is interesting to note the real explosion of initiatives and projects in this field in the second half of the 80s, after Portugal's entry in the European Communities and the resulting participation in the EPFAP, from Programme II[4].

While a significant number of Portuguese projects applied for co-financing from this Programme, only ten were approved.

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[1] For example, the start of the "Emergency Plan for Setúbal" and the "Integrated Development Operations" targeting geographically depressed areas (notably in the Setúbal peninsula), in the mid 80s.

[2] In this context, social problems and starvation experienced in the areas of Marinha Grande (a glass manufacturing centre located in the Central Coast Region) and Setúbal (a heavy industry area, namely of metal manufacturing and ship building and repair, located south of Lisbon) were highly covered by the media. In the case of Setúbal, the catholic bishop D. Manuel Martins denounced the situation.

[3] Cf. for example, MINISTRY OF EMPLOYMENT AND SOCIAL SECURITY (1992) – *1º Encontro de Promotores de Projectos de Luta Contra a Pobreza do Comissariado Regional do Sul*, Setúbal: Edited by Comissariado Regional do Sul da Luta Contra a Pobreza, p. 229: "**Project work** is in fact a new form of social work" (bold in the original – from the speech by Joaquina Ruas Madeira, general director of Social Action and national advisor in EPFAP II, in the summary of the Meeting).

[4] Cf. GROS (1993), p. 998.

As a result, given the political concerns arising from the growing awareness of social problems in Portugal, the remaining projects also received financial and political support from the Secretary of State for Social Security (under the then Ministry of Employment and Social Security). This can be said to be the origin of the future National Programme for the Fight against Poverty.

At the start of EPFAP III in 1989, the number of Portuguese projects applying for aid (about 60) far exceeded the number of cases envisaged for Portugal (four, as referred above). As a result, the need for a national policy to coordinate and support projects in this area became clear[5].

It is therefore not surprising that NPFAP was launched in 1990, soon after the start of EPFAP III.

The Portuguese projects which received aid from the European programmes adopted and put into practice the above-mentioned methodological principles defined by the Commission of the Communities and the results were considered positive[6]. This success had a decisive influence on the working philosophy and content of the other Portuguese projects, financed meanwhile by the Portuguese State, and also on the actual NPFAP, as we shall stress in point 4.2.

Therefore, from the start, there was an innovative and relatively coherent theoretical and methodological framework of reference which had already been tried out and positively assessed.

There can be no doubt that, in terms of the general context, Portugal's entry in the European Communities contributed very significantly to the adoption of a new attitude to social policy, based on the experiences of some European countries with strong traditions in this field (such as Germany, Denmark, France, United Kingdom) in contrast to Portugal's very limited experience, as we have already seen[7].

Hence, the measures adopted to combat poverty and social exclusion in Portugal were strongly influenced by Community directives; the differences lay mainly in the resources available and the Portuguese lack of experience in this kind of project. Indeed, **the profile of NPFAP was very similar** to that of EPFAP although on occasion with slightly different interpretations.

The National Programme for the Fight against Poverty was initiated in 1990, on the one hand, because situations of need and discrimination among various people and social groups in rural areas as well as in towns and suburbs had to be tackled and, on the other, because European examples both enabled and encouraged this to be done.

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[5] Therefore, in 1991, in NPFAP's first year, "there were more than 60 projects which the two Commissions (…) wanted to promote" (GROS, 1993, p. 998).

[6] Cf. in particular AA. VV. (1994), Parts I, II, III and IV (presentation and assessment of the Portuguese Poverty III projects).

[7] However, there were also new openings at the time in the specific field of the fight against poverty and social exclusion at the European level.

After the first policy measures in this field, already with the help of Community Funds (ERDF, EAGGF and ESF), of which we stress the above-mentioned Emergency Plan for Setubal, Integrated Development Operations and Occupational Training Programmes, the adoption of the NPFAP became a more persistent, systematic and innovative force (in its conception, methodologies and practices), and constituted a clear break with the assistance-based tradition which was left over from the interventions in the social action field.

4.2. Objectives and fundamental methodological principles

The National Programme for the Fight against Poverty, set up in February 1990 by Council of Ministers Resolution no. 8/90, had a series of objectives based on various assumptions; essentially those were taken up later in the Dispatch of the then Minister of Solidarity and Social Security on 27th August 1996[8]. The objectives were defined at the outset as[9]:

- "promotion of special projects aimed at combating poverty" in response to "unacceptable living situations";

- "coordinating the activities of different departments and entities involved in this fight" including the "private initiatives which are involved in such endeavours" so as to "boost the effectiveness and efficiency of action and resources involved";

- "dissemination, exchange of knowledge and assessment of action taken".

An "intersectoral body" was set up to manage the Programme; it was responsible for coordinating projects and on-going work, collaborating with others working in this field and making best use of the potential advantages and relevance of the community programmes which had appeared meanwhile to Portugal.

Two Regional Commissions for the Fight against Poverty were set up for the North and the South (the latter also covering the Autonomous Regions of the Azores and Madeira) in order to fulfil these objectives. They came directly under the Minister of Employment and Social Solidarity and they were given the task of[10]:

- defining and guiding projects and actions included in the NPFAP, notably those which had been or were part of EPFAP II and III or had worked in conjunction with them;

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[8] Cf. the respective legal texts in Annex 1.

[9] Cf. Preface to the Resolution of the Council of Ministers no. 8/90, from the 22nd of February (see annex 1). Cf. also MESS (1992), pp. 23-29.

[10] Cf. Resolution of the Council of Ministers no. 8/90, no. 2 (Annex 1).

- supporting and coordinating the actions of promoters and those responsible for the projects and evaluating their results;

- motivating the different State departments and the civil society to become involved in the Programme;

- fostering the increase of knowledge about the different causes and manifestations of poverty and raising public awareness on these issues;

- forming policy recommendations, establishing priorities and strategies in these areas.

NPFAP therefore aimed to: encourage the establishment and give orientation to projects combating poverty, coordinate the mobilisation of interest and resources (human, financial and material) of the different State services and private institutions for this task and propose measures and policies for future action in these areas.

The three **fundamental methodological principles,** which were essentially taken from Poverty III**,** constituted the implicit framework of reference for putting these objectives into practice:

a) adopting a **multidimensional approach** to poverty (and social exclusion);

b) establishing **partnerships**;

c) motivating the populations involved to **participate**.

Although not specified in the initial guidelines (contained in the Council of Ministers Resolution)[11], the influence of these principles, taken directly from EPFAP III (cf. point 3.2.) was soon apparent, particularly in the way some projects were run[12], but also in some interpretations and analyses by specialists and leading technical experts [13]. The identification of these three methodological principles was due directly to their central position in Poverty III, and to the fact that they had been adopted by the Portuguese projects financed by it, and by experimental initiatives and those covered by NPFAP.

In addition to these, other methodological principles were established as the projects developed in the first years and were included in the philosophy of the programme *a posteriori*, of which we stress the following[14]:

d) adoption of a **project methodology**;

e) concentration of actions in **priority areas and high social risk areas**;

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[11] Not even in the political speeches of the main government figures responsible at the time (early 90s).

[12] Cf., for example AMARO, Rogério Roque (coord.) (1992) – *Iniciativas de Desenvolvimento Local – caracterização de alguns exemplos*, Lisbon: ISCTE/IEFP.

[13] Cf. for example: MESS (1992), pp. 29 and 229-232.

[14] Cf. MESS (1992), pp. 229-237 (evaluation intervention of the projects presented at the Meeting by the Director General of Social Action, former national advisor to EPFAP II).

f)   importance of a **local and social development approach**;

g)   **action-research** approach.

The influence of the EPFAP can also be seen here, particularly EPFAP III, which gained strength as it was reflected on and discussed in Portugal (for example in drafting evaluation reports); however, the lessons learnt from the concrete experiences resulting from the projects were also of great importance[15]. The principles were of such significance in drawing up and defining the strategic contents of the projects analysed in Part II that the description already given in point 3.2 should be developed[16].

a)   Adopting a **multidimensional approach** to poverty and social exclusion implied the need to identify their components, characterise their manifestations and define strategies to eliminate them, bearing in mind the personal, social, economic educational, cultural, political and environmental aspects involved.

This therefore meant adopting **integrated intervention strategies**; rather than simply finding multiple solutions (employment, education, health, etc.); this was a search for coherent solutions which would mobilise the various actors/institutions and resources in a coordinated way.

b)   The partnership approach, that is **intersectoral action,** was the inevitable consequence of the above principle.

For this purpose, it was considered essential to: draw together sectoral actions, making them work together towards the same objective; mobilise and make full use of resources and, above all, change the partners' attitude towards their traditional (isolated and segmented) responses.

Partnership was however seen as a potential source of conflict due to the power relationships involved; it was therefore important to clarify each person's role at the outset and involve the partners in all phases of the project (from diagnosis to final evaluation, from planning to action).

c) Participation was referred to as an essential aspect in the changeover from poverty/social exclusion to well-being and full integration in society, in that it implied that **the excluded person must change from within** and, in this way, become the protagonist of a different situation.

It is recognised however that this principle is difficult to put into practice and this perhaps explains why the strategies for its implementation are not developed in depth, at least in the initial references.

d)   There were three main aspects underlying **the project methodology** in this Programme:

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[15] Cf. AMARO (coord.) (1992) and MESS (1992).

[16] For the following, cf. essentially MESS (1992), in particular pp. 28-30 and 229-237.

- Projects must be the **driving force** of the action and therefore the **operational and management centres** of the Programme, composed of people and financial resources and an organizational and management structure;
- Projects presupposed **planned action**, which included at least the following steps: initial diagnosis, programming, action implementation, self-evaluation and development of theoretical and practical knowledge about the field of intervention (research);
- Projects were seen as **local and social development processes**, that is, change and mobilisation of local communities and not just its most direct beneficiaries (poor and socially excluded individuals and groups).

e) The concentration of action on **priority areas and those at greatest social risk** meant preference was given to backing projects in geographical areas considered particularly sensitive from the point of view of the processes and manifestations of poverty and social exclusion, such as: industrial areas undergoing a difficult restructuring process (the above-mentioned cases of Marinha Grande, Covilhã and Setúbal, among others); poor agricultural regions (Alentejo and North and the Central Interior); border areas suffering from the opening of the borders; suburbs and slums of metropolitan Lisbon and Porto; fishing areas unable to keep up with the technological restructuring demands following accession to the European Communities.

f) The **importance of the local and social development approach** meant it was necessary to assume that the fight against poverty and social exclusion could only be effective if, on the one hand, it involved change processes which went beyond the local community as a structural (not circumstantial) means of preventing and resolving these situations, notably through job creation initiatives and other social integration activities and, on the other, it involved mobilising local solidarity and resources;

g) The combination of the three dimensions which form the main methodology of **action-research** – action, self-evaluation and research – was defended with a view to ensuring that the projects did not regress to the traditional approach of working on the symptoms rather than on the causes, or failing to achieve the necessary structural changes.

Research should not be confused with in-depth academic studies which are often remote from concrete situations; in this case, it is understood to be "the process of understanding the reason for the problems, the search for the factors which cause them and the development of knowledge" in order to " provide guidance as to the most appropriate concrete action"[17].

Self evaluation was seen as "critical awareness of the technical processes of the action" and could be compared to "a compass guiding our steps"[18].

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[17] Cf. MESS (1992), p. 233.

[18] Idem, p. 234.

It was not intended therefore "simply as a measurement or analysis of results nor even just to confirm to what extent the project had managed, or not, to reach the proposed targets; rather it was a systematic and critical analysis of the process (how the team worked, organizational processes) and the methods used"[19].

The action therefore served as the starting point for self-evaluation and the finishing point (renewable) for research, and the approach was therefore ongoing or permanent:

$$\text{Action} \rightarrow \text{Self-evaluation} \rightarrow \text{Research} \rightarrow \text{Renewed action}$$

These principles were therefore the **reference grid** of the NPFAP and its projects. Although this was not coherent and systematic at the start, it became so as the processes and the resulting evaluations developed and continues to be its fundamental methodological line today, albeit with some changes which we shall discuss in point 5.2.

Despite the decisive influence of the EPFAP (mainly Poverty III) on NPFAP, not all the methodological procedures were adopted however with the same emphasis or importance. This was the case in particular of the evaluation and experimentation of innovative actions to combat poverty and social exclusion becoming guidelines and recommendations for future national social policies.

This did not happen to the same extent in NPFAP because there were a large number of projects; Poverty III, however, supported a limited number (four in the case of Portugal), which were meant to be experimental and therefore subject to intense reflection and evaluation.

Therefore, in the transition from Poverty III to the first NPFAP, the strategic dimension of action was dropped; the objective had been understood to be the creation of integrated and structural processes to respond effectively to poverty and social exclusion problems, notably through innovative policies.

Some projects did retain this strategic dimension however in the evaluation and experimentation of innovative actions even though this was neither explicitly encouraged by the Commissions nor was it one of the Programme's initial guidelines.

Only later in the second half of the 90s did it develop more in this direction (cf. chapter 5).

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[19] Idem, ibidem.

4.3. *Main actors involved and targeted*

According to the Programme's objectives, the main beneficiaries were the people and social groups in poverty and social exclusion situations; that is, the underprivileged in societal terms, particularly those living in priority or high social risk areas as described above (point 4.2.).

But this meant that it was necessary to propose and organize projects which would cover everybody because, although there were no limits and potentially all poverty and social exclusion situations in Portugal could be embraced by the Programme, it would only be under these conditions[20].

It therefore became essential to organize projects and, as a result, the so-called **"promoters"** who proposed, organized and coordinated these projects played a key role.

Promoters could include the private social solidarity institutions, the various non-governmental organizations and other non-profit organizations, local authorities, municipal associations and, if necessary, the Regional Social Security Centres themselves, provided they presented the right conditions (that is, technical and organizational) to take responsibility for these processes.

The coordination and leadership of the projects should however be based on a partnership approach, as we have already seen, and therefore the sharing of resources and responsibilities with other institutions, public services and associations involved would be locally based.

Management (notably accounting and financial management) of the projects was not to be done by a public entity but it could be done by the promoters themselves as long as they were qualified to do so.

The promoters and managers of the projects were answerable to the Regional Commissions for the Fight against Poverty on technical, financial and accounting matters.

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[20] This in fact is the difference between the response under a Programme and projects (with "selected" beneficiaries) and under policies (targeting the whole universe).

4.4. Organizational and working models

As we have already seen, the Regional Commissions for the Fight against Poverty (North and South) play a key role in the organization and working of the NPFAP; they are autonomous structures and are directly answerable to the Minister of Employment and Social Security[21]. As already stated (cf. point 4.2), they have the following powers and duties in the running of the Programme:

a) defining and guiding projects;

b) project support, coordination and evaluation;

c) stimulating and coordinating the involvement of different state departments and private institutions;

d) promoting extensive participation and raising public awareness;

e) making recommendations on policies, priorities and action strategies.

The first step in this process is to deal with applications. These can be submitted at any time as there are no fixed deadlines for applications.

Although the promoters are responsible for making the applications to the Commission, the actual Commission may be involved in encouraging and inspiring applicants, particularly in areas with most social problems[22]. They are sent to the Social Security services (usually regional) for their opinion and then approved or rejected by the Commissions; this decision is ratified by the Minister responsible.

After approval, the applications are returned to the social security services for financing (from the section of their budget entitled "National Programme for the Fight against Poverty") in accordance with the quarterly cash flow plans, presented by the promoter (cf. Figure 4.1.).

The following criteria are followed when analysing and deciding on applications:

- reasons behind the application (probable and associated causes of the problem, bearing in mind they indicate the gravity of the problem and the characteristics of the population affected);

- complementarity foreseen with other projects/programmes;

- partnerships to be made (or already made);

- analysis of the costs involved;

- coherence of the action plan;

- local development dynamics created, notably through the basic guiding principles; that is, multidimensional approach, partnership and participation;

- length of the project and plans to continue action once the project is concluded.

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[21] So called in the early 90s, but at the time of this study included in the Ministry of Labour and Solidarity (MTS).

[22] As happened in some cases.

Figure 4.1. Circuit for approval and financing of the Fight against Poverty projects in Portugal

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              ┌──────────────┐
              │   Promoter   │
              └──────┬───────┘
                     ▼
              ┌──────────────────────┐
              │        CRSS          │
              │ Sub-Regional Service │
              │   (for an opinion)   │
              └──────┬───────────────┘
                     ▼
              ┌──────────────────────┐
              │     Commission       │
              │    (for approval)    │
              └──────┬───────────────┘
                     ▼
              ┌──────────────────────┐
              │        CRSS          │
              │ Sub-Regional Service │
              │(for project financing)│
              └──────────────────────┘
```
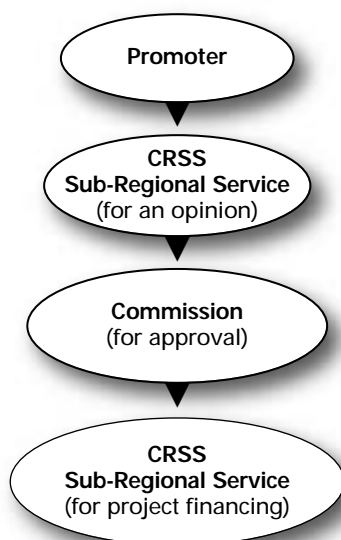
Source: Internal document of the Southern Region Commission for the Fight against Poverty.

After approval, the project is monitored, supported and evaluated by the respective Commission (corresponding to the region). This involves:

- regular visits to the projects by teams from the Commission, in particular by those directly in charge of monitoring the project in question;
- analysis of the (six-monthly and annual) reports describing and evaluating the work, as well as accounting; these are sent to the Commission by the promoters;
- requesting additional information from the projects about their work whenever necessary.

Financing is awarded in accordance with the budget and whenever possible contributions (financial and in kind) are also obtained from other sources; in addition, the Commission may also give other kinds of support, particularly regarding the strategic guidelines and methodologies to be followed. Furthermore, the Commission may promote or organize meetings to discuss the projects and in this way contribute to the exchange of experiences and the spread of "best practices", making it possible to integrate them and thereby achieve national coherence of the programme's principles and objectives.

General information and reports (simplified) from the projects are analysed every six months, and in more detail once a year, so that changes in the plan of activities and budget for the following year can be justified[23].

However, as the Commissions have been short-staffed (each started with four or five specialists, one administrative worker and an accountant, coordinated by the Commissioner) and the number of projects has increased (from just over 60 at the start to nearly 200 at present), it has been almost impossible to provide all the support, monitoring and evaluation as regularly and intensively as they would like.

As a result, the Commissions usually contact and visit the projects several times so that information can be kept up to date and to find out how the project is progressing in general, but in most cases this is the extent of their knowledge about the projects.

Every year a ministerial decision (proposed by the Commissions) defines the amount of financing to be made available for projects combating poverty. The Commission is responsible for administering this, bearing in mind the number of projects in progress, applications and potential proposals so that no project complying with the defined principles is ignored.

As applications may be made at any time (even when there is no available budget for that year, worthy projects may be approved for the start of the following year) the **planning** of the Commissions' work must be very flexible and is to a certain extent uncertain and undefined. Lastly, although the length of the project is proposed by the promoter and normally ranges between three to five years, this can be (and has been) negotiated with the Commissions and, under these circumstances, extended.

In the early years, the Commission fulfilled its other duty to "involve different State departments and private institutions" by providing incentives to the projects to set up partnerships which would lead to this "involvement".

Finally, the Commission fulfilled the other obligations described above – increasing public awareness and participation and formulating policies and strategies on these matters – essentially by organizing meetings and seminars for debate and publicising the results and lessons learnt from the projects.

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[23] This may involve an increase, a reduction or even suspension.

Chapter 5 – Overview of the evolution of NPFAP from 1990 to the present day

5.1. Main factors of the socio-economic changes and main characteristics of poverty and social exclusion in Portugal in the 1990s

Portuguese society during the 90s and leading up to the turn of the century can be viewed from three general angles which provide the general context for the evolution of the NPFAP during this period:

a) main macro economic situation and trends;

b) main characteristics and situations of poverty and social exclusion;

c) evolution of social policies in the fight against poverty and social exclusion.

When considered together, some factors clearly explain the changes in NPFAP and in its political context in the period from 1990 to 2001 which are described in point 5.2. It is therefore important to begin this chapter with a more detailed analysis of each of these points.

a) Four main factors must be considered in order to gain an understanding of the general macroeconomic trends during this period which are most relevant to this analysis: evolution of the international economy, use of the Community structural funds, strengthening of European integration and changes in internal politics.

The international economy was going through a period of irregularity and instability, swinging between favourable (1990 and 1995-98) and unfavourable environments (1991-94 and 1999-2001). As a small, open economy, Portugal is sensitive to these changes and the effects of these cycles were strongly felt, in its "European version", given the strong ties to the EU economy which, in turn, in some cases absorbed other external effects.

The EU structural funds were one of the engines of growth in Portugal during that period as a result of the investments and actions financed in particular in infrastructures (hospitals, health care centres, schools, social infrastructures, ports, etc.), different occupational training activities and many social and economic restructuring projects[1].

There were various stages in the strengthening of European integration but the most symbolic was the creation of the Single Market (1992) and the single currency

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[1] For example, in the ambit of PEDAP, PEDIP, Interreg, ILE Programme, RDP, etc.

(1999) with the Single Act and the Maastricht and Amsterdam Treaties, among others. It had a very great influence on the Portuguese economy, particularly in terms of the opening of markets and capital from other EU countries, notably Spain[2], and the adoption of the single currency (euro). It must be stressed that the twelve founding members of the euro zone had to comply with rigorous criteria under the so-called **nominal convergence** process[3].

To be able to adopt the European currency (substituting the escudo) on 1st January 1999, Portugal had to undergo an austerity programme to reduce inflation, interest rates and the public deficit and public debt in relation to GDP. This led to cuts in public spending and there were some constraints on social policies at this time which were only partly compensated by EU funds.

The strengthening of European integration therefore had very distinct effects on the Portuguese economy: the increased circulation of goods and capital (e.g. the flow of foreign direct investment); greater exposure to European competition; constraints on public spending; budgetary and financial oversight[4], etc.

From the **macroeconomic angle,** this resulted in a number of factors of which we stress the following trends:

- greater exposure of the Portuguese economy to other countries (particularly to EU countries – cf. Table 5.1.);

- general improvement in most macroeconomic indicators which was felt in the tendency towards real convergence with the European average (besides nominal convergence which was necessary for the single currency – cf. Table 5.1.);

- improvement in per capita income and consumption levels and in the average well being of Portuguese families (cf. Table 5.1.), though in some cases the risk of falling into debt increased as a result;

- unemployment situation worsening initially and then improving with a rise in the proportion of long term unemployed and those with high schooling levels (cf. Table 5.2.), as well as women and young unemployed; on the other hand there was also an increase in flexible and more precarious working conditions[5].

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[2] With whom economic relations had been relatively unimportant until they both joined the then EEC in 1986 and the results of those measures of economic liberalisation.

[3] **Nominal convergence** refers to the macroeconomic adjustment indicators which are predominantly monetary, financial or budgetary (such as interest rates, inflation and the weight of budget deficit and the percentage of public deficit in relation to GDP), whereas **real convergence** refers to the real living conditions and well-being of the populations, notably economic and social conditions (such as GDP and income *per capita*, average productivity, salary levels, etc.).

[4] According to the monetarist formula, typical of the "Washington Consensus" and linked to proposed economic, monetary and social policies in the 80s and much of the 90s by IMF and the World Bank.

[5] Salaried jobs with temporary contracts went from 12.1% in 1992 to 14.2% in 1997, whereas in the same period part-time work increased from 7% to 10%. At the same time, self employment went from 23.9% to 27.5% disguising some cases of atypical salaried work (e.g. making workers give receipts as if they were rendering services or from the liberal professions, and therefore involving no employer's contributions) Cf. MEPAT (1999), p. III-9.

Table 5.1. Main macroeconomic indicators in Portugal in the 90s (%)

	1990	1995	1997
GDP *per capita* (EU average = 100)[a]	37	47.1	47.7
Productivity (EU average = 100)[a]	33.6	42.2	41.9
Unemployment rate	4.7	7.2	6.8
Inflation rate	13.6	4.2	2.3
Openness of the economy[b]	37.6	45.1	49.8
Import/aggregate demand ratio[c]	29.2	33.8	36.1
Investment rate	27.6	23.6	25.1
Internal saving / investment	94.1	81.2	79.2

a) Based on data calculated in ECU.

b) $\dfrac{\text{(Exports + Imports)}}{2} \div \text{GDP} \times 100$ (1990 price level).

c) Weight of imports in overall demand (1990 prices)

Source: MINISTRY OF EQUIPMENT. PLANNING AND TERRITORIAL ADMINISTRATION (MEPAT), Secretary of State for Regional Development (1999) – PNDES – *Plano Nacional de Desenvolvimento Económico e Social (2000-2006) – Diagnóstico Prospectivo*. Lisbon, p. III-2, adapted.

Table 5.2. Description of unemployment in Portugal in the 90s (%)

	1992	1995	1997	2000[a]
Unemployment rate (overall)	4.1	7.4	6.7	4.1
seeking first job	21.5	18.3	19.5	–
seeking new job	78.5	81.7	80.5	–
Time unemployed				
Up to one year	74.2	61.8	56.3	58.4
More than one year	25.8	38.2	43.7	41.6
School qualifications				
None	7.0	6.3	4.7	–
Basic – 9 years schooling	78.4	72.4	73.3	–
Secondary (12 years)	10.7	14.7	16.0	–
Middle and polytechnic	1.4	2.3	1.7	–
Graduates and post graduates	2.6	4.3	4.3	–
Youth unemployment rate (15-24 years old)	9.9	16.2	14.8	8.8
Female unemployment	4.9	8.5	7.5	5.0

a) New series from 1998.

Sources: MEPAT (1999), p. III-10, adapted and MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOLIDARITY (MTS) – Studies, Prospects and Planning Department (2001) – *Plano Nacional de Emprego 2001: Portugal e a Estratégia Europeia para o Emprego*, Lisbon, p. 83.

In short, it can be said that there were some positive developments in the Portuguese economy in the 90s and that it benefited in particular from some favourable external factors and the application of the EU structural funds.

In spite of these relative successes there were still structural fragilities, above all in the inadequate modernization of the production sector, low productivity and worker qualifications (which meant poor employability and low average salaries),

an increasingly precarious labour market, inadequate health and education systems (in comparison with the EU average), poor housing and general well-being of the population, regional disparities, etc.

Furthermore, there was a rise in the social inequalities between the groups with the most purchasing power, including the middle class (which was close to the average European statistics for income and consumption), and those on the lowest incomes and there were still a considerable number of pockets of poverty and social exclusion (cf. paragraph b) on this point).

b) Despite some positive macroeconomic trends, poverty and social exclusion continued to cause considerable concern in Portugal in the 90s, particularly when compared with other EU countries.

All the studies on poverty in Portugal in the 90s prove that this continued to be an important phenomenon in Portugal, both in absolute (high and intensive poverty levels, cf. Table 5.3.) and relative terms (compared with other EU countries, cf. Table 1.2., point 1.1.).

As can be seen, in contrast to the situation at the end of the 80s, absolute poverty increased in the first half of the 90s.

This increase is true for the **rate**, the **intensity** and also the **severity** of poverty (among other factors, the greater inequality in the distribution of income, reflected both by the Gini index and the ratio between the extreme deciles of income[6]).

A more detailed analysis clearly shows[7] that, in the 90s, poverty and social exclusion are linked mainly to the following population groups: pensioners and the retired; agricultural workers; persons with disabilities; long term unemployed; women in single parent families; people with low education levels; families with three or more dependents; older persons living alone; those living in the interior of Portugal, in particular in Alentejo, etc. The extreme poverty rate was calculated as 4.8% of Portuguese families in the mid 90s[8].

It can therefore be said that in both absolute and relative terms, poverty and social exclusion in Portugal reached very high levels in the 90s despite the NPFAP[9]. This is related in part to the fact that time was needed for the results of the Programme to be felt and also to paradoxical situations resulting from close compliance with the nominal convergence criteria necessary in 1999 to join the single currency which led to the reduction of or constraints on some public spending including social policies (e.g. on the health and education systems[10]).

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[6] For definitions of these measures cf. explanatory notes to Table 5.3.

[7] Cf. CAPUCHA (coord.) (1998-b), based on data from the Questionnaire on Family Budgets for 1994-95, by Instituto Nacional de Estatística. Cf. also Eurostat data.

[8] Calculations of the then Ministry for Qualification and Employment for 1996, using the minimum social pension as the threshold for extreme poverty.

[9] Portugal continued to be the EU country with the highest poverty rates.

[10] These paradoxes were reflected in various aspects of the policies adopted, as we shall see in paragraph c).

Table 5.3. Measurements of poverty and inequality in Portugal in the 80s and 90s

	1980/81	1989/90	1994/95
Poverty rate (%) [a]	17.7	16.8	17.7
Average intensity of poverty [b]	0.25	0.22	0.25
Ratio between the first and tenth decile of income [c]	7.8	7.3	9.2
Gini Index [d]	0.32	0.31	0.35

[a] The poverty rate is defined as the percentage of people living in poverty in relation to the total population. The poverty threshold was defined in this case as 60% of the median income. [b] The average intensity of poverty measures the relationship between the average income deficit of the poor and the poverty threshold. [c] Data for 1980, 1990 and 1995. The analysis by deciles consists of dividing income levels in ten equal scales and then distributing individuals/households across these scales according to their income levels. The first decile is the lowest income level. The tenth decile is at the other extreme with the highest income level. [d] Indicator of the inequality of the distribution of a variable (in this case, of income; the higher it is, the more asymmetric the distribution).

Source: Capucha (coord.) (1998-b), based on data from a Questionnaire on Family Budgets for 1994/95 by the Instituto Nacional de Estatística.

c) 1995 was marked by a change of policies when the Socialist Party won the parliamentary elections with a relative majority, bringing ten years of Social Democratic government to an end as indicated above.

A number of the specialists involved in the studies made on poverty and social exclusion in the 80s were influential in the new Government and it is not surprising therefore that a new attitude emerged towards social problems in Portugal and the need to respond to them in a systematic and coherent way (that is, also at policy level).

It is significant that this political change occurred shortly after the so-called "Washington Consensus" principles, in particular (for this study) in terms of the "social model" which it proclaimed; this happened at the end of the last PSD Government headed by Prime Minister Cavaco Silva.

Using the monetarist and neo-liberal[11] economic theories as their reference and the economic and development policies from the IMF and World Bank agreements, this model defended the end of the welfare state, going from "welfare" to "workfare" (the principle of social integration by compulsory work), the privatisation of social security in particular for pensions, and the reduction of the so-called (residual) "compensatory measures" used by the State as social policies, whenever it was necessary to reduce the more extreme forms of vulnerability and social exclusion[12].

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[11] The most famous name present was the North American economist, Milton Friedman, winner of the Nobel prize for Economics in 1976. The best known demonstrations of this economic school of thought was in the 80s in the USA (the so-called "Reaganomics") and in the United Kingdom (with "Thatcherism").

[12] Cf. SANTOS, Boaventura de Sousa (2000) – "Contexto e Princípios de uma Discussão sobre as Políticas Sociais em Portugal – do Consenso de Washington a Seattle", in MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOLIDARITY (MTS) – "Seminário Europeu – Políticas e Instrumentos de Combate à Pobreza na União Europeia: a garantia de um Rendimento Mínimo" (in the ambit of the Portuguese Presidency), Lisbon: IDS Edition – Instituto para o Desenvolvimento Social, pp. 33-49.

For the presentation of the original of that model cf.: WORLD BANK (1994) – *Averting the old age crisis: policies to protect the old and promote growth*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

This model's influence in Portugal was partly reflected when the Committee for the White Paper on Social Security was formed in 1996 by the new Socialist government to study and propose the reform of social security system.

The conflict between this approach and the one defended by some of the new "specialists" instigated by the new political approach was demonstrated by their total inability to take a unified position about these reforms.

As a result, two reports were presented, one with the majority position (following the Washington Consensus line, defending the partial privatisation of social security and the substitution of the contributory system by the individual capitalisation system) and the other minority position (with the basic values of the so-called "European social model" and the welfare state as their reference)[13].

This confrontation to a certain extent marked the first period of the new Government NPFAP, which continued to adhere to the earlier approach, played the role mainly of providing orientation for compensatory actions for the most extreme situations of poverty and social exclusion in conjunction with other programmes, usually with EU funds (Integrar, Horizon, Now, Integra, etc.). After 1996, however, this changed and to this day the Government has had a systematic set of social policies which provide **permanent** orientation for the fight against poverty and social exclusion, both in terms of its main manifestations and of its structural causes.

The most significant of these **social policy measures** adopted in the last six years**,** from the perspective of this report, are set out below.

The introduction of the **Guaranteed Minimum Income (GMI)**, in 1996, in line with Recommendation 92/441 of the European Council; Portugal was one of the last member States to do this and this denoted a new attitude on the part of the State, institutions and the community in general towards poverty and social exclusion, given that:

- it means that the right to citizenship is recognized;
- it is an attempt to move away from the traditional assistance-type social policies;
- it is sustained by a network of partnerships between public and private entities and the community as a whole;
- it involves social insertion and is not implicitly restricted to the redistribution of income;
- it has a locally-based approach and management of situations, using Local Monitoring Committees made up of public and private partners who are involved in the area in question (in general the local council, except in the Lisbon and Porto metropolitan areas, where the areas are parishes);
- it encourages the participation of the beneficiaries and seeks to develop empowerment, making them more autonomous.

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[13] Cf. for example SANTOS (2000), pp. 34-35. The latter position was linked for example to Alfredo Bruto da Costa who was already referred to in previous chapters.

The main principles are, as we can see, similar to those of the NPFAP.

The GMI was started in July 1996 as a pilot project; it was expanded in 1997 and, by April 2001, the GMI covered about 700,000 people, of whom nearly 400,000 (roughly 4% of the total population) were receiving payments, 41% were children and young people under the age of 18 and 7% were over 65 years of age. The other 300,000 were no longer receiving GMI payments, 64% having become financially independent[14].

In theory (if there is nothing to prevent it), beneficiaries of this measure must agree to an insertion plan in exchange for this payment and, depending on the case, this involves going back to school (in the case of children), attending continuing training courses and/or occupational training, medical or psychological treatment, applying for a job, etc.

The **Social Employment Market**[15], introduced in 1996, was another important measure aimed at promoting "employment among groups which are socially disadvantaged or vulnerable, and using active measures which can break the poverty cycles and foster the reintegration of these people in the labour market by enabling them to acquire new social and occupational skills"[16].

This included the following programmes and measures (the year it was introduced is in brackets and in two cases this precedes the Social Employment Market of which they are part):

- Occupational Programmes (1985), covering 42,089 unemployed in 2000;
- School Workshops (1996), with 5,288 trainees in 2000;
- Integration Enterprises (1998), covering 5,014 workers in 2000;
- Protected Employment (1983), with 677 positions for persons with disabilities in 2000;
- Job Insertion (2000), involving 3,122 beneficiaries of GMI in 2000.

The **Local Social Networks**, set up in 1997, were another key feature of the social policies of the last six years[17]. They were intended to "stimulate the appearance of local support networks" whose aim was to[18]:

- encourage coordinated action between public and private entities;
- detect and promote ways of resolving people's situations and problems;

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[14] For all the referred data cf. MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND SOLIDARITY (2001) – *Plano Nacional de Acção para a Inclusão – Portugal, 2001-2003*, Lisbon, p. 83.

[15] Council of Ministers Resolution no. 104/96, 9th July.

[16] Cf. COMMITTEE FOR THE SOCIAL EMPLOYMENT MARKET (2001) – *O Mercado Social de Emprego em Portugal – 5 anos de acção criando emprego e inclusão (1996-2001)*, Lisbon: IEFP, p. 9.

[17] Council of Ministers Resolution no. 197/97, 18th November, and Declaration of Rectification no. 10-0/98, 30th May.

[18] MTS (2001), p. 85.

- encourage rational and fair coverage of social infrastructures and services by the council;

- develop and disseminate knowledge about the current situation in the councils and foster change and innovation and the implementation of policy measures and local social intervention".

It is "a structuring programme and a key instrument in the local development process due to the implementation of strategic territorial (council) planning processes as the basis for social intervention. This methodology involves making broad-based Social Diagnoses, introducing Local Information Networks and conducting Social Development Plans"[19].

The Local Social Networks suggest that partnerships are freely made and in theory coordinated by the local authority; these form the Local Social Action Councils (CLAS) in the local councils and the Parish Social Committees (CSF) in the parishes.

The pilot phase began in 1999 and it became fully operational in 2000; it started with 41 councils and included another 31 in 2001 with a further 52 expected to join in 2002.

These can become real partnerships for local development and are therefore yet another instrument to combat poverty and social exclusion.

The Networks have similar aims and principles to those of the NPFAP and the two programmes have interacted constructively: the Social Networks took advantage of the experience of NPFAP projects, when they were set up and in their work, and the Networks are also beneficial to NPFAP projects.

National Employment Plans, drawn up annually since 1998, follow up on the European Employment Strategy objectives from Luxemburg 1997; they are another essential piece in the social policy puzzle and in the fight against poverty and social exclusion because one of their objectives in recent years has been to achieve the occupational and social insertion of disadvantaged groups of the population.

Lastly, the approval of the **National Action Plan for Inclusion** (PNAI 2001-2002) in 2001 is worthy of mention; this put one of the most important decisions of the Lisbon Summit in March 2000 into practice; that is, each member State was made responsible for promoting **social cohesion**. Its main aims are to[20]:

- encourage participation in employment and access to all resources, rights, goods and services;

- prevent risks of exclusion;

- act in favour of the most vulnerable;

- mobilize the active participation of those involved.

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[19] Idem, ibidem.
[20] Cf. MTS (2001), p. 7.

In practice the PNAI intends to integrate the different measures and programmes which already exist, including NPFAP, and make them more coherent. Its main challenges are to:[21]

- eradicate **child poverty** by 2010;

- reduce the **poverty rate**, which was 23% in 1995, to 17% by 2005, bringing it into line with the European average;

- reduce **absolute poverty** by 50% by 2005;

- create 50 **"Urban Social Development Contracts"** in the next two years aimed at developing inclusive cities;

- start the **"Rural Space and Local Development"** Programme aimed at furthering local development in rural communities;

- ensure that all those in social exclusion situations are individually approached by the local social services with a view to signing a **social insertion contract** within a year;

- reduce this deadline by three months in the case of **children and young people** who drop out of school;

- launch an **emergency social line**, working in conjunction with the **district social emergency centres**, targeting particularly the homeless, victims of violence and children at risk.

Other measures and programmes that should be mentioned are the Priority Intervention Educational Areas (TEIP in education), the *"SER"* (Being a Child) Programme (for children, youngsters and families at risk), the Committee for the Protection of Children and Young People in Danger, the National Adult Education and Training Agency (ANEFA), the Special Re-housing Plan (PER for those living in slums) the Integrated Support for Older Persons Programme (PEII), the Continued Health Care Committees, Integrated Home Help (for older persons and dependents), the increase of social benefits, etc.

The context in which NPFAP is working has been radically changed by these new policies and programmes in the social area and in particular to combat poverty and will lead to important new synergies when the whole process is consolidated and completed and the still existing barriers and obstacles to an integrated understanding of the problems and their responses are overcome.

Nevertheless, as a result of the effort made in policy terms, financing has gone from 0.5% of the total social contributions allocated by the State in 1996 to 1.5% in 2001 which is close to the EU average (1.6%), with the number of people covered rising from 36,000 to 65,000 respectively[22].

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[21] Idem, p. 18.

[22] Data obtained directly from the Ministry of Labour and Solidarity.

5.2. Changes in the conception and organizational logic, and development of the NPFAP in the 1990s

The changes in how NPFAP was run, organized and developed over its ten years were directly influenced by the change in the Government in 1995, as mentioned above.

The national evaluation of projects financed until December 1995 was also influenced in this way when Dispatch no.122/96 of the Ministry of Solidarity and Social Security redefined the legal framework of NPFAP[23].

The macro economic changes and the situations of poverty and social exclusion described in point 5.1 also affected the NPFAP.

On the other hand, NPFAP "learnt" from its own projects and progressively included many of their innovations and "best practices".

Having started under the Ministry of Employment and Social Security, in 1995 the NPFAP came under the newly-formed Ministry of Solidarity which became independent from the Ministry for Qualification and Employment; when the Ministries were later remodelled in 1997 they merged again under the Ministry of Labour and Solidarity which continues to the present day.

The objectives were essentially unchanged[24], and the alterations were made mainly in working and organizational practices with a view to making regularly-used procedures and criteria more precise and more in keeping with specific guidelines.

Initially, this took place within the relatively autonomous working of each of the Commissions (of the North Region and the South including the Autonomous Regions of the Azores and Madeira, as stated above). More recently, however, since mid 99, the coordination of both Commissions has come under one Commissioner and therefore the approach is the same for both.

The most important of the changes specified by the Ministerial Dispatch are as follows:

a) Applications are extended to more entities, including local authorities, municipal associations, private social solidarity institutions and non-governmental organizations – although in the North Region preference is given to projects promoted by local authorities (municipalities) and the sub-regional services/regional social security centres only in exceptional circumstances and only with the special authorisation of the Minister concerned.

b) Greater demand for real partnerships in projects, from start-up and preparation to evaluation, clearly identifying (numerically, when possible) the actual contributions made by each as basic criteria for acceptance in the application

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[23] Cf. legislation in annex 1.

[24] Cf. Dispatch 122/96 in annex 1.

stage; specific reference is made to the need to hold general meetings of partners (partner councils) at least every six months in order to approve the plan, the budget and the annual report which are presented to the Commissioners, and also to supervise the projects as a whole.

Every project of the regional social security centres/sub-regional services must have partners. The Commissioners are also responsible for encouraging partnerships with other public services and departments.

c) Accounting procedures became stricter, each promoter becoming a cost centre responsible for its own expenses. Precise criteria are defined on budget and cash flow management.

d) Financing of works to build new social infrastructures is stopped but improvements to living conditions can still be given backing as a means of improving the quality of life of the excluded.

e) The Commissioners must evaluate the projects every six months and present a general report to the trustee.

In addition to the alterations in the Dispatch, actual experience over the years has led to other aspects being changed or improved, of which we stress the following:

a) Stronger commitment to projects with a territorial philosophy, giving preference to local development strategies and also to a multidimensional approach to poverty and social exclusion as opposed to assistance-based or sectoral perspectives.

b) Partnerships with private enterprises and scientific and educational institutions (particularly universities) are encouraged although they each represent a distinct approach.

c) Support given to actions promoting socio-occupational skills aimed at encouraging the excluded to become autonomous and taking advantage of opportunities created by the partnerships.

d) Greater coordination of the social and economic aspects of the integration processes by increasing the projects' economic component; for example, with the start-up of integration enterprises to increase the jobs available to the underprivileged and to satisfy basic social needs that the market cannot meet (because of lack of purchasing power).

e) A pledge to support small projects and greater coverage of the regions in most need, using the council as the base (principally in the North Region), except in the denser urban areas which justify a number of projects per council.

f) Once the project comes to an end, the continuity of the activities is to be assumed by the different entities and services responsible, maintaining its original objectives.

Perhaps the most important change however is related to the fact that in the last five years NPFAP has benefited from the introduction of new social policies and/or new guidelines in the social areas with greatest impact (Social Action, Education, Employment and Health) as analysed in point 5.1.

As a result of these new contexts and better articulation and coherence between policies, measures and programmes in the social area and the fight against poverty and social exclusion, it can be said that conditions have improved in recent years for:

- a truly **multidimensional** approach to poverty and social exclusion which means that **integrated strategies** are adopted as a response;
- more extensive, effective, systematic and responsible **partnerships**;
- a more explicit commitment to **local development** as the best approach to take in these interventions and projects;
- the **economic dimension** is included more effectively in the projects as a means of supporting their social objectives;
- better **integration** between the different national and Community programmes in these fields;
- an attempt to get people and families to **participate** more effectively in the definition of their life projects (becoming autonomous) and their emergence from the situation of social exclusion.

The administrative procedures described above were essentially maintained (cf. point 4.4), as well as the Commission teams' work of monitoring, supporting and evaluating the projects.

However, there are not enough technicians doing this work for it to be of a high standard. In 2001 the North Region had three technicians carrying out monitoring work (in addition to three administrative workers, two for accounting/finance, a consultant, an engineer, an architect, two drivers and a receptionist/telephonist); the South Region had two technicians, an accountant and a consultant.

In August 2001 there were 90 projects in the North Region and 123 in the South with financing of 2,900 and 3,516 million escudos respectively[25]; in 2000 the number of projects stood at 84 and 135, and in 1999, 97 and 134 respectively in these regions.

The following map of Portugal (Map 5.1) shows the location of the current projects (the full name and period of activity is listed for all projects financed since 1st January 1996 in annex 2). The six projects analysed in Part III are also clearly indicated on the map.

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[25] Note that 1 euro = 200.482 PTE (escudos).

Map 5.1. Location of the current projects

Source: Regional Commissions for the Fight against Poverty (North and South)

Part III

ANALYSIS OF SOME NPFAP EXPERIENCES – CASE STUDIES

Introduction

In this section we present some of the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty Projects as an illustration of how the main methodologies described in chapters 4 and 5 have been applied, together with their main results and constraints.

In this way, we hope to outline some of the good (and bad) practices shown by the lessons learnt in the Programme in Portugal.

Six projects have been selected for this purpose considering the following criteria:

- situations which can be used as a reference for other countries;
- visible interaction between global factors (linked to globalisation) and local causes and effects which led to the projects and their dynamics;
- immigrants and ethnic minorities in some of the cases;
- different kinds of promoter and protagonist;
- use of the partnership approach with different kinds of coordination and results;
- mobilization of the population resulting in different degrees and kinds of participation;
- innovative methodologies and processes to resolve the problems of poverty and social exclusion in the application of technical and personal skills and the overcoming of the various difficulties encountered;
- use of complementary sources of financing for the actions;
- confirmed and significant impacts on the local communities from the local development angle;
- cases presented are at different stages, some having already finished, so that a better assessment can be made of their sustainable results and effects;
- situations which are representative of the urban and suburban environment and the rural environment;
- a geographical spread covering the different regions of the country.

The following six projects are presented with these criteria in mind:

- **Integrated Development Project of Espinho Council** (Aveiro district, North Coast) – urban and coastal fishing area, also including some rural areas and with gypsies (in progress).

- **Serra da Aboboreira Project** (Amarante council, Porto district, North) – rural mountainous region in transition between Coast and Interior (completed).

- **Education for Development Project of São Torcato** (Guimarães council, Braga district, North Coast) – urban and rural area with a large percentage of workers from restructuring industries (completed).

- **Develop, Shelter and Recreate Project (DAR)** in **Quinta do Mocho** (Loures council, Lisbon district, Central Coast) – suburban area with a large percentage of African immigrants (in progress);

- **Roots for a Successful Future Project** (Almada council, Lisbon district, Central Coast) – suburban area with various groups of African immigrants (completed).

- **Community Intervention Project of Reguengos de Monsaraz Council** (Évora district, Southern Interior) – rural area with urban situations including gypsies (completed).

The following points are covered in our analysis of these experiences:

- origins of the project and main geographical and social characteristics of the community and the territory involved;

- project objectives and action principles;

- main stages and actions taken by the project;

- methodologies adopted and implementation of the actions;

- main results achieved;

- prospects after completing the project.

Most of the data used in describing the projects was collected directly from those in charge of the projects and from current and former team members; additional information was taken from reports and statistical sources (notably for the first point of the last case) and also from the researchers' direct observation and knowledge. Information was collected mainly in the first half of 2000 but was completed later in the first and third quarters of 2001.

In most cases, the information from those in charge of the projects and the team members was confirmed whenever possible by the researchers responsible for the data.

Furthermore, the coordinator of the study has had direct knowledge of all the projects analysed, their teams and results since 1992 in some cases[1]; this enabled him to complete and specify some data as he had personally witnessed certain stages and processes.

The information used is quantified whenever possible but this was often impossible. In these cases, it was qualified in accordance with the sources heard

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[1] Cf., namely, AMARO (coord.) (1992).

("high", "low" etc.), in an attempt to make it comparable (with the national average, for example).

In spite of attempts to present a uniform model of the projects, this was not rigidly followed as the diversity inherent in these processes required quite a **flexible presentation so as to demonstrate their variety and value.**

As we shall see, this did not prevent them having a range of points, stages, activities and strategies in common but with very distinct manifestations and expressions.

There may therefore be some **diversity** in the presentation of the stages and the activities of the various projects but this was not opposed, provided the approach was clear and allowed some comparisons between them.

This concern to simultaneously establish the common features and differences can also be found in the terminology used to describe the various projects; sometimes the same concepts or actual situations are referred to but using different expressions[2]. In these cases, we have **deliberately chosen to respect the terminology used by those in charge of the projects and their teams**; this demonstrates not only the richness of the local dynamics but also a certain autonomy in the expressions used in comparison with the reference terminology of NPFAP (cf. chapters 4 and 5) and in some cases it is even innovative.

It can be said that the methodological principles followed by NPFAP and which were essentially common to the various projects as we shall see, were applied quite freely and autonomously. This resulted in the projects working in very different and in some cases innovative ways, with the original format being challenged and changes proposed.

This relative autonomy of projects in defining the strategies is related to the flexible monitoring processes (which normally involve one or two visits a year to collect information and quarterly finance and accounting reports) of the Commission teams which are constrained and limited by the lack of specialised staff to put this into practice; however this is also sometimes considered as one of the Programme's conscious philosophies.

The differences in terminology and concepts can be explained by the specific cultural contexts, the diversity of the academic background of team members and leaders or by the development on the ground of each project.

Nevertheless, the definition of the concepts and methodological principles used was generally avoided, except in really innovative situations; we use the equivalent expressions in the explanation in Part II (chapters 4 and 5), returning to them again in Part IV, in the brief reflection on NPFAP in Portugal and the

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[2] "Participation" and "involvement of the population", "action-research" and "action-study", "partnership" " (the Portuguese use two different terms for partnership, "partenariado" and "parceria" – the former refers to partnership which is imposed/organized from above whereas the latter refers to partnership which is organized from the grass roots); "local development" and "local and social development", are some examples of the different, though essentially equivalent, expressions that are used in the various projects.

cases studied, where the most frequently used expressions and those scientifically recognised are identified and explained.

Care is also needed when we look at the results and the application of the methodological principles. It is still too soon to be absolutely sure of the results from adopting such complex methodological principles as: participation of people and communities, partnership, local development, integrated strategies, etc. and particularly so when we are dealing with a combination of several of these options. Therefore, references to the results, to "successes" and "failures", must be put into perspective, as it nearly always comes from the self-evaluation of those in charge and the teams or, in some cases, from locally obtained information. They must therefore be understood as preliminary evaluations indicating some aspects already detected which make them worth recording.

The success or failure of the NPFAP itself, which is obviously not the purpose of this study, must not however be associated with these results.

Chapter 6 – Integrated Development Project of Espinho Council

6.1. Origins and geographical and social context

Espinho council is on the Atlantic coast in the north of Portugal between Vila Nova de Gaia council to the north and Santa Maria da Feira council to the south. Although administratively it is in the far north of the Aveiro district, it is strongly affected by the influence and development of Portugal's second city, Porto, which is only 20km away and is part of the so-called second crown of the Metropolitan Area of Porto. The council has an area of 23 km^2 and about 40,000 inhabitants spread over its five parishes: Anta, Espinho, Guetim, Paramos and Silvalde.

On account of its location, Espinho has a very varied socio-economic base. The council has:

- an industrial sector of some significance and is influenced by the areas directly to the south: industries are spread all along the coast of the Aveiro district most of which are export industries (leather goods, cork, furniture, fish canning) which are undergoing or could soon undergo restructuring with considerable social costs;

- traditional fishing areas which have had difficulty in adapting to the EU fishing regulations which Portugal had to adopt after 1986;

- rural areas further inland with subsistence farms which, although sometimes combined with other activities (in particular industrial activities), are very precarious;

- a significant service sector in its main city (Espinho), linked to private commerce and local authority services;

- many residents who work in Porto and commute daily.

It is not therefore surprising that there has been a population growth here in recent decades, as in the urban areas near metropolitan Lisbon and Porto; this has not been accompanied by urban and economic dynamics providing the response to the needs created over this period, consequently triggering processes of social and spatial segregation of the most vulnerable groups of the population.

Against this backcloth of unplanned growth, the council has become the stage for great economic and social inequality due to the decline of fishing and related industries, restructuring of other industries, absence of new job opportunities, precarious incomes in agriculture, housing shortages, etc. Situations of poverty and

social exclusion have increased and, as a result, processes of marginalisation and self-marginalisation have occurred.

The Marinha de Silvalde area was the initial location for the Integrated Development Project of Espinho Council and, in general terms, coincides with the characteristics described above. Geographically, it is at the edge of the city, "behind" an old fish canning building which was out of use and abandoned; this became the physical border which separated and isolated the Marinha population from the rest of the town. The inhabitants of the other side of town referred to them in a derogatory way as the people "from out in the sticks".

This is a fishing area and had the council's greatest concentration of poverty and social exclusion problems: there were no or few work habits, high illiteracy and unemployment rates together with a large percentage of people (particularly women) in precarious job situations as a result of the low levels of schooling and skills, thus limiting possible alternatives.

At the same time, children frequently missed school and there was a total lack of facilities for activities out of school hours and school support services which meant that children spent their time playing in the street.

Knowledge of these problems and the growing awareness that something must be done to resolve them led the local authority to support the start-up of the Espinho Council Development Association (ADCE) in 1995, in partnership with other local institutions (e.g. private social intervention institutions, religious organizations, parish groups, Health Centre, central administration bodies involved locally in social security and education, etc.). Its aim is mainly to further the council's development and, more specifically, to integrate the most disadvantaged social groups.

That same year, the Association made an application for support from the National Programme for the Fight Against Poverty (North Region) and this resulted in the Integrated Development Project of Espinho Council which was approved on 28th May 1995. Initially, the project was planned to last until the end of 1998 but in 1996 it was prolonged to December 2003 when the intervention area was extended and positive results were already becoming apparent.

The project started its work in the Silvalde parish in the Marinha area in 1995 covering a population of about 4,500 people. The initial target was children and youngsters, socially excluded families, fishermen and their families and ethnic and cultural minorities, more specifically gypsy families.

Three neighbourhoods were involved, all of which resulted from successive rehousing of economically and socially disadvantaged population groups: *Bairro de Casas para Pescadores* (Neighbourhood for Fishermen) built in 1945; *Bairro de Casas de Famílias Pobres do Concelho* (Neighbourhood of Housing for the Council's Poor) built in 1965 and *Bairro Pré-Fabricado* (Neighbourhood of Prefabricated Housing) built in 1970 and mainly occupied by the gypsy community.

Later, in 1997, once results were obtained from this first area, the project was extended to two different parts of another parish (Paramos): Paramos Beach (with 117 families, totalling 411 people) in an attempt to respond to problems similar to

those of the Marinha area, and another with two other locations (roughly 1,200 inhabitants) suffering from poverty in a rural environment.

The Fight against Poverty Project was again extended in 1998 to include the rural parish of Anta with a population of about 1400 people.

In addition to the individual problems of each location due to their geographical position (marginalized fishing areas on the one hand and rural populations on the other), the population of the Marinha area is also quite distinct from the other population because of its knowledge and use of services and rights.

That is, whereas the population of Marinha is very dependent on institutional support, turning frequently to the support services of the Town Hall and the social security system (for aid and benefits), quite the opposite was true of the other areas; here there was a lack of knowledge of basic rights and of the institutional process involved in acquiring them (e.g. no knowledge of entitlement to social security, family allowance or school support services and even of the legal obligation to carry an identity card).

6.2. Objectives and action principles

The promoters of the Espinho Council's Integrated Development Project wanted to promote an innovative intervention in the council which would integrate a number of economic, social, cultural and educational activities to benefit the most disadvantaged communities.

Generally speaking, the **main objective** is to integrate excluded populations by improving their living conditions and generally developing their skills; the work revolves around **four strategic lines**:

i)   socio-cultural and educational development of the population, particularly children and young people;

ii) socio-occupational development and job creation, targeting particularly the young and women;

iii) improvement of housing conditions and rehabilitation of the surroundings;

iv) identification and monitoring of risk situations and factors.

The first strategic line of intervention (which lay at the origin of the project) seeks to develop skills and stimulate new interests among children and youngsters by creating support structures for free time activities in the hope that children will develop a liking for school and continue their studies. The aim is also to create the minimum conditions for success at school and, in particular, to meet children's food requirements which was one of the problems identified.

The purpose of the second strategic line is to raise the occupational skills among a population with little schooling and few skills.

Vocational training courses appropriate for these levels have been organized which have no other training as entry requirements; in contrast, the entry requirement for vocational training given by job centres is 6 years of schooling and there are few people in the most disadvantaged groups with these qualifications (in this specific case, most of the reference population has only 3 or 4 years of schooling which automatically excludes them from becoming better qualified).

Job creation has been promoted in a number of ways, notably in conjunction with various potential employers in the councils (including the current local authority) but, as we shall see below (point 6.3), the creation of integration enterprises has been essential to this.

The third strategy concentrates on improving housing and environmental conditions and, at the same time, encourages the population's active involvement in this process and a more appropriate use of new spaces in the framework of the activities indicated below (cf. point 6.3.). This is intended to produce more lasting changes.

Lastly, the fourth point focuses on preventing and correcting risk situations with the setting up of local intervention structures to work systematically with the population so as to identify the opportunities and conditions for change. They aim to make people active protagonists in this process and capable of organizing themselves and resolving their own problems.

The project's most important **action principle** is summed up in the idea of **community-based work**, expressed as follows (cf. point 6.4., for the methodological explanations):

a) Adoption of a **territorial intervention** approach, which means that work teams are decentralised in intervention areas and local structures are set up which are appropriate to each environment and which are the best means of ensuring:

- easy access by the population to the services provided;
- creation of community meeting points where problems can be raised and people can develop their own skills;
- a more in-depth and real understanding of the population's needs and aspirations which simplifies the identification of priority groups and action and results in actions which match the defined need;
- better timing of reorientation and correction of the activities (evaluation approach);
- better matching between community needs and resources available to meet them, encouraging an attitude of community development.

b) **Personal contacts** between technical teams and members of the community, creating informal relationships which bring the technicians closer to the people they want to work with and making it more than just formal "desk" work. This proximity also ensures that the technical team is integrated in the community. In addition, the dual role of the work done with children is also relevant.

The above-mentioned priority given to the socio-educational development of this group has an additional purpose in that it is also considered to be the best "way in" to the community. In fact, the ease with which the children join the activities organized serves as a **means of contact with their families** and makes it easier to build relationships and become involved with the adult population of the community.

6.3. Main stages and activities

As we have already indicated, the Espinho council intervention began in May 1995 in Marinha de Silvalde and, at first, the work targeted children because of the lack of child and youth support structures to provide constructive alternatives to their playing in the street. At first, there was nowhere to hold the activities organized and so they did actually take place in the streets with the children but always following the strategy of parental involvement.

This project can be said to have three stages, each with a **new line of action:** from 1995 to 1997, from 1998 and from 1999.

In the **first stage** (1995-1997), the project focussed on activities related to the first strategic line of action, that is **child and youth support,** initially in Marinha de Silvalde (1995 and 1996), with various initiatives and activities such as the Child and Youth Activity Centre, the toy library, the community canteen and other leisure activities described below; and later in Paramos (1997) and Anta (1998, in the second stage).

At this time, a start was also made to **improving housing conditions and their surroundings** and local intervention offices were opened to attend the local public and better **identify and monitor risk situations and factors** in line with the third and fourth strategic lines respectively.

The **second stage** (from 1998) not only continued the activities already underway but also focussed on **investing heavily in employment and vocational training;** an attempt was made to work in conjunction with the existing national and EU supported employment programmes (such as School-Workshops and Youthstart, respectively) and within the scope of these programmes four vocational training programmes were held that were specially adapted to people with low educational levels and few skills.

The Youth Meeting and Recreation Centre (distinct from the Youth and Child Activity Centre) was set up in 1999 in Paramos parish, following interest shown by this group, and it aimed to meet the needs of young people but from a higher age group.

From 1999, as a follow-up to the activities started in previous years, a strong commitment was made to **economic activities** and in this **third stage, four integration enterprises** were set up for young people and women as part of the national Social Employment Market Programme which aimed to support the insertion of disadvantaged people in the labour market (see chapter 5).

Systematically working along strategic intervention lines, the project can be said to have organized the following activities to date:

i) Socio-cultural and educational development of children and youth (in all three stages but with a special focus on the first):

- establishment of Child and Youth Activity Centres, holding computer and multimedia courses, photography workshops, cinema and video, study support rooms and other recreation and leisure activities;

- establishment of a toy library for pre-school children and school children from 1st to 9th grade;

- opening of a community canteen serving the whole school population (seven schools);

- organizing various leisure activities (ATL) notably: dance groups (including gypsy dancing with a gypsy teacher), youth football group, holiday camps, beach games, etc.;

- exchanges between the council's schools, holding joint activities;

- building up contacts with parents and raising their awareness of the need to supervise their children;

- setting up the Youth Meeting and Recreation Centre in Paramos.

ii) Socio-professional development and job creation targeting particularly youth and women (in the last two stages):

- organization of a number of pre-occupational and vocational training courses for young people ("Gardening and green areas" and "Urban Landscaping and Equipment") and for unemployed women ("*Arraiolos* Rugs" and "Hygiene and Cleaning"), since 1998;

- the start-up of four integration enterprises (supported enterprises which serve as the springboard to insertion in the labour market for people with particular difficulty in doing this alone), in *Arraiolos* rugs, gardening, urban landscaping and hygiene and cleaning multi-services, since1999;

- start-up of a carpenter's and joiner's workshop and of a greenhouse and nursery aimed at supporting vocational training in these areas throughout the council.

iii) Improvement of housing conditions and urban surroundings (throughout the three stages):

- support of the integration process of families re-housed as part of the Town Hall's Special Re-Housing Plan;

- conducting a socio-economic study to gain an understanding of the families to be re-housed which allows the above mentioned support to be more in line with needs.

iv) Identification and Monitoring of risk factors and situations (throughout the three stages):

- local diagnoses to identify the socio-economic situation of the residents in the four intervention areas;

- setting up of four Local Intervention Offices to build up proximity with the community, to be in direct touch with the problems affecting the families, to respond to situations of need, to inform, provide guidance and direct people to the relevant services, to get the community itself involved and to coordinate with other institutions for the integrated resolution of the various problems detected (initially in Marinha de Silvalde, in Paramos in 1997 and two offices in Anta in 1998);

- monitoring of beneficiaries of the Guaranteed Minimum Income programme which comes under the local social action and social security services;

- identification of specific groups in risk situations, notably: pre-school children "on the streets"; children and young people failing at school; unemployed young people and women or those with a precarious work situation, without minimum compulsory schooling or occupational skills.

6.4. Methodological choices and their implementation

Due to the action principle described above (proximity work), some intervention methodologies have noticeably affected and dictated the nature of the actions taken; some of these were defined at the start and others recognised and assessed later:

a) One of the choices most clearly taken was what can be called the **proximity intervention model,** meaning working closely with the community involved both physically and in terms of the relationships established.

In fact, the local support and attendance structures of which the above mentioned Local Intervention Office (in the four project centres) and some of the activity centres are the best examples, were set up in order to make closer contact with the populations so that it would be easier to detect their needs and to mobilise their abilities.

Equally, stress was placed on establishing informal ties with the population, which meant being physically present in their daily lives (including in the streets) and this made demands not only on the technical skills of the project's team members but also on their personal skills.

From this point of view, a change took place in the way people were approached; for example, at first it was thought necessary to go through the existing channels (through different bodies already working in the community) to inform people who would potentially be interested in the project's activities, but this is now done much more directly and informally.

b) Increases in the population's level of **participation** (another of the methodological principles) in the project were therefore to be expected.

However, this is still found to be closely linked to whether the activities proposed and organized by the project promoters geta good response and to what extent the needs shown by the population are given special attention (organization of actions aimed at satisfying them).

Some important steps have been taken however towards more active participation and some groups made positive contributions to planning and defining activities to be held, e.g. the start of the Youth Recreation and Leisure Centre in Paramos parish was suggested by the young people who felt this to be a need.

The aim is for the population's initiatives to become increasingly autonomous and self-sustained so that ADCE come to function essentially as a support structure in this field.

c) A **research-action** methodology is another of the project's guidelines.

This is evident in the concern about the on-going evaluation of activities (e.g. through fortnightly team meetings for this purpose) and the continuous re-evaluation of the diagnosis of needs and community potentials in order to make adjustments to the project whenever necessary

The partnership established with the Sociology Institute of the Porto University Arts Faculty is also intended to motivate the research aspect of this project so that its actions may be evaluated.

Nevertheless, this principle has not been put fully into practice as yet.

d) Working in **partnerships ("*parcerias*")** was another of the project's basic methodological decisions.

The current Espinho Council Development Association was set up as described above in conjunction with a number of State (linked to central and local administration) and private (social) partners.

As part of the project, partnerships were made (through cooperation agreements) with nine local/regional institutions with a view to creating the conditions for an integrated development process.

The partners included Espinho Town Hall (playing a key role as we shall see) and also two parish centres (linked to the Catholic church), four cultural/sports centres in the council, an Porto university department (mentioned above) and a, Porto Association of Toy Libraries.

One of the main advantages to working in this way is that resources can be used which would not otherwise be available to the Association. Directing people to the different entities involved in the intervention and disseminating the project's activities, by the partners, are other important aspects of the partnership work done by ADCE. It is not considered to be working together so much as the complementary use of resources.

However, there are some limitations to this cooperation process which involve the repetition of some activities and the inevitable waste of resources as a result.

An example of this is the failure to integrate the project with the intervention being organized under the Urban Rehabilitation programme, promoted by the same local authority and the failure to define the lines of action.

Particularly successful partnerships worthy of note are:

- The transnational partnerships established in the context of applications to transnational programmes. The corresponding evaluation has been extremely positive and has enabled the technical team to be in contact with new ideas, experiences and information as well as to share educational and training products and materials and working methodologies which have gradually been incorporated into their work.

- The work in conjunction with the Espinho Town Hall which made a social worker available to coordinate the project on the condition that after the ADCE was set up it would carry out all the Town Hall's social work. In addition, the local authority has played a key role in integrating trainees from the project.

e) As the name suggests, this is intended to be an integrated project, and this implies at least the following **integrated work methodologies**:

- partnership *("parceria")* approach ;
- organization of activities so as to cover different dimensions of life in the community and various age groups;
- interdisciplinary approach to the project's team work;
- integration with other programmes and sources of finance.

The first aspect, already discussed in the previous paragraph, has already been formalised and is in progress but there have been clear weaknesses and also potential partners (such as enterprises) have not been involved in the process.

The list of activities presented in point 6.3 is indicative of the range of activities relevant to the second aspect; on the one hand, they cover children, adolescents, women and families and, on the other, they involve intervention areas ranging from education to culture and recreation, employment and the creation of economic activities as well as housing and the environment. Nevertheless there are still age groups (e.g. older persons and adult men) and areas (like health) which are not provided for.

With regard to the third aspect, the interdisciplinary dimension of the technical team is no longer so strong. The team originally included a psychologist, a social activity leader and a researcher in community work (whose contribution was considered particularly significant in reflection and self-evaluation of the work); however, the last contact indicates that it is now limited to five social service workers (including the coordinator) and an infant teacher.

The other important aspect related to the decision to complement the financial resources from the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty with other financing by applying to other relevant national or EU programmes and, in

this way, extend and strengthen the range of activities organized. Good examples of this complementarity are:

- use of one of the Integrar Programme measures (co-financed by ERDF) to build a community centre and a support structure for the socio-occupational integration of women and young people;

- use of aid made available by the Community Employment Initiative (Youth-start line) and by the national programme of Workshop-Schools to hold training courses for women and young people;

- establishment of integration enterprises which find places in the labour market for excluded groups through the Social Employment Market;

- support from the European programmes Leonardo, Phoenix and Socrates for educational strategies (training, material and school integration of gypsy children).

The project's main centre was funded by NPFAP while the technical team and some of the other main activities received funding from other programmes.

This engendered an integrated approach with some of the partners working together and being able to coordinate the project's activities with actions from other areas (e.g. GMI and PER) and other sources of financing.

f) Lastly, it is also important to mention that although the project's predominant technical responsibility focused on social areas, it was nonetheless understood that the fight against poverty and social exclusion also involved **the creation and/or strengthening of economic dynamics** to create jobs, maintain incomes and respond to the population's basic needs.

The project's economic dimension emerged when vocational training courses were held and the trainees were integrated in the activities of some of the partners, mainly the local authority.

An important step was taken later, with the decision to set up four integration enterprises in line with a "social economy" approach aimed at finding jobs for the socially excluded (long term unemployed, former prisoners, former drug addicts in rehabilitation, persons with disabilities, GMI beneficiaries etc.), which would act as a springboard to their insertion in the normal labour market. These enterprises legally come under ADCE; three of them provide services which benefit the community (gardening, urban equipment and hygiene and cleaning multi-services).

However, there has not yet been any involvement in this area by local private enterprises.

6.5. Main results

The most important **positive results** identified so far mainly concern the visible effects among the younger population: children are more involved in the various associations which have been set up and their free time is no longer just spent "on the streets".

In addition, there is more interest in school, with absenteeism down and an improvement in the children's schooling levels; in comparison with the pre-project figures, there is a significant rise in the number of school children completing the 6th year and in those who want to continue until at least the 9th year (compulsory schooling).

Among adults, more are attending continuing training, which has resulted in a drop in the local illiteracy rate and, as a result, has made it easier for them to be integrated in the labour market.

Those people who are geographically more isolated (the rural population) now have better access to information about the social rights available to them.

There has also been a significant change in the behaviour and life styles of women who no longer limit themselves just to domestic work and looking after the family. The number of women attending courses is rising steadily. This has led to more job opportunities and greater access to qualifications; of relevance here is the availability of child care facilities which free families, specifically mothers, for social and occupational commitments.

It is also relevant to note that parents now attach greater importance to their children's education and this is seen in their attempts to enrol the children in crèches, and a higher regard for school and studies.

The results of the work with the gypsy community have also been positive. Gypsy children are integrated in the various facilities now provided and a gypsy is employed in the Association where she helps children in the study room and also teaches gypsy dancing to a group of gypsies and other children from the community.

When analysing the **less positive, or even negative results**, the most notable is the difficulty in overcoming the population's passiveness. They continue to be very dependent on institutions, which discourages them from getting involved in trying to change their own lives and learning to resolve their own problems and also reduces their effective participation in the project.

Another constraint which has had a significant effect resulted from involvement in the monitoring of GMI situations and this had a destabilising effect on the relations of trust which had been built up previously. The project social worker who is now involved in this monitoring is currently seen by the population (rightly or wrongly) as someone who "controls" and "supervises" their income (for the payment to be made) and the obligations resulting from their insertion programmes (for these payments to be maintained). This bad image could be avoided if the ADCE's role in the GMI processes was limited to indicating the families in need and making resources available for the appropriate insertion plans.

As mentioned above, there have already been some results from the partnerships but there is still a long way to go before a real culture of "joint action" is created, as opposed merely to complementing resources and responses.

There is still not enough data available to precisely assess the project's economic dimension (creation of jobs and activities). Nevertheless, it should be stressed that the integration enterprises have already created 70 jobs (more than the 47 initially planned).

6.6. Prospects

As the project has now been extended until the end of 2003, no plans have yet been made for the structures involved to continue their activities after the project. However, it should be remembered that, since the Association was set up (which closely coincided with the project application), the social work of Espinho Town Hall has come to be centred almost entirely within the ADCE; the Town Hall therefore has no specific department/service for this purpose and it is very unlikely that they will be able to manage without the local intervention offices when the project comes to an end. This means that the local authority's participation in the project has provided some guarantee of continuity, even after the project finishes.

We should also remember that nearly all the interventions involved the setting up and running of social facilities which will be able to continue their work in the future with the help of the region's social security institutions. On the other hand, it should be stressed that the main objective of the project is to encourage the population to become autonomous and, if this is achieved, the existence of a local intervention structure – at least in its present form - becomes less important. There are no plans to start any new activities during the remaining period of the project and the focus will be on consolidating the existing ones.

Finally, it is noted that the project's four intervention areas now have infrastructures for child and youth support services; the awareness of the importance of vocational training has led to changes in the daily lives of women who now go out and get training instead of staying at home.

Chapter 7 – Serra da Aboboreira Project

7.1. Origins and geographical and social context

The *Serra da Aboboreira* comes under the administration of the Amarante council in the North Region of Portugal. Set at the meeting point of three councils, (Amarante, Baião and Marco de Canaveses), it is a mountainous region with essentially rural characteristics where difficult access and isolation strongly influence the lives of its inhabitants.

The winding and hazardous roads and tracks have been deliberately maintained because they have become an important tourist attraction in the annual car Rally of Portugal. It is important to note therefore that the very factors which bring throngs of people to the area once a year are at the same time the cause of the isolation of its inhabitants and the desertification of the area.

Like Portugal's other rural areas, levels of demographic desertification and emigration are very high and these have been key factors in the ageing of the population, while the remaining children and youngsters await the first opportunity to get away.

The current population is roughly 1,500 people, spread over several villages; in the parish of Carvalho de Rei, for example, there are only four children in primary school and just one baby has been born in the last few years.

The following situation was encountered in 1987 and 1988 by the local social services officer (working for the Porto Regional Centre for Social Security) who was responsible for the families in these mountain parishes[1]: isolated populations, demographic ageing, lack of prospects for young people, subsistence farming in crisis causing low incomes, degradation of living conditions, an undervalued local cultural and environmental heritage, "forgotten" by public authorities, etc.

Challenged to go beyond the conventional work of the social services of the time, a diagnosis was made of the situation of the mountain villages of the Amarante council with the help of a development and training association linked to the region's Municipal Association. Following this diagnosis, an application was made to the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty which enabled the first Fight against Poverty Project of Serra da Aboboreira to start in 1990. It was entitled "Development of a Rural Community in a Mountain Area" and it covered the parishes of Carvalho de Rei, São Simão (two villages) and Bustelo (one location), and would last until the end of 1994.

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[1] For what follows, cf. also AMARO (coord.) (1992), pp. 41-43.

At that time, a private social solidarity institution was formed called the Amarante Community Development Association (Adesco) which made a second application to NPFAP in order to follow up the first project. This resulted in the Serra da Aboboreira Project which began in 1994 and was concluded in 1999. Its most direct area of action targeted the above mentioned parishes together with Jazente.

These interventions in Serra da Aboboreira (and others which will be described below) attempted to strengthen the local economic activities, thereby encouraging the population to settle there, and also to respond to the much felt social needs of the inhabitants, particularly the elderly and children.

7.2. Objectives and action principles

The **main objectives** of the successive Serra da Aboboreira projects were:

i) to find responses to the basic social needs of small children, older persons, in health and in education;

ii) to improve the skills of the local populations by increasing their school qualifications (combating illiteracy, particularly among adults), occupational qualifications (by organizing vocational training courses) and by providing information about basic areas (e.g. health);

iii) to defend and enhance the value of the local cultural and environmental heritage;

iv) to improve and create economic activities and make them viable (at the same time as maintaining the above objective) in order to assure an income for those who wish to stay on their land and if possible attract visitors and new residents;

v) to maintain the population, particularly young people, not only through the above objective but also by providing aid to make land available and for building houses and by improving access;

vi) to create on-going local development dynamics which means that the populations become autonomous in the initiatives that emerge meanwhile (with their active participation), resulting in sustained improvements in various aspects of their living conditions.

Given the strategic importance of creating local development dynamics, understood as developing endogenous capacities and initiatives, in forming these objectives, the **main action principles** are:

● the integration of the technical team and the project promoter in the community; they should settle there and feel a part of the community and the *Serra* should become not only their (perhaps provisional) place of work but also their home; they should participate in all aspects of community life;

- the promotion among the population of an attitude of ownership, oversight and dymanization of the different initiatives, encouraging, for example, local residents to take on work in the project, in the hope that they will be more committed and available to pursue its objectives.

7.3. Main stages and activities

The Serra da Aboboreira Fight against Poverty projects, which began in 1990 and finished at the end of 1999, took place in two phases, following the two applications for funding and their subsequent approval: 1990-1994 and 1994-1999.

Generally speaking, we can refer to four basic (interconnected) stages in which the various actions organized were divided into the four following main focuses:

- organizing responses to basic social needs;
- improving the community's skills;
- creating local economic activities and making them viable;
- fighting the demographic decline of the *Serra*.

Initially the **creation of responses to basic social needs** was considered to be of priority importance due to the geographically isolated situation and visible demographic trends. As a result, a home support service for the elderly was organized which was at first met with some resistance (as some of the older people could not understand this kind of response) but which later was in great demand and was highly praised as we shall see below.

In line with this concern, and due to the lack of any kind of child support (because statistically the numbers did not justify opening a crèche) a Child Support Centre was opened in one of the parishes with various kinds of pre-school activities, including a kindergarten, to support the children from the various villages and parishes covered by the projects.

In this phase, socio-cultural activities were also organized in the three primary schools in the area.

Cultural activities and outings were organized for the population in general as well as traditional local fairs, as a way of fighting social isolation. A community centre was also built as a social meeting point in the community.

All these actions had the specific support of the Regional Social Security Centre.

As mentioned above, the **improvement of the community's skills** was another of the project's main objectives and is demonstrated with the following actions:

- four vocational training courses (two on bee keeping and two on sheep farming) each with 15 trainees, supported by the regional public services for agriculture;

- a training course for local activity leaders; the main objective was to give young people who were setting up sustainable economic activities in various parts of the country different experiences of local development in a rural environment;
- various information campaigns and family training on health and preventing diseases, with participation by the Health Centre;
- support for courses to overcome adult illiteracy, organized by the local services for Continuing Education (under the Ministry of Education)

Another essential stage was **setting up local economic activities and making them viable;** in conjunction with the aim to enhance the cultural and environmental heritage and the *Serra's* other resources, this was also intended to encourage the population to stay in the area through creating jobs and increasing incomes.

We stress the following initiatives of this kind:

- setting up three irrigation councils (for the joint administration of water resources and equipment) involving 45 farmers with the support of the regional services of the Ministry of Agriculture;
- purchase of 22 piglets delivered free of charge to 22 local producers to motivate the traditional production of smoked products for sale;
- purchase of beehives delivered free of charge to 30 local producers to promote honey production;
- support for the setting up of 17 independent economic activities (self managed) in a number of villages in the following areas: honey production (8); raising sheep and goats, weaving and sewing (2 in each); lace and embroidery, cheese production and catering (1 in each);
- support for the setting up of a bee-keeping association in the area for the joint marketing of honey and certification of the brand and quality;
- establishment of a cooperative for the sale of local products as well as advertising and demonstrations;
- organization of an annual show of smoked products to publicise and sell these products and which now attracts almost as many people to the *Serra* as the Rally of Portugal;
- promotion of the monthly Cattle Market which has become something like a stock market for cattle; this helps local producers to be better informed about the value of their products and therefore makes them better able to negotiate with cattle dealers whose decisions on prices used to go almost unopposed;
- support for the application to the Leader Community programme (for the development and renewal of the EU's rural areas), in rural tourism, promoting sightseeing tours in the *Serra* and handicraft, which led to the setting up, for example, of two rural tourist facilities;
- inventory of ethnographic material from the area with a view to possibly opening an ecomuseum which could also attract visitors.

Finally, the most recent stage dealt with actions specifically aimed at **combating the demographic decline of Serra da Aboboreira**.

All the activities already mentioned can be said to have contributed to this objective as they also sought to:

- improve the resident population's living conditions;
- enhance their potential (cultural, environmental and economic);
- increase the number of jobs and incomes generated by the local economy;
- attract clients and visitors to the various initiatives (notably fairs, markets and tourist attractions).

However, in recent years, there has been greater investment in a strategy to attract and maintain residents with the support of the local authorities (notably some of the parish councils) through:

- Preparation of small plots on waste land to **be made available** to individuals/families living in the villages of the *Serra* (e.g. young couples) or people who were born there but have moved away (particularly those in nearby cities such as Porto and Amarante) or who had emigrated and want to return. If they do not build their main home there within two years, the plot returns to the parish council (hence the decision to give and not sell, even at symbolic prices).

- Incentives for people/families living in nearby towns but who are interested in settling in the quieter, less polluted countryside, by **selling land at low prices** on condition that it is to build their main home.

- Improved access (roads and tracks) to the *Serra*.

7.4. Methodological choices and their implementation

A number of working methodologies were used during the Serra da Aboboreira Fight against Poverty projects (adopted at the start, during the project or detected later); they attempted to put the action principles described in 7.2 into practice and obviously had an influence on the actions organized and on their results. The following most important methodologies are highlighted:

a) One of the project's most persistent concerns (particularly in the second phase) was that the **technical team and promoter should settle in the local community** so that they are accepted by its people and therefore have a real understanding of their problems (diagnosis) and can discuss their plans and ideas (planning) **within the community.** This methodology was put into practice and required the technicians to live in the *Serra,* at least while they were working there, and recruited local people whenever possible for activities.

b) This continuous and direct contact with the population enabled them to use **an almost informal action research methodology,** that is:

- preceding each action by listening to the community involved and registering their opinions and suggestions so that the action reflects local needs and potential (the monthly Cattle Market started exactly like this);

- on-going evaluation of the actions organized so that corrections and alterations can be made whenever necessary (e.g. timetables of the training courses had to be changed to adapt to the rhythms and seasons of farming activities).

This **evaluation** was normally made informally by the team itself or the people involved; however, it should be noted that the involvement of two Sociology trainees in the second project enabled the evaluation to be systematised from outside and this was considered very useful and something the rest of the project would have benefited from.

One of the criticisms made by Adesco in relation to NPFAP concerns the absence of a strict and prolonged evaluation to complement the usual financial and administrative supervision by the Commissions, enabling them to monitor its impact even once the project is completed.

c) The use of the processes described above made it possible to apply a **constantly flexible and adaptable methodology for planning activities**: the evaluations often led to changes and adjustments in the actions, making the respective planning flexible (in terms of defining objectives, putting on the activities and timetabling them, mobilising resources etc.) and constantly adapting them to changing needs and suggestions made by the population.

d) Meanwhile, along the same line, initial resistance, inertia and ignorance when launching some activities meant that it was necessary to use **techniques to raise awareness, to clarify and inform** so as to demonstrate their advantages. This happened with:

- home care support for older persons which, after initial resistance, was greatly appreciated;

- the child care centre which was initially frowned on because they thought the children were being "guarded" but, after an awareness campaign, was recognised as a constructive place for socialising and teaching;

- extension of eating and hygiene habits from the Child Care Centre to the home after the families were given information.

e) Also in line with the choices described above, there was always a concern to encourage **the population to take responsibility for (ownership), to oversee and promote the different initiatives**, that is, to encourage **participation**.

In this way the local communities were encouraged to take responsibility for finding answers to their problems so that the different activities started and financed by the programme could be run autonomously.

To a certain extent, this happened with the two main fairs described above and it is hoped that it will also happen with the Community Centre so that it really becomes a community space (with a broader timetable and wider-ranging events) rather than the place to go to find services.

However, the effective participation of the population always comes up against serious obstacles as a result of the general lack of a **participative culture** and the resulting inertia and passiveness (cf. Part IV), which is normally greater in country areas, particularly when they are isolated, as in the case of the Serra da Aboboreira.

f) Working in partnership was another of the explicit methodologies in the project, with the involvement of the local authorities (Town Hall and parish council), Health Centre, Job Centre and Regional Social Security Centre together with Adesco – the non-profit community development association formed at the start of the second phase.

However there were more occasional and incidental connections between activities and resources than systematic and continuous partnerships. This was because, in some cases, partnerships were made more because of an obligation or a need to raise funds than out of conviction.

This situation was not helped by the bureaucratic rules and procedures of some public administration partnerships and also the spirit of competition or the struggle among them to take the leading role (as happened sometimes with the local authorities for electoral purposes).

The collaboration between Adesco, the Regional Social Security Centre and some of the local councils were more dynamic and constructive.

We should also stress the aid received in certain actions from the regional services of the Ministry of Agriculture, the local services of Continuing Education (Ministry of Education) and a development and training association connected to the area's municipal association.

g) The projects were also able to take advantage of the **integration with other programmes and financing**, notably obtaining funding from various sources to strengthen certain activities:

- PEDAP (Specific Programme for the Development of Portuguese Agriculture), which comes under the Ministry of Agriculture, for example to hold training courses on farming and sheep farming and the formation of the irrigation councils;

- LEADER (community initiative to boost the development of the rural economy), which made it possible to set up the rural tourism units, organize sightseeing walks in the *serra* and support some forms of local handicraft;

- Integrar (programme co-financed by the European Social Fund for the integration of disadvantaged groups), which funded the building of social facilities for children and young people and some of their activities;
- Community Employment Initiative (Youthstart line) and the national School-Workshop programme of the Social Employment Market, to put on training courses targeting those with difficulty entering the labour market in the areas described in point 7.3., connected to agriculture and rural development.

h) There is no doubt that one of the project's predominant action strategies was to use the methodology of **boosting economic activities** as the foundations for the sustainable development of these communities.

As a result, a number of traditional and new economic activities were supported, as we have already described, as well as various initiatives to publicise, commercialise and certify local products, besides the organization of some training courses.

i) In order to put these methodological options into practice, an **interdisciplinary** technical team was required in the second phase, with a technician in each of the following areas: social sciences, organizer of cultural events (part time) and agrarian management.

However, as the project was working in conjunction with other interventions in the same parishes, it was possible to use other human resources contracted for other programmes (and vice-versa).

Furthermore, specialists were not selected on the basis of their c.v. but on a presentation of "their project" for the area which made their commitment more probable.

These methodological "ingredients" are ultimately summed up in the central strategic decision of all the interventions in the Serra da Aboboreira: to build up a continued attitude of local development, **integrating** the various aspects (social, economic, cultural, environmental and political) of the local community's well-being.

7.5. Main results

There are several **positive aspects** of the results which should be stressed.

In the work done with the older population it is important to note that, in order to start the home care service, it was necessary to carry out an awareness-raising campaign, as we have already described, to demonstrate the potential benefits. Ultimately, it became one of the most valued interventions.

The construction of the Community Centre was also of great importance to the older community and this is where many of them now spend their days playing cards.

Among the actions targeting the younger population, the setting up of the Child Support Centre was particularly valuable. Today, this Centre can no longer meet the demands made on it and, as a result, they are looking at the possibility of moving to larger premises. Nevertheless, like the home care initiative for the older members of the community, it was also necessary to make mothers and families aware of the pedagogical dimension of these facilities, to counter the negative connotations that it was just for "guarding" children.

This initiative also contributed to systematically introducing new eating and hygiene habits into the families through the children, and also through work done with the families.

The impact of the new fair and the market also produced very positive results worth stressing: the annual Fair of Smoked Products which currently contributes to the local development of the *Serra* by giving value to local products and by increasing the number of people attracted to the area every year; and the monthly Cattle Market has made producers aware of the value of their cattle, creating, as mentioned above, a kind of stock market, which prevents them from being exploited by dealers as they used to be. Both the fair and the market have continued to be held since the end of the project and they are now organized by the community.

We recall that two rural tourism houses were started with a view to improving local development in this area and a system of building plots is being organized (described above); both these initiatives are intended to bring new residents to the area and bring back people and families who have moved away.

The work with the young people in the community has not yet reached its objectives because the lack of other economic initiatives in the *Serra* means this group leaves at the first opportunity of better living conditions elsewhere.

It cannot be said therefore that young people are settling in the *Serra* as a result of the project although the lack of a more dynamic structure to help the young find work than that offered by the Job Centre has contributed to this apparent "failure".

However, some young people are involved in the association's work and, because they are from the *Serra,* they have made a very significant contribution to the project's other initiatives.

When we turn to the **less positive results,** we find that the promotion of the systematic production of smoked products for sale has not been successful among the local population although, due to its potential quality, this would be an opportunity to create a significant local market.

Another of the project's less successful aspects is the lack of partnerships referred to above; in particular, the local authorities sometimes enter into dispute with the associations working in the community, in an attempt to be seen as taking the leading role by the community, rather than providing support and fostering strategies for joint action.

Some situations also occurred where there was a lack of coordination between different public services, causing overlaps and consequently wasting resources.

The limited culture of participation among the population explains some of their lack of involvement in the project, although there were some interesting results with the community taking over the running of the local fair and market. This might, however, prove to be the initiative of just a few groups or individuals and lead to an excessive centralisation of power. It would therefore seem essential to consistently invest in activities to develop citizenship.

To conclude, it should also be mentioned that the Fight against Poverty project was extremely important to Adesco because it prompted the creation of the association and made some of the initiatives possible, such as the building of the Community Centre which gave institutional credibility to the work of the Association and drew attention to it.

Equally, the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty intervention was more than just a source of financing; it started the ball rolling and led to a series of initiatives aimed at developing the Serra da Aboboreira.

The community and the association have not been able to apply these results better due to the lack of a systematic and formal evaluation process.

7.6. Prospects

The Aboboreira project was concluded in 1999 but, not surprisingly, the roots it planted have produced more fruit with the continuation of other interventions.

Continuity is assured for the facilities built by the agreements made with the Regional Social Security Centre which was responsible for the first interventions in the region. Some of the income, coming from running these facilities, may also contribute to assuring their viability, particularly in the case of the Community Centre.

The fair and market, which also arose from this intervention, are now managed by the population.

Following initiatives fostered by the Serra da Aboboreira projects, the provision of building plots described above is currently being started in order to make newcomers and actual residents settle in the parishes of the *Serra*. This concern on the part of the local authority to reverse the desertification in the area is one of the project's main results because it indicates that these institutions are more aware of the problem and take part in defining new strategies to support local development.

New initiatives continue to appear: there are plans, under Adesco's supervision, for the association which was set up under the project to start its own smoked products business so that the population will see the potential economic advantages. This new initiative is also examining the possibility of creating a network of producers from whom the cooperative would buy pigs for the production of smoked products.

Besides these interventions in the Serra da Aboboreira, Adesco has recently come up with the idea of promoting a more widespread operation, involving about 20 parishes, essentially to finance some studies with a view to stimulating innovative initiatives in mountainous countryside:

i)   Firstly, data about the area needs to be updated, given that the basis of their information is the 1991 Census which is not only certainly out of date, but does not yet reflect the results of the introduction of measures like the Guaranteed Minimum Income or the other projects made possible by the Community structural funds or national programmes.

ii) Secondly, it is vital that the opportunities for job creation and economic initiatives in rural and mountainous regions for the unskilled are studied: for example in the maintenance of paths, rivers and traditionally irrigated fields, clearing/maintaining land, or even training environment carers, are some of the possible jobs or activities of community interest, without neglecting the possibility of making local products, such as handicrafts, profitable.

iii) Lastly, these studies are intended to detect needs for training in agriculture and country activities in traditional areas or new areas which complement them.

Chapter 8 – Education for Development Project of São Torcato

8.1. Origins and geographical and social context

This project was conducted in the rural north east of the Guimarães council, in Braga district in the North Region of Portugal (still within the area influenced by the coast).

Although one of the characteristics of Guimarães council has long been the presence of various industries, the area covered by the project is more rural where traditional agricultural has historically been a part of life.

However, in recent decades the industrialisation process has made its mark and a number of factories, mainly textiles, clothing and shoes, have appeared in these parishes. These are labour intensive industries which use cheap, unskilled manpower (above all women and young people); production is mainly for export and the factories often depend on large transnational enterprises or exporters.

As a result, the situation in that part of the council has changed substantially and the most frequent source of employment for the people living there is factory work. Nevertheless small subsistence farms have not decreased and this is often an essential source of income (like local shops) to complement the low wages earned in their main job.

This situation is typical in this region of Portugal and results from long established socio-cultural factors; these include the importance of the small farm owner, the production tradition and family organization and the physical spread of urbanisation and industrialisation processes which are compatible with small allotments and farming land (which has been called diffused urbanisation and industrialisation).

This socio-cultural picture of multiple activities is of course ideal for the above-mentioned kind of industry, as it allows them to pay low wages and have access to an abundant supply of workers who make few demands. It is not surprising therefore that this region has been very popular in the industrial delocation/relocation process of transnational and national enterprises which work in the export field as they search for competitive factors based on a cheap workforce and reduced costs (including indirect social and environmental costs).

School failure and early drop-out among children and young people at rates which are above the national average are also relevant socio-cultural characteristics in this area. These are explained by families encouraging children, adolescents

and youngsters to profit from their working capacities and in this way contribute to family needs. There is even a popular saying to this effect: "*o trabalho da criança é pouco, mas quem não o aproveita é louco*" (a child doesn't do much work, but anyone who doesn't take advantage of it is crazy).

This need and cultural tradition, together with the lack of alternatives of other more attractive subjects or occupational skills than those offered by the formal school system, has encouraged children to start work very early (child labour) in precarious areas of the labour market. They often work from home in a complex network of subcontracting and varied forms of what is often the underground economy.

This very vulnerable social situation has aggravated the effects of the industrial restructuring process which took place in the area, particularly in the 80s, as a result of the opening of the markets and trading in the world system which imply competition from countries with cheap manual labour (like Southwest Asia). In spite of the earnings from subsistence farms and small local commerce (which normally generate low incomes) a number of social problems became apparent; a significant rise occurred in the number of long term unemployed, as well as precarious situations in the labour market, and this in a population which was already weakened by the circumstances described above.

At the same time, there was little or no social response to these or other similar problems, be it facilities and support, notably child support, for families and older persons, or vocational training and the creation of alternative jobs. Furthermore, to complete this picture, the environment was increasingly neglected due to a total lack of concern on the part of local businessmen (and this in highly polluting industries, notably in regard to water supplies, such as textiles and the shoe industry), as well as a lack of effective legislation.

It was in response to this situation in which poverty and social exclusion multiplied and worsened that the local social services (dependent on the Regional Social Security Centre of Braga) decided to make an application, in conjunction with the GuimarãesTown Hall, to the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty – North Region. This resulted in the "Education for Development Project" which started in 1988. At first, the project covered three parishes (Gominhães, Gonça and São Torcato) in the northwestern part of Guimarães council, but in 1991 it was extended to 16 parishes. This is sometimes known as the "São Torcato Project" because much of the work was organized from there.

The project's main objective was to find a response to the poverty and social exclusion problems in these parishes and this led to a decision to use education as the basis, as the name suggests, because the above-mentioned problems of illiteracy, early school leaving, school failure and low qualifications were perceived to lie at the root of many other problems.

8.2. Objectives and action principles

The objectives and guiding action principles of the Education for Development Project evolved over the 11 years of its operation (1988-1999). The most immediate and urgent objective to invert the process of impoverishment and social exclusion of some families evolved to cover also the prevention of these situations; this moved progressively towards the objective of **promoting a locally-based integrated, participative and self-sustained development,** with **education** as the key strategy to the whole process. In general terms, the project's **most important objectives** can be said to focus on:

i)   promoting local development in these parishes, the best way of reducing and preventing poverty and social exclusion being to enhance the value of endogenous resources;

ii) and, as a result, improving the associative and educational skills of the residents who are understood to be responsible for their own emancipation and development, and recognising the importance of information and the availability of training and educational resources.

These objectives result in the following **action principles**, using the names adopted by the project, explained in point 8.4., in reference to the corresponding methodological options:

● **principle of *endogeneity***, seeking to develop the community's ability to diagnose its own needs, define and construct solutions and organize and direct activities;

● **principle of promoting integrated development** with the on-going integration of cultural, economic and social aspects of life in society;

● **principle of interdisciplinary organization and methodology**, giving preference to forming partnerships between institutions, public services, associations and non-governmental organizations and using know-how from different disciplinary areas;

● **principle of multiple integration**, seeking to bring together supporting input from different initiatives, projects and programmes, thus multiplying their impacts and effects;

● **principle of *participating research***, with which different initiatives were subjected to an on-going monitoring and regular evaluation process.

8.3. Main stages and activities

The Education for Development Project essentially had three main phases which can be divided chronologically as follows: 1988-1991, 1991-1993 and 1994-1999. The **first** was a period for learning the processes, given that this was a pioneer project in combating poverty, not only as one of the first in its field but also because it was shared by two State departments – the Regional Social Security Centre (central public administration) and the Guimarães Town Hall (local public administration).

It was also of note due to the approximation to the population and to the services implicit in an integrated and sustained local development process.

Essentially, two distinct strategies were therefore developed:

- the organization of **child support activities**, in response to the needs felt for facilities and services;

- **raising the awareness of organizations and public and private institutions** which could contribute to the same objectives, that is, improving the population's living conditions, through their action.

The **second phase** ran from 1991 to 1993 and continued to be promoted by the same two State departments but, as mentioned above, extended to include 16 parishes in the council: Abação, Arosa, Atães, Calvos, Castelões, Cerzedo, Gémeos, Gominhães, Gonça, Mesão, Pencelo, Rendufe, São Lourenço, São Torcato, Selho and Vila Nova de Infantas. The activities which were organized also became more extensive and now covered **young people and older persons (**home care) because facilities and services were either non-existent or inadequate.

In this phase, more entertainment/cultural activities for children and young people were organized in an attempt to reduce the failure and the drop-out rates at school and to increase their skills in a number of areas (culture, art, technology, etc.).

The **partnerships** which had already been made were **consolidated,** reinforcing the integrated aspect of the intervention.

A social solidarity institution, the Association for the Development of Local Communities, was also set up in this phase in 1994; this became the promoter for the last phase of the project (1994-1999), thereby reducing the institutional component.

The project consolidated its local base in the **third phase** with the founding of this association and extended its areas of intervention to **family support and the promotion of economic activities,** in addition to continuing and building on the original activities in the fields of training, education, information and culture (with children, young people and adults) and social action (with older persons).

The main actions over the three phases can be divided into four fields (children and young people; family support; older persons; and local economy); each phase had a different emphasis, as mentioned above, but always adhered to the project's strategic focus, that is, intervention in the areas of education and work with children and young people which continued throughout the period.

i) In the field of education and work with children and young people (from the outset):

- holding of continuing training courses and out-of-school training which included courses in reading and writing for young people and adults, combined with wide-ranging vocational training and pre-vocational training courses: Guimarães regional lace, model-making, sewing machine repair, confectionary, repair of shoe machinery, car mechanics, electricity, computers, multimedia, civil construction, child care, health education, etc.;

- setting up of an educational pedagogical resource and media library, to make informative (books, newspapers and magazines) and educational (with cd-rom support) material available to support educational activities and to host debates, exhibitions and training courses;

- setting up of a Resource Centre to provide support and information to institutions and agents working directly or indirectly with the project (schools, kindergarten, parish council and associations, among others) and also as somewhere to hold entertainment and cultural *ateliers* (drama, music, plastics, etc.);

- setting up of a recreation centre in one of the parishes with a library, video, cinema, computers, stories and tales, exhibitions, art facilities, etc where children and young people can spend their free time;

- project for the organization of games and cultural activities (*Projecto Ludonima*), mainly to give the most needy children in the rural areas of other parishes access to: art facilities (drawing, painting and model-making); drama (games exploring the body, voice, space, objects and verbal and sign language); music (voice and instruments); outings, study visits and holiday camps;

- Youth and Theatre Outings, including theatre shows, sporting events, musical performances, walks and cycle rides, extreme sports, debates and round tables, plastic arts workshops, publication of books, etc., for the presentation and exchange of knowledge and experiences;

- setting up of a Shelter for Children and Young People deprived of a healthy family environment.

ii) In the field of family support (from the outset, but mainly in the third phase):

- setting up of a Family Monitoring and Support Office to identify and support families and children at risk of social exclusion, covering two intervention areas: school and psycho-social.

iii) In the field of older persons (from the second phase):

- creation of a home help service in a number of parishes.

iv) In the field of developing the local economy (from the third phase):

- organization of an annual fair, the *Feira da Terra,* from 1994, for the exhibition, promotion and sale of local goods, particularly farm and handicraft products.

8.4. Methodological choices and their implementation

Given the characteristics and objectives of the Education for Development Project, a number of action methodologies were adopted during the project, sometimes in conjunction with each other, to put the action principles referred in point 8.2. into practice.

The principles which had the greatest effects on the Project and its results are given below:

a) First and foremost, it must be again stressed that **education** was the strategic line of the project's interventions as it was considered that the answer to the poverty and social exclusion problems lay essentially in the emancipation and development of the excluded; in this way they would become more aware and would develop their skills, that is, their "power" as citizens in the broadest sense (empowerment). Using Paulo Freire (and his "pedagogy of the oppressed") as reference, **adult education** was one of the methodologies used to promote the populations and their (local) development; as a result, a number of the actions organized focussed on this approach (cf. point 8.3.).

b) This leads to the use of methodologies essential to the main strategy described above of *endogeneity*, that is, stimulating the population itself to find ways of diagnosing their problems and making the responses autonomous. Placing this priority on endogenous dynamics requires the associative and community perspectives to be strengthened, in keeping with the **local development** approach.

As a result, preference is given to methodologies encouraging **participation**, by listening directly to the populations as they express their needs and aspirations which requires great **proximity** and "complicity" (including emotional) between social workers and the community and their involvement in the activities organized: the organization and evaluation of the initiatives is always discussed directly with the interested parties through an informal and on-going relationship with the local residents and with those who participated in the project's different activities. However, this participation often represented no more than a positive response to the proposals of the social workers rather than activities proposing and organizing solutions because these communities are simply not used to taking the lead.

c) An attempt was also made to put **integrated development** methodologies into practice, by bringing together:

- activities in different areas (education, culture, recreation, social and economic activities), as can be seen in the actions taken, although strong emphasis was placed on education and training;
- different age groups (from children to older persons, including young people and adults), but with a clear emphasis on younger age groups;

- resources and in-puts from various locally based or local intervention institutions and organizations (cf. next paragraph);

- know-how and skills from different disciplinary areas, as described particularly in the activities for children and youngsters (cf. next paragraph);

- proximity and togetherness (more informal), on one hand, and competence and professionalism (more formal), on the other in the relations between social workers and the population as already mentioned.

The results did not always live up to the intentions, but it is important to bear in mind that these (new) methodologies were met with much cultural, professional and institutional resistance which is deep-rooted and will take time to dissipate.

d) The **work in partnership** was the main focus for the **interdisciplinary organization and methodology** given that the mobilisation of different institutions, organizations and services for the articulation of resources and activities was one of the choices which was most wanted and most sought after from the start (cf. point 8.3.). The integrated development strategy was also largely based on this aspect, as seen above.

As a result of the nature of the project, three partners had the greatest involvement from the start of activities: Regional Social Security Centre, Guimarães Town Hall and Northern Region Education Board. After 1994, the Association for the Development of Local Communities became the promoter, and therefore one of its main partners.

However, many more institutions were involved in the various actions, of which we stress the following: parish councils, local schools, local and regional public services in the areas of youth, agriculture, employment, professional training, health and the protection of minors; various kinds of local associations, namely charitable, recreational and cultural; local radio and other local mass media; small and medium enterprises from the council; universities.

The various actions and their continuation (cf. point 8.6.), were only possible with an extensive and varied support network, though this support was sometimes sporadic. Nevertheless, it was an experience of integration which created new habits of joint action seen for example with the recognition of the Resource Centre as a structure of interest and common use. The above mentioned action principle also implied methodological articulation of know-how and competences in the various disciplinary areas made available by the different partners when putting on activities, as can be seen from the description in point 8.3.

e) The methodological application of the strategic principle of **multiple articulation** was also important for mobilising resources and holding activities; this complemented the framework provided by NPFAP, not only with support (financial, technical and human, information and knowledge services) from the various institutions mentioned but also from the national or EU initiatives and programmes, and crossing and integrating the various activities. We note the following examples:

- **National programmes**: for activities with children (*Ser Criança* (Being a child) Programme), for vocational training courses (Special Vocational Training Programme), to improve the Resource Centre (aid for educational and training resources) and for the most excluded groups (Guaranteed Minimum Income Programme);

- **Programmes co-financed by the EU**: disadvantaged social groups (Integrar programme) and vocational training courses for those with low schooling levels (Community Employment Initiative /Adapt).

f) Lastly, the choice of a **participative action-research** methodology throughout the project was always clearly assumed. It was based essentially on:

- continuous self-evaluation and monitoring processes of the actions by the technical teams;

- the informal participation of the population in these processes or through meetings;

- partnerships with the Institute of Child Studies (*Instituto de Estudos da Criança)* of the regional university and a department from Porto University in order to promote research projects and evaluation on the project's activities, notably in the areas of education, children in general and vocational training;

- in the use of all these factors to train technicians and make adjustments to the project's guidelines and activities.

With these research and training components and counting on the participation of everyone involved (social workers, partners and population), evaluation was considered an essential aspect of the conception, **planning** and correction of actions, and even adapting it to coincide more closely with the community's needs and aspirations.

8.5. Main results

One of the most important mid-term results of the Education for Development Project was the forming of the Association for the Development of Local Communities in 1994 which created the conditions to make the new-found dynamics autonomous.

It also enabled the activities organized for people and groups in poverty and social exclusion situations to be extended and diversified and meant that more parishes could be included; all this served to reduce the number of people living in socially disadvantaged situations.

In addition, the project boosted the Association's credibility, visibility and acceptance among the local population and partners, opening up new horizons for its future interventions.

Another of the project's important effects, which was recognised by the people involved, was the experience acquired in partnership and integration between public and private institutions at the national, regional and local levels in various fields.

The way was opened for future joint actions, not only in this specific place but also in others "contaminated" by the same problems, particularly those involving:

- close collaboration between institutions and public services most involved in the project in the social action, health, education, youth, employment and local power areas;

- the mobilisation of local actors whose involvement as individuals or institutions can contribute to improving the living conditions of the populations, making them play a key role in local development: chairmen of parish councils, parish priests, teachers, associations heads, businessmen, etc.;

- the collaboration of university institutes, bringing knowledge (research) closer to concrete social situations (action) and making it more effective in the search for solutions for local communities.

The institutions involved also make a positive evaluation of the response of the facilities and services provided for older persons and the cooperation agreement concluded for the provision of home care services.

But there can be no doubt that the effectiveness of the work done to improve the access of disadvantaged groups to educational and training resources, raising their skills and qualifications and therefore their ability as citizens to get involved and become autonomous, has been the most important aspect of the project.

These **positive results** do not mean that there were only good practices. In fact, given that education and training process are never complete, the very nature of the project pre-supposes that results will be provisional and incomplete.

Furthermore, it is not easy to make the population autonomous or get the involvement of the different partners; this requires much more time than just the period of the project, there are sometimes advances, other times retreats, there are some successes, some failures. Nevertheless, this case has clearly had some positive results as we have seen.

8.6. Prospects

The interventions for development in the area did not come to an end when the Fight against Poverty project was concluded. The Association, which was the promoter in the last phase, tried to continue nearly all the actions organized over the 11 years of the project.

This meant that the partnership relations and the aid mobilised during the project were vital because the local organizations and/or public services made themselves jointly responsible for their continuation. Some examples of this are given below:

- the Association continues to collaborate with the respective local Ministry of Education services in education and training courses, in the area of continuing education;
- the pedagogical resource and media library and the Recreation Centre in one of the parishes are run as youth centres supported by the Regional Social Security Service;
- the Resource Centre is going to be integrated in the National Network of Knowledge Resource Centres;
- the games and activities in the countryside continue as leisure activities supported by the Regional Social Security Centre, as do the home care services for older persons;
- the Youth and Theatre Outings continue to be organized by the Association;
- the Shelter for Children and Young People from families at risk has become a kind of mini-home run by the social security system;
- the *Feira da Terra* (Local Fair) is organized by the Association with the support of Guimarães Tourist Board.

It has therefore been possible to maintain the development dynamics generated by the project with the involvement of the population.

Chapter 9 – Develop, Shelter and Recreate Project in Quinta do Mocho

9.1. Origins and geographical and social context

The area known as Quinta do Mocho was a group of 12 unfinished multi-storey buildings in Sacavém, in the Loures council to the north of Lisbon and within the Lisbon metropolitan area. Most of the buildings, which are over 10 storeys, were under construction in the old Quinta do Mocho area when the construction company got into financial difficulties following the 25th April revolution, and building work had to be stopped.

Following the revolution, the illegal occupation of empty houses by people with housing problems (i.e. those who were previously living in shanty housing) was very common, particularly in the neighbourhoods on the outskirts of Lisbon. In addition, in 1975 and 1976, and to a lesser extent in the following years, there was a large influx of approximately 700,000 people who had been living in the former Portuguese colonies in Africa following their independence in 1974.

Following independence, there were few job opportunities in the new countries (particularly in Cape Verde and Sao Tome and Principe at this time) and some of the countries suffered from security problems (e.g. in Angola when civil war broke out between the Angolan liberation movements). With the tradition in Portugal of using Cape Verdian labourers and the old idea of emigrating to Europe, there was a dramatic increase in the numbers of immigrants coming from the Portuguese-speaking African countries (the so-called "PALOPs") to Portugal in the second half of the 70s and in the 80s.

As a result of this situation many African immigrants, either alone or with their families, experienced difficulty in finding housing and therefore occupied empty houses regardless of their condition or, alternatively, over-crowding houses or building shacks illegally on any available land they could find in and around Lisbon.

As most of them had come to work on building sites, they were able to build their own places or make the necessary improvements at the end of their working day or at the weekends.

This is what happened in Quinta do Mocho, with the involvement also of other migrants from other parts of Portugal. These buildings were illegally occupied at the end of the 70s and in the early 80s, mainly by people coming from Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe, even though almost all of the buildings had no more than the brick and cement structure, were unfinished with no plumbing, had no protection on the verandas and stairs, open lift shafts, no basic sanitation (open sewers), no electricity and water, unpaved roads, etc.

In the 90s, about 680 families, that is about 3,500 to 4,000 people, lived in the neighbourhood. The living and safety conditions were almost non-existent although some improvements had been made illegally by the inhabitants themselves and this was tolerated and even encouraged by the public authorities. Especially in the early days, it was not unusual for garbage and other waste to be thrown from the windows, particularly from the higher floors (due to the lack of garbage skips and bathrooms), there were falls from the verandas and lift shafts, some deaths (above all children) and accidents with illegal electricity connections.

Quinta do Mocho was in the suburbs of Lisbon in the commuter belt and it was a sharp contrast with nearby neighbourhoods which, although suburban, had normal living conditions and there were often tensions and conflicts with the neighbouring residents.

So Quinta do Mocho became a blot on the urban landscape with serious problems. Besides the housing and environmental difficulties already described, the situations of poverty and social exclusion, as well as social marginalisation, were also of a socio-economic and cultural nature:

- low levels of schooling and occupational skills which meant that adults worked in precarious and unskilled jobs, were often unemployed and had low incomes;

- many had no access to basic social rights, like social security, because they were in an illegal situation (as immigrants or at work);

- there was a strong underground economy linked to drugs and prostitution;

- there were serious social problems associated to these situations of drugs and prostitution but also to alcoholism and contagious and infectious diseases;

- high failure and drop-out rates at school, in part as a result of difficulties with the Portuguese language;

- children frequently at risk, left in the streets, alone in a locked home or in the care of clandestine child minders (neighbours) without adequate living, economic and social conditions;

- situations of conflict and tension between the different ethnic groups living in the neighbourhood.

At the end of the 80s and in the early 90s, the neighbourhood was considered a very serious social and housing problem with no visible solution; it was a symbol of the paralysing inertia of bureaucracy and formal legalism and the inability to engage in dialogue, as well as difficulties of defining the dividing lines of the responsibilities of central and local government. For more than a decade, these people were pretty much left to fend for themselves. The exceptions were:

- the local social workers from Sacavém, belonging to the Regional Social Security Centre of Lisbon, who visited the neighbourhood from time to time to provide social assistance and guidance in some of the most severe situations;

● local health care workers (Health Centre) who tried to deal with the serious public health problems in the neighbourhood on a more regular basis, with vaccinations and general medical appointments from a mobile clinic.

On the other hand, the Loures Town Hall had also become aware of this situation and had demonstrated a willingness to intervene in some way; they had asked a group of sociologists to conduct a study into the nature of the neighbourhood and its needs.

However, these actions and visits were sporadic and uncoordinated, making it impossible for any real and systematic intervention based on the actual neighbourhood and its residents.

The technicians and actions originated from the outside and the neighbourhood's reputation was so bad that there was great reluctance and fear of going there.

Nevertheless, with the help of publicity in the mass media of this "social scandal", it was these first contacts and this awareness and understanding of the situation which arose from them that laid the foundations for more systematic, prolonged and coherent intervention projects. The first step was taken when an application was made to the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty (South Region) by a private non-profit institution – the *Fundação Habitação e Sociedade* (the Housing and Society Foundation) – which had already started doing some work in the neighbourhood; this resulted in the first project for the fight against poverty in Quinta do Mocho in 1996, called "Integrated Local Development and Housing Intervention", which would last until 1999.

Meanwhile, due to the nature and gravity of the neighbourhood's housing and social conditions, an Interministerial Committee was set up in 1997 to provide the structural solutions which NPFAP could not provide.

Following their work, conditions were established for the future re-housing of the residents of Quinta do Mocho and a decision made to continue integrated social intervention in order to tackle the problems found in the neighbourhood.

This led to a new application to the NPFAP resulting in the second fight against poverty project in Quinta do Mocho in 1999; the promoter of the "Develop, Shelter and Recreate" (DAR – *"Desenvolver, Acolher e Recriar"*) project which would run until 2001 was a religious institution called *Associação Vida Cristã Filadélfia*.

9.2. Objectives and action principles

The **main aim** of the interventions made in the last five years in Quinta do Mocho in the ambit of the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty and also in the framework of the Interministerial Committee, was **to improve the quality of life of the population and prepare them for re-housing**. The aim in the first stage was essentially to:

- make a better diagnosis of the neighbourhood;
- gain the trust of the residents;
- ensure a more permanent presence and involvement by the technical team in the neighbourhood.

Later, with the second project, the **objectives defined by the Interministerial Committee** and assumed by the promoter were to:

i) Develop a process of partnership/participation between the institutions, technicians and population so as to adapt projects to their characteristics and needs (both as an objective in itself and as a support strategy to other objectives).

ii) Create favourable conditions for the social and occupational integration of vulnerable people and families, notably by improving their skills and constructing a Community Centre where they could develop different kinds of social and cultural community activities, thereby meeting some of their basic rights as citizens.

iii) Prepare the residents for re-housing (to be completed in 2001).

Furthermore, children were considered a priority in these interventions, not only in an attempt to respond to their specific problems (to remedy and prevent risk situations), but also because an approach could be made to the rest of the family through them and through the crèche set up meanwhile.

The **action principles** which provided the framework for these objectives and which determined the methodologies adopted, were defined as follows:

- work in partnership;
- involvement of the population and the mobilisation of their potentials when organizing the different activities;
- flexible planning which meant making adjustments in the actions organized whenever necessary.

The project defined the following lines of intervention to help put these objectives and action principles into practice:

- diagnosing the situation and publicising results, with the involvement of some of the partners;

- solving the most urgent problems;
- creating facilities and services;
- organizing social insertion and family support activities;
- developing resident's skills ;
- socio-educational, cultural and recreational activities;
- preparing for re-housing, mid-term (theoretically 3 years).

9.3. Main stages and activities

The fight against poverty projects in Quinta do Mocho had a preliminary stage, two stages during the first project and a third stage in the second project.

a) In the preliminary stage (pre 1996), there was a growing awareness of the serious situations in the neighbourhood and the political and technical inability to resolve them. As we have already indicated, this resulted from the erratic presence of social workers (Regional Social Security Centre) and healthcare workers (Health Centre) and from the Town Hall. In this way, the first formal and informal diagnoses were made and the first links established with the community.

b) The fight against poverty project entitled "Integrated Local Development and Housing Intervention" started in 1996 under the responsibility of a private social intervention institution, the *Fundação Habitação e Sociedade.* This was the start of the **first stage** of the change process in Quinta do Mocho. This stage, which lasted from **1996 to 1997** (in the project's first years), features the following aspects:

- establishing a relationship of trust with the population so as to overcome the initial distance and fears which most social workers felt about entering the neighbourhood (many would not dare to undertake such an "adventure" alone) and a more regular presence of one of the social workers and other social intervention workers from the above-mentioned departments in the neighbourhood;
- a more in-depth diagnosis which made it possible to survey the residents and identify their needs and capacities with a view to planning the interventions.

It can be said that this phase continued with the not always easy task of opening the way for a relationship with the population and establishing a systematic, permanent and coherent intervention approach which became decisive in the next stages. Merit for this goes largely to the young social workers from the *Fundação* at the time who succeeded in building these bridges.

c) The second stage of the intervention process in Quinta do Mocho, still during the first project, was marked by the setting up and work of the Interministerial Com-

mittee with the specific purpose of finding the solutions required for this kind of problem. It was formed by the Government in 1997 largely due to pressure from the public services in the area and the Loures Town Hall, in response to the gravity of the situation in Quinta do Mocho and the deadlock which had been reached. It was later dissolved in January 1999; this second stage continued between 1997 and 1999.

The Committee's objective was to identify and study the responses for Quinta do Mocho from the different public services dependent on the central administration and propose how they should be **integrated;** this was because the (partial) interventions that had been initiated meanwhile were already causing changes of behaviour and life projects and increasing the residents' self-esteem, but without the physical conditions (facilities and new housing) to allow it to go much further.

The Committee therefore included local (or in some cases regional) representatives of the ministries whose services would be most involved in the actions to be taken: Equipment, Territorial Planning and Administration; Education; Health; Qualification and Employment; and Solidarity and Social Security.

During this time, the Committee analysed, defined and planned the actions to be organized, distinguishing:

- which demanded immediate responses, such as the sewerage system, electricity system, the lifts and the monitoring of children at risk;

- which were more structural, involving the setting up of different kinds of social facilities in the neighbourhood, re-housing of residents and definition of a new application to the NPFAP (cf. paragraph d).

Meanwhile the Project promoted by the *Fundação Habitação e Sociedade* continued its activities during this stage until 1999, but **already taking the Committee's work into account.**

d) When the Committee was disbanded in January 1999, having concluded its work (mobilisation and integration of the responses of the different public services with a view to resolving the most urgent problems, the setting up of social infrastructures, the definition of the re-housing process and the presentation of the new application to NPFAP) **the third stage** began and with it a **new intervention cycle** in Quinta do Mocho.

Based on the objectives defined by the Interministerial Committee and because it qualified for preferential treatment by NPFAP (it was also a governmental programme), it was possible to present a second application to the Programme which led to the DAR Project.

As we have already mentioned, the promoter now became the *Associação Vida Cristã Filadélfia,* at the Commission's proposal, because the *Fundação Habitação e Sociedade* was no longer in a position to promote this new project (which intended to make a qualitative leap in relation to the previous project); consequently, it became more appropriate to give it to a private institution working in the neighbourhood.

This second project redefined the guidelines and methodology and, as we have already seen, was focused on the lines of intervention set out by the Committee, described in point 9.2.

The activities organized in this last stage of the project (ending in 2001) are summarised below, by line of action.

Firstly, the **diagnosis** of the situations identified in Quinta do Mocho was consolidated. This had been started in the previous stages and the results shared among the different partners with a view to joint planning and responsibility for the activities to be undertaken.

Next, an attempt was made to get the **most immediate problems under control,** making the living conditions better and healthier, closing the lift shafts, regulating the sewage system among other things.

One of the first measures adopted was to **create facilities** to serve as the local physical support (which had not existed previously) for some **basic services** for the residents; this was not only of decisive importance but also raised the visibility of and trust in the project.

A **Multiservice Pavilion** was used to organize a series of services and activities aimed at responding to the most basic needs and promoting the **social insertion** of the residents and **family support,** namely:

- a crèche with three rooms to look after children up to the age of three, in an attempt to support their emotional, intellectual, social and physical development and prevent risk situations;

- a Community Child Support Centre (CAIC) as a transition between the family and the school and to support insertion and success at school;

- a Health Office to inform and offer support to the families in health care, family planning and maternity and child health;

- an information and social care service providing psycho-social support for the population and directing them to other services.

With regard to **improving skills**, we stress:

- a training course for child minders in order to qualify some of the clandestine child minders already working in the neighbourhood and selecting them to join the staff of the crèche;

- training courses for cultural mediators and promoters of health care, to qualify agents of change, family support and intermediaries between the population and the institutions, providing them with health skills and helping them to find a job;

- a course on Intercultural Education and Interpersonal Relations for school teachers in the area, to improve their ability to teach children from these families and reducing the failure and drop-out rates.

The line of action relating to **socio-educational, cultural and recreational activities** involved the following activities: gastronomy fair, Christmas, Carnival and Africa Day festivities; various sports activities (swimming, gymnastics, modern dancing etc.); field trips to libraries, the circus and the Oceanarium; etc.

The service which had started before 1996 by the Health Centre workers continued in a mobile unit but now worked in co-ordination with the project's other activities.

Meanwhile, the **re-housing** of the residents was prepared (last intervention area) with a public programme for the construction of social housing near Quinta do Mocho and the identification and monitoring of the families for this purpose.

9.4. Methodological choices and their implementation

Given the three action principles described in point 9.2., the main methodologies used in the third stage of the project were as follows:

a) Particularly after the work done by the Interministerial Committee, all the public services involved had shared a commitment to promote the interventions necessary in Quinta do Mocho by **working in partnership**.

This partnership commitment was explicitly assumed by the project and also involved the Association, and its promoter, implying:

- careful coordination of resources (allocation of social workers; availability of facilities, vehicles, materials and services; exchange of information, etc.);
- establishment of a technical team and distribution of work by activities in line with the "specialisation" of each public service or institution (cf. paragraph b);
- joint approval of the annual plan of activities and budgets on which the guidelines and each person's responsibilities are based;
- an annual joint evaluation to accommodate possible readjustments.

This **coordination** of resources, contributions and views of the various institutions was based essentially on the partnerships which arose from the Interministerial Committee (including the national housing services, the regional education department and the local security services (police force), health, and employment and social security services), in the *Associação Vida Cristã Filadélfia* and in the local authority (Loures Town Hall). As the project progressed, however, they joined up with other partners: the local Parish Council, two associations formed meanwhile in the neighbourhood, the enterprise which owned the land ceded for the Multiservice Pavilion and the High Commission for Immigration and Ethnic Minorities.

This partnership was made possible by the terrible living conditions of the residents, by the ensuing social risks and the hopeless situation in which they had found

themselves. It resulted from a strategy defined by the central government and the local departments which joined forces with it.

b) Still within the first action principle, this commitment resulted in a methodology of **co-responsibilisation with autonomy** of the various partners, based on a distribution of work and resources according to respective specialist areas.

Under the co-ordination of the promoting Association (because this could not be assumed by the central public administration), and after everyone had approved the plan of activities and budget for each year, the roles and the work were assumed by the departments involved with a certain autonomy. For example: the health services took responsibility for all the activities in their area (Health Office, vaccination, family planning, distribution of contraceptives, training courses in this field, etc.); the education services dealt with pedagogical coordination, allocation of infant teachers to CAIC and teacher training courses; social security services looked after the family related social work; the local authority saw to transport for the children's activities, etc.

The composition of the technical team reflects this same principle of joint responsability with autonomy; it consisted of:

- a social worker from the Association as the project coordinator;

- a pedagogical coordinator, two infant teachers, three teaching assistants, two child minders, two cooks and a secretary from the Association to staff the crèche;

- two infant teachers paid by the Ministry of Education and two teaching assistants paid by the Town Hall for CAIC;

- two psychologists and three nurses from the Ministry of Health to work in the Health Office.

Each of these sub-teams worked autonomously in their own area and had common objectives and shared a common space (Multiservice Pavilion).

c) Another of the methodological principles was the commitment to achieve the **involvement of the population** in the neighbourhood activities. It was thought that this would develop their capabilities and also add to the success of the activities (as a result of their commitment). The following methods were used to put this into practice:

- direct and permanent contacts with the population which implied a regular presence in the neighbourhood, thereby gaining their trust;

- holding activities on the most suitable days and with appropriate timetables;

- training some of the residents in cultural mediation and health promotion skills, as described above;

- mobilizing the population's most influential members (natural leaders) and trained mediators as the best means of communication and to act as intermediaries between the project, the institutions and the residents,

- recruitment of people from the neighbourhood to work in some of the activities (child minders and cooks for the crèche).

However, this was a long and difficult process as the population of Quinta do Mocho was generally not easy to mobilise, both because of its intrinsic nature (common in social and ethnic groups in similar situations of social exclusion) but also because of the years during which they had been left to their own devices and the distrust and loss of motivation that had resulted.

d) The concern to adopt a **flexible planning** approach to the work (that is one of constant adaptation), meant the project opted for an **action-research** methodology; this was understood as the process through which the actions are continuously evaluated so that the results can be reflected on (research), and allowing adjustments to be made whenever considered necessary or appropriate.

This methodology was therefore based on a permanent evaluation process with the following dimensions:

- participative observation of the activities by the technicians and those in charge;

- constructing formal evaluation instruments for some activities (e.g. giving questionnaires to some participants);

- holding regular meetings and systematic evaluation within each sub-team;

- joint evaluation of all the project's partners once a year.

This process took both the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the results into consideration and, in this way, it was possible to follow the approach of **constantly adjusting** activities to meet the needs and commitment of the population.

e) Finally, mention should be made of the concern to **complement the resources mobilised directly by the project** (from NPFAP and the partners) **with other sources and programmes.** The use of the Integrar Programme (co-financed by the European Social Fund) to finance and strengthen some of the project's activates is an example of this.

9.5. Main results

It is still premature to make an accurate evaluation of the effects because the initial situation was so complex and not enough time has elapsed since the intervention.

Nevertheless, it is possible to point out some **indications of positive results** of which we stress the following:

- the bridges made with the population and their surroundings by holding socio-cultural activities and by introducing local group dynamics in the first stage of the project;
- the partnership commitment in the second stage in the scope of the Interministerial Committee, after 1999;
- the creation of support structures for children at risk in the neighbourhood, in the third stage;
- the population's approval of the facilities created, also in the third stage;
- the creation of conditions for the re-housing of the Quinta do Mocho residents in a new neighbourhood in the second and third stages;
- the reversal of the process of abandonment and inability to take action which had previously existed.

The following **limitations and less positive aspects** were identified:

- no change in the physical dangers caused by the buildings (e.g. the open lift shafts) and the unhealthy environment in the neighbourhood (lack of basic sanitation) in the first stage of the project;
- lack of the necessary facilities to change situations of children at risk, also in this stage;
- absence of an effective partner between 1996 and1999;
- less involvement by **some** of the partners in stage three given the compromises made previously in the Committee;
- the project's inability to respond to the needs of more children in the third stage.

9.6. Prospects

As the DAR Project only started in 1999, it is still premature to make predictions for the future. However, all the project's prospects involve re-housing and the resulting long-awaited "normalization" of the living and social situation, including access to facilities and infrastructures which have now been created and which should be managed by the *Associação Filadélfia*.

The Multiservice Pavilion, which is currently the focus point of the project's activities will cease to exist, as will the activities held there; facilities created in the new neighbourhood and the respective local services will provide the responses to community needs. The technical team has therefore been working along the lines of directing the local populations towards the public services responsible for the neighbourhood, so that they will know where to go to resolve their problems in the future.

Chapter 10 – Roots for a Successful Future Project, in Almada

10.1. Origins and geographical and social context

The Roots for a Successful Future Project took place in two locations: in the area of the Integrated Almada Plan (PIA) and in Laranjeiro, both in Almada council on the south bank of the River Tagus, opposite Lisbon; they are on the southern edge of the metropolitan area, with the Atlantic Ocean on their western border. They are both suburban neighbourhoods of social housing with a total population of roughly 20,000 people.

Almada has suffered from being Lisbon's neighbouring council. Besides having a life of its own, it became a residential (dormitory) area supporting the capital's economic activities from the mid 60s, particularly when the bridge over the River Tagus was built linking it with Lisbon (previously by ferry boat).

As a result, thousands of families and people from other parts of the country or former Portuguese colonies (particularly Cape Verde at that time) moved to the area in search of work or a place to live in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. This led to the use of some land in Almada for the construction of clandestine housing (shacks).

After the Revolution of 25th April 1974, this population movement was boosted by the *retornados* from the former Portuguese colonies in Africa (which had meanwhile become independent) and who had left these new countries for fear of social conflict. Later, immigrants from these Portuguese-speaking African countries came in search of work, to escape civil wars or because of the insecurity which existed in some of these countries (Angola and Mozambique), or simply because they were attracted by the prospect of Europe.

The Almada Municipal Council developed a re-housing project in response to the social problems caused by these population concentrations in the second half of the 70s, called "The Integrated Almada Plan" (*"Plano Integrado de Almada"* known as PIA, which was the name both of the project and the area it covered).

The project involved the building of an extensive social housing estate for the people living in the run-down areas of the council, making use of free land in a rural and isolated parish called Monte de Caparica overlooking the River Tagus.

The aim was to build blocks of flats and to create collective facilities and local infrastructures to serve the people who were re-housed. Meanwhile, the PIA was initially to be integrated, as the name suggests, but in fact only the housing was built and the facilities and infrastructures were forgotten.

The first re-housing began at the end of the 70s and included the populations described above who, although homogeneous to a certain extent in socio-economic

terms (low incomes and poorly qualified), were culturally very heterogeneous. The new neighbourhood had roughly 12,000 residents when the re-housing process was completed.

Given these characteristics, some local institutions – such as the Almada Town Hall, the Health Centre, the local services of the Almada Regional Social Security Centre and the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* of Almada[1] – started doing social work in their respective fields at the end of the 70s and start of the 80s, although in a very rudimentary and sporadic fashion.

As a result of this work, the institutions identified a series of problems linked to the existence of various ethnic groups from different parts of Portugal and Africa who felt they had lost their roots because they had been "placed" in PIA where the conditions were poor. Many kinds of social exclusion – economic, social, cultural and environmental - were diagnosed in this phase.

The following socio-economic and environmental problems were identified:

- illiteracy and low levels of schooling;
- high school failure and drop-out rates among adolescents and young people and therefore an early entry in the labour market (often clandestine);
- low levels of occupational skills together with frequent situations of unemployment and precarious jobs;
- limited financial resources (low incomes);
- total lack of infrastructures and social facilities in the neighbourhood which was therefore isolated in this regard;
- unfavourable environment due to the unattractive buildings (colours, building materials, layout, etc.) and lack of security.

In cultural terms, it was predictable that the co-existence of various ethnic groups – the white population, gypsies and other ethnic minorities from Africa (Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique and Guinea Bissau) – would lead to culture shocks and conflicts as well as intolerance, given the lack of any strategy in this regard.

At the time (late 70s/early 80s), Portugal was experiencing a period of great economic difficulty as we have described in chapter 2. Portugal underwent several economic recessions as a result of the combined effects of the world economic crisis which, since the late 60s, had been reeling from the "oil shocks" of 1973 and 1980 and the problematic industrial restructuring which followed, together with the profound changes in the economic system caused by the 1974 Revolution.

Almada is part of the Setúbal peninsula which is included in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon south of the River Tagus and is divided into nine councils. This is one of the regions which was most severely affected by the economic difficulties of the time because the most important iron and steel industries, as well as

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[1] The "*misericórdias*" are private charitable institutions which support the underprivileged and have a long tradition in Portuguese society.

Portugal's biggest ship building and repair yards, were located there and these were precisely the industrial sectors that were hardest hit by the economic and oil crisis (cf. chapter 2).

The extensive restructuring of these industries meant laying off thousands of workers and the unemployment rate among the active population living in the Setubal peninsula reached 20% in the late 80s.

In an attempt to respond to the council's problems in this context of economic recession, a process was defined to integrate the work of the main institutions working in the council. This was called the "Articulated Social Intervention Project of Almada Council (PISACA – *"Projecto de Intervenção Social Articulada do Concelho de Almada*" and its main objective was to develop an integrated and planned intervention methodology.

One of the most important results of this partnership was to provide an opportunity for joint reflection on and also diagnosis of the council and for identifying the most sensitive areas for future interventions.

A more in-depth social diagnosis than the one drafted earlier about the PIA area was therefore undertaken, which identified the lack of responses and services for children and older persons as being the greatest need in the neighbourhood.

Meanwhile, the Government defined an Emergency Plan called the "Integrated Operation for the Setubal Peninsula" in response to the serious economic and social crisis there (cf. chapter 2). It was in the ambit of this project that funds were made available in the early 80s to set up a Community Centre in the PIA I neighbourhood intended to target the needs of children and older persons in response to the problems identified. This centre also meant that the process of making contacts and surveying the neighbourhood and its residents could be continued throughout the 80s. This led to the implementation of the National Programme for the Fight Against Poverty (South Region) which resulted in the Roots for a Successful Future Project. The intervention area was extended to cover another social housing quarter in the council (Laranjeiro) and, together with PIA, a total of 20,000 people were now covered by the project which was promoted by the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* of Almada but retained the partnership dynamics already mentioned.

The project began in 1990 and lasted until 1994 in the first phase. At this point a new application was made to NPFAP but sub-divided into two projects which continued with the work and approach detailed above and focused on the following two areas of intervention:

- Re-housing, Solidarity and Development – for the south side of PIA and new families being re-housed in the same area;

- Insertion and Development – for Laranjeiro and the north side of PIA.

This phase lasted from 1995 to 1998 with the same promoter which means that, in total, the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty intervention ran between 1990 and 1998.

10.2. Objectives and action principles

Over the various phases of intervention in the social neighbourhoods of PIA and Laranjeiro, particularly in the context of the fight against poverty projects, the aim was ultimately to **promote integrated and participative local development** which was expressed in the following **general objectives:**

i)   to provide the conditions which improve the population's quality of life by setting up the facilities and infrastructures that satisfy basic family needs;

ii) to give priority to working with and training families which are considered to be the most important unit for learning, acquiring and strengthening skills and values;

iii) to create conditions to recognise and value the specific identity of each ethnic group and develop respective life plans;

iv) to promote the decentralised and integrated mobilisation of intervention resources and strategies of the institutions and technicians from different fields;

v)   to conceive innovative ways of managing and maintaining the neighbourhoods with the participation of the residents, namely in associations;

vi) to promote the formation of autonomous organizational structures in employment, culture, habitat, etc.

For strategic reasons, the expression of these objectives in intervention areas developed from the first project to the second, as we shall explain in point 10.3. In the last phase (1995-1998) families were focused on as being the best unit of interaction, in accordance with the following areas:

a)   family support and improved well-being;

b)   organization of socio-educational, cultural and recreational activities;

c)   improved economic conditions, skills and autonomy.

Three **action principles** stand out as implicit to this (using the same name as in the projects), prompting the main methodologies and strategies:

- forming of partnerships with entities from different areas **(integrated neighbourhood management)**;

- mobilisation of different resources – financial, human and others (**articulated neighbourhood management**)

- involvement of the communities in the process of change (**participative neighbourhood management**), which implied developing different kinds of skills to strengthen their capacity to organize and manage their own change (empowerment).

10.3. *Main stages and activities*

As already mentioned, the Roots for a Successful Future project which took place in the ambit of the NPFAP consisted of two stages: the first, which ran from 1990 to 1994, and the second when the project was divided into two parts between 1995 and 1998.

However, in our analysis, it is important to consider the 80s as a preliminary stage of the change process and the development of the area covered because the local institutions had already structured some of the work by then.

In this phase (80s), there were a number of interventions in PIA of which we note:

- the definition of an articulated strategy among the main local institutions with a view to sharing the diagnosis and identification of the social intervention priorities (in the ambit of PISACA, as described in point 10.1); this enabled lacunae in responses to the needs of children and older persons to be detected;

- the setting up of the PIA I Community Centre with financial support from the Integrated Development Operation for the Setúbal peninsula and with the Regional Social Security Centre providing the premises; a day centre for older persons was opened and a kindergarten and leisure activities for children as well as work, albeit rudimentary, with women and youngsters;

- a more in-depth social diagnosis of the area made possible by the opening of the Community centre which led to greater contact and proximity with the populations but also to the conducting of some research in the neighbourhood, namely on the "Social situation of households" (1984) and the "Situation and condition of the young people of PIA " (1988).

These steps were decisive in preparing the application to NPFAP and to defining the project's objectives, strategies and action methodologies; hence it is essential to analyse and evaluate them.

A new intervention phase began with the start of the project in 1990 marked by two important "events"[2]. On one hand, the area covered was extended to include the social quarters of Laranjeiro, the neighbouring parish. The number of those covered therefore rose from 12,000 to 20,000. The reason for this enlargement was that the socio-economic characteristics of the populations of Laranjeiro were similar to those of PIA[3] and the local institutions were also essentially the same and therefore advantage was taken of the same programme for a broader-based intervention.

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[2] For what follows, cf. also AMARO (coord.) (1992), pp. 94-100.

[3] Low levels of learning even in the younger age groups; high drop-out and failure rates (54% of the young people aged between 12 and 18 had left school without completing obligatory schooling); low occupational skills; precarious jobs; frequent unemployment; low incomes; etc.

On the other hand, with the start of the project, actions became better planned and integrated than in the preliminary stage and the various local institutions were more involved and took co-responsibility in defining the objectives and strategies and in implementing the activities, in other words, in the whole process of social change.

In this **first stage of the project (1990-1994)**, new facilities were opened in PIA, namely the PIA II Community Centre which focused its work on families and young people in risk situations.

The action lines were based on **three strategic groups** of the population – children, women and older persons; there was a sub-team for each group which worked on all or some (depending on the case) of the following areas with their group (cf. point 10.4):

- teaching, education and basic training;
- vocational training and job creation ;
- activities for/organization of the population;
- improving the conditions of their habitat;
- creating facilities/local resources.

When the first project finished at the end of 1994, the framework for intervention was redefined and, as we have already mentioned above, the decision was taken to continue, but to form two projects for this purpose.

On the one hand, it was necessary to develop the vocational training courses for vulnerable groups in the labour market (giving them "made-to-measure" training) whilst also stimulating local job creation.

On the other hand, the prospect of more re-housing in PIA of people from parts of the council nearer the sea, meant that these people needed to be offered support and prepared (upon their departure and arrival) so that the same mistakes were not made as in similar situations in the past.

As this involved a wide area and large numbers of people, it was decided to make two more specialised applications to NPFAP in terms of area and theme, and these were approved. The projects were entitled:

- Re-housing, Solidarity and Development, covering residents on the south side of PIA and newly re-housed families;
- Insertion and Development for the residents of the social neighbourhoods of Laranjeiro and the north side of PIA.

The general objectives and intervention philosophy of the two projects in this **second phase (1995-1998)** were essentially the same as the mother-project (Roots for a Successful Future); however, understandably, the network of partners was broadened and some significant alterations were made in the concrete application of the action strategies and methodologies (cf. point 10.4.).

The focus was now on **just one strategic group – families –** instead of the three more individually based groups (children, women and older persons) because the family was considered to be the fundamental reference unit for these communities and enabled a more integrated approach to be taken covering all age groups (including those already mentioned) and leading to a more firmly-rooted sense of social responsibility(cf. point 10.4 for more detail on this).

Therefore, this time the sub-teams were specialised in **three intervention areas**, all of them working with the "family" group in their respective area (cf. point 10.2):

a) family support and improved well-being;

b) socio-educational, cultural and recreational activities;

c) improved economic conditions, skills and autonomy.

A number of actions were organized during the project (1990-1998) of which we now present the most important. In the interests of avoiding repetition, this is done according to the intervention area of this last phase and not according to the phases of the project:

a) Family support and improved well-being
In this area, actions were taken to support and accompany families through the insertion process and to help them define their life project in the areas of health, education, training and employment, housing and household management by:

- personalised individual and family assistance;
- accompanying the families through the insertion process notably (in recent years) in the scope of the Guaranteed Minimum Income;
- information and awareness campaigns;
- improvement of living conditions (small improvements made inside and outside the buildings).

b) Socio-educational, cultural and recreational activities
The most important activities to stress are:

- workshops for learning and leisure (sewing, ceramics, decorative art, computers);
- sporting activities (football, swimming, aerobics);
- holiday camps and field trips;
- celebrations for special festivities (Christmas, Carnival, local saints' days);
- support for organizing and developing cultural groups;
- "youth area", with different activities for young people.

c) Improved economic conditions, skills and autonomy of the families
This included the following:

- technical/vocational training courses organized by the traditional system of the Employment and Vocational Training Institute (public service responsible for this area) and other "made-to-measure" courses (unconventional, outside the formal system) which focused on personal development, motivation, interiorisation of work rules and routines and practical training courses through placements in enterprises and institutions (on-the-job training);

- actions promoting and supporting job creation in autonomous economic activities (e.g. drugstore, hairdresser, computers, café, butcher, stationery shop, local super market).

The main **facilities and services** established during the project should also be mentioned; it was there that many of the above-mentioned activities took place during the various phases of the project:

- PIA I Community Centre, which was in fact **set up** during the **preliminary phase** of the project, but which continues to be the venue for the different kinds of work done with children (traditional crèche for 3-month old to 3-year old children with a capacity of 44 children; and kindergarten for 3 to 6-year old children with a capacity of 75 children) and with older persons (day and recreation centre with a capacity of 75 retired and older persons).

- PIA II Community Centre **set up in the project's first phase** for young people, women and families in situations of risk and social exclusion; many of the above-mentioned activities for these age groups are held here, with more than 400 people attending (family assistance and support; training courses and awareness campaigns; play/educational workshops and sports groups; learning and leisure workshops; first and second cycle continuing training; job information centres for the young and unemployed; community activities; support for cultural groups; support for other youth activities such as field trips and holiday camps; etc);

- mini-crèche;

- home support service;

- family crèche service (child minders supported and placed).

10.4. Methodological choices and their implementation

According to the general objectives and action principles which provided the framework for the two phases and forms of this project[4], a set of methodologies – albeit with some variations (indicated) – was adopted throughout the project, the most important of which are presented below. Nevertheless, in order to give coherence to different aspects it is important to start by indicating the choice of a **methodological reference table and overall framework**.

From the outset, this methodological matrix took the approach of dealing with poverty and social exclusion and their inversion (social integration) from a **local development** perspective, that is, taking a population from a specific location and reducing the level of non-satisfaction of their basic needs by mobilising their capabilities in the community.

This resulted in the following methodological principles:

- an **integrated approach** to the process (in terms of activities, know-how and practices, institutions and resources), corresponding to the above mentioned integrated and articulated management principles (point 10.2.), and which are broken into a), b) and c) below, in terms of methodology, so that they are more clearly understood;

- commitment to the **active involvement** of the population in their process of change and following on from the third action principle indicated – participative management in the neighbourhood (cf. point 10.2.) –, and analysed in paragraph d;

- a close **relationship between action and reflection**, which was not explicit as an action principle at the start but which became a fundamental methodology of the whole project, underpinning its evaluation and management (paragraph e);

- a working and organizational method based on **strategic planning**, with the evaluation system as a vital, fundamental guiding part (paragraph f).

The methodological choices resulting from the stated principles are now given, thus lending greater coherence to this general framework.

a) There were various implications in the use of an **integrated approach** in the project, namely in relation to:

- organization of activities so as to cover and bring together different facets of the population's needs (social, economic, cultural and environmental);

- the age groups covered, particularly in the light of the joint approach (the decision to focus on the "family" unit instead of the "individual") or articulated

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[4] Hence, in future references to "project", we are referring to the overall approach irrespective of its phase.

approach (as in the PIA I Community Centre where children and older persons share a common space, although each with their own rooms);

- the working teams made up of technicians from different areas: social services, psychology, education, sociology and socio-cultural development among other more sporadic participations;

- forming partnerships among the different local institutions (cf. paragraph b);

- mobilising resources from various sources (cf. paragraph c);

- combining the population's capacities with technical skills through their active involvement in events (cf. paragraph d);

- development of research-action dynamics with the systematic evaluation of activities to permit adjustments as and when necessary (cf. paragraph e);

- working and organizational model implying specialisation and assumption of responsibilities by strategic area, complemented by frequent coordination and articulation (cf. paragraph f).

This systematic presentation demonstrates the close coordination between the different methodological components, resulting from the overall coherence of the (previously described) references and the project's integrated approach.

b) A number of institutions worked from a **partnership approach** in this process of social change, namely:

- central public administration services at the national (housing), regional (education) and local (school-education and continuing education, employment, health and social security) levels;

- local authorities (Town Hall and parish councils);

- private institutions working in the social area (three, one being the promoter) and education area (one) ;

- two institutions of higher education (one from Lisbon and the other local).

These partnerships were decisive in:

- formulating the diagnosis;

- sharing human resources (many of the technicians working on the project were "seconded" by the various services and institutions), physical space and material;

- organization and assumption of responsibility for activities in their specific areas (social assistance, continuing education, vocational training and job creation, housing, health, etc.);

- evaluation of the actions organized through regular joint meetings.

c) The project is also based on **integrated management of resources** which implies, in addition to the above mentioned sharing of resources through the partnerships:

- mobilisation of resources existing in the neighbourhood itself: physical space (specifically, shops) for some of the project's activities (community centres, mini-crèche, Youth Association and economic activities), and members of the population (mainly women and young people) to work or collaborate with some of the services developed and actions organized;

- use of financing and other support from other national measures and programmes (such as the Public Administration Investment Programme), cooperation agreements with Social Security, Occupational Programmes for the Unemployed and the support of the National Minimum Income) or with EU co-financing (such as Integrar, the Operational Integration Programme for disadvantaged groups.

d) The principle of participative management of the project and of the neighbourhood is another of the strategic guidelines and this means calling on **participative methodologies** which lead to the active involvement of the residents as autonomous citizens in the definition of their life plans.

Among other aspects, this involved:

- organizing socio-cultural events in which the residents readily participated;

- mobilising local human resources to do (paid) work in some of the newly-formed services or to collaborate in the project's activities;

- trying progressively to involve members of the population in the conception, organization, planning and evaluation of activities (e.g. using evaluation forms) so that these start coming increasingly from the bottom up (or from the inside out) and are not simply proposals or decisions made by technicians and/or institutions;

- supporting the creation of local dynamics through associations so that there is active participation in the management and maintenance of the neighbourhood and in this way establishing roots and developing the autonomy of the local development process: the start of the Arts and Crafts Association of the Almada Council, the Laranjeiro Development Association and the Youth Association were given support for this purpose;

Various training courses were organized on the basis of this methodology in order to strengthen the population's participative skills (empowerment strategy).

e) The use of **action-research** dynamics was another key aspect of the work with a view to coordinating the technicians' know-how with grass roots activities. The aim of this positive coordination between research and action was to learn

from practical experience and then apply the knowledge to make readjustments to the programming of activities. It was conceived so as to demand:

- an on-going diagnosis which would be of use both to external research work (as had happened in the 80s cf. point 10.3.) and to that of the university partnership;

- a continuous evaluation system which involved: weekly meetings per sub-team/strategic line; monthly meetings with the whole team and the project co-ordinator; monthly evaluation forms to be filled in by participants in the various activities which involve the population; meetings between those in charge of each area and the respective monitors to analyse these forms; six-monthly and annual appraisal of the targets met vis-à-vis the annual Plan of Activities with the collaboration of the partners;

- a strategic team planning and organization system which makes it possible to take advantage of these diagnosis/evaluation processes and introduce adjustments in the programming of activities whenever necessary (cf. paragraph f).

f) Finally, it is also important to give a fuller description of the **strategic planning system** which was the basis for programming activities and organizing the team work. This system was intended to be used to complete the action research cycle by allowing the results to bring the on-going readjustments of the actions into line with the existing situation.

The strategic planning in this project was based on the coordinated definition of **strategic lines** and **strategic groups** and was put into effect with an **organizational and working model of the technical team.**

As we have already mentioned briefly in point 10.3, this system underwent a significant change in the second phase of the project.

Initially (1990-1994), the focus was on defining three strategic groups – children, women and older persons – who were approached essentially from an "individual" angle or according to "age or gender".

The technical team was therefore divided according to these groups and each sub-team was responsible for developing the strategic action lines (five in this phase) in each of them. For example: the subgroup responsible for women worked with them simultaneously on education, vocational training, employment activities and improving the habitat and the creation of services (cf. figure 10.1).

In the second stage of the project (1995-1998), the system was focused on the definition of the three strategic lines which became more all-embracing; each line had a sub-team which worked along this line with the families and their needs.

In this phase, there was just one strategic group – families in situations of risk or social exclusion – with children, women and older persons, etc. being approached within their more integrated family context (cf. figure 10.2.).

This change was linked to two factors:

- the project's articulation with the Guaranteed Minimum Income programme, which gave preference to intervention work in families;

Figure 10.1.

Strategic groups		
Children	Women	Older persons

Basic teaching, education and training	Vocational training/ job creation	Activities/ organization of the population	Improved habitat	Setting up facilities/ local resources
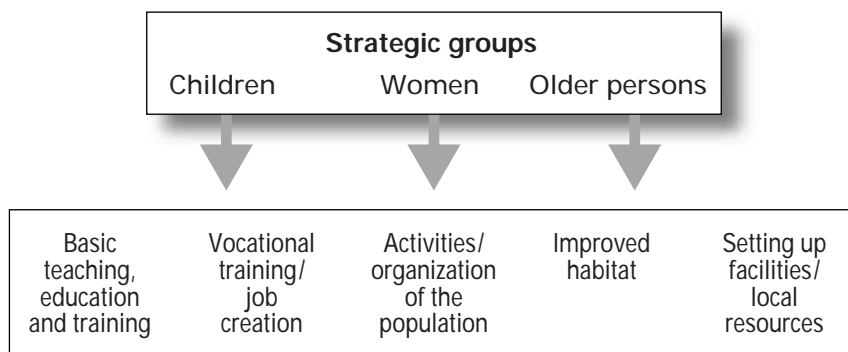
- methodological development aimed at urging a more overall, integrated and structural process of change based on family life styles which was obviously more complex and long-lasting but also more profound and challenging.

Despite the change of criteria in sub-dividing the technical team, its organizational model was essentially maintained and was based on:

- a project coordinator;
- three working sub-teams responsible for the activities (at first one per strategic group and later per strategic line);
- a sub-group coordinator;
- weekly meetings per sub-team;

Figure 10.2.

Intervention strategies		
Support to families and improved well-being	Socio-cultural, educational and recreational activities	Improved economic conditions, skills, autonomy

Families/needs
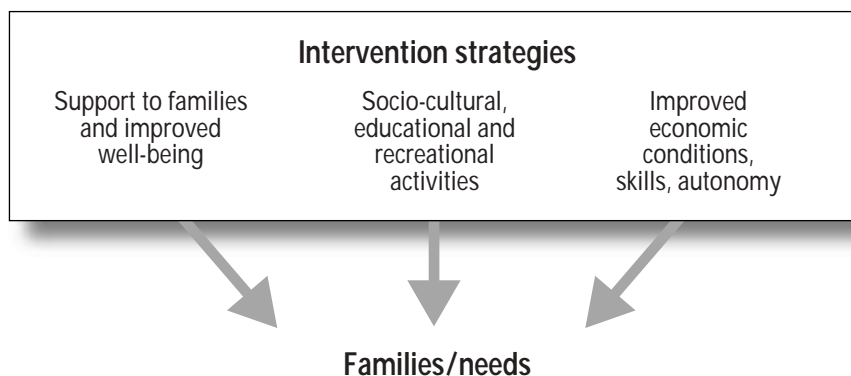
- monthly meetings of the whole team (including the coordinator);
- occasional meetings with partners.

This organizational structure must be looked at in conjunction with the above-mentioned evaluation system and the Action Plan which are the source of strategies and activities that are constantly evaluated and readjusted where necessary.

10.5. Main results

The main **positive results** of the first stage (1990-1994) are as follows:
- child support and the organization of autonomous groups, notably in cultural and handicraft activities: Arts and Crafts Association of Almada Council; *Batuque* (African dance) Group formed by women from Cape Verde; Laranjeiro Development Association[5].
- decentralisation of services with local assistance (in the actual PIA area) for employment (Employment Club), social work and housing;
- setting up of social facilities and services: construction of PIA II Community Centre;
- improvement in the level of schooling and skills by organizing a number of continued education courses and the participation of young people and adults in vocational training courses.

In the second stage (1995-1998), the main **positive results** were:
- introduction of new facilities and services (more children and young people covered);
- acquisition of skills in relation to education and training levels;
- organization of the residents;
- optimizing use of resources (with aid from the Integrar Programme and the Guaranteed Minimum Income);
- start-up of local micro-enterprises.

In general, the **most negative aspect** of the project, particularly in the first stage, concerned the local environment which continued to be much the same and in very poor condition. This had a negative influence on some of the results in education, training and skills because of the stigma which is strongly associated to these questions of local habitat.

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[5] At present it is an IPSS (Private Social Solidarity Institution) and it is working in two neighbourhoods.

Among the limitations and obstacles encountered during the intervention, we also stress:

- the difficulty in organizing residents due to their ethnic diversity and the large number of people involved (20,000);

- inertia and resistance to making institutional cultures and practices compatible and coordinate them with each other (diversity of services and partners);

- the mobility of the technicians during the project, with the departure of some of them, which lead to some instability and a loss of information.

10.6. Prospects

From the start, one of the great objectives of the project was that after financing from the National Programme for the Fight Against Poverty had come to an end, the different actions could be continued autonomously.

As a result, cooperation agreements were made for example with the social security system to maintain some of the services established: the PIA I Community Centre, home help and family crèches.

Another way of ensuring new financing was to apply various kinds of programmes and aid: Almada Town Hall, Portuguese Youth Institute, Employment and Vocational Training Institute, Integrar Programme, etc.

The activities organized in the new social facilities (PIA I and II Community Centres and the mini-crèche) have been maintained, notably: workshops, local assistance (GMI, social work, housing and Employment Club), the Leisure Activities/kindergarten, the Day Care Centre for Older Persons and socio-educational activities, among others.

Work continues to be done directly with families and is currently targeting some of the most problematic families in very complex situations. This makes it necessary to rethink the actions, making them more suitable and introducing some new areas such as psychological and even psychiatric support in some cases.

One of the most recent objectives with the population as a whole has been to organize the residents in each building in an attempt to make them take control of and look after their own living space.

Chapter 11 – Community Intervention Project of Reguengos de Monsaraz Council

11.1. Origins and geographical and social context

The Reguengos de Monsaraz council is in Portugal's southern interior, in one of the poorest regions of the country (Alentejo).

It is part of the administrative district of Évora which includes the councils of Évora, Portel, Redondo, Alandroal and Mourão and the five parishes of Reguengos de Monsaraz, Monsaraz, Campo, Campinho and Corval. In the 1991 General Population Census, it had 11,401 inhabitants, with the following age distribution: 2,003 people (17.6%) from 0 to 14 years; 7,182 (63.0%) from 15 to 64 years; and 2,216 (19.4%) 65 years old or more.

Generally speaking, Alentejo is an economically and socially depressed region with very limited business and job creation (unemployment rates are consistently the highest in Portugal); large farms have traditionally dominated and it is a markedly rural region. As a result, there has been considerable migration to the coastal cities (mainly Lisbon and Porto) and also abroad, which has led to depopulation (this region has the lowest population density in the country, with councils where there are less than 19 inhabitants per km^2) and an ageing community.

Reguengos de Monsaraz also displays some of these characteristics (previous demographic data confirms the fact for example that the population is ageing), although the production of wine and traditional ceramics has boosted the local economy.

One of the wine cooperatives in the council has had great success with its quality wines in the market in recent years and traditionally the area is well known for its potteries.

However, these dynamics have not always brought advantages in that they have led to restructuring and expectations which have accentuated some existing social weaknesses in the council area.

There have been some significant changes in agriculture and land use in the last twenty years, mainly with the expansion and mechanisation of vineyards, modernisation of farms and game breeding (for hunting/tourism). All these changes freed considerable numbers of farm workers and this has led to an increase in local unemployment as workers are unskilled and business dynamics are weak (in establishing economic activities).

As a result of expectations raised from some business success in ceramics hand-icrafts in the mid 90s, combined with a lack of coordination, too many training course were being given in this sector. This meant that far too many people were qualified in this field than the local businesses could absorb, a situation which was compounded by changes introduced meanwhile in the sector's socio-professional system. These people were unable to create their own jobs because they did not have the necessary savings, nor was there a big enough market.

Many families found themselves in situations of poverty and social exclusion as a result.

On the other hand, in the most isolated and scattered parishes and locations, some of the population had to deal with the problem of geographic and social isolation, living from low income subsistence farming or, in the case of older persons, on very low pensions.

There were also gypsy families, travelling vendors and merchants in this council and, given their life style and values, they found it difficult to integrate in local society, either socially or in adopting urban life styles (many were nomads).

In the mid 90s, institutions and local intervention technicians (for example in social work, education, local authorities and some private social institutions) became aware of the social and economic problems existing in the council[1]:

- low schooling levels, generally no more than obligatory schooling (4th year for the older population, 6th or 9th for younger people, depending on age) and illiteracy rates higher than the national average;
- high drop-out and school failure rates (particularly among nomads and more isolated populations);
- low occupational skills – mainly unskilled workers;
- large percentage of seasonal work (therefore, precarious) and/or high unemployment rates (normally over 10%);
- low incomes;
- many homes in poor condition;
- lack of self-esteem and many families experiencing difficulty in defining and developing their life plans;
- dependence on aid and institutional support;
- growing rates of marginal and risk behaviour.

In the light of this diagnosis, an application was made to the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty (South Region) in 1996 which resulted in the Community Intervention Project of Reguengos de Monsaraz Council, better known as PIC. The Town Hall was the promoter but the management body (with

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[1] This general description was given by the project team.

legal responsibility) was a local private institution working in the social area called *Fundação Maria Inácia Vogado Perdigão Silva*, because this role could not be assumed by a public institution.

The project was approved in September 1996, with work beginning in the last three months of the year. It aimed to cover roughly 4,500 people throughout the council who were suffering from economic, occupational, school, housing or socio-cultural vulnerability.

The project was initially expected to run until December 1999 but, following the agreement of the South Region's Commissioner for the Fight Against Poverty, it was extended to the end of 2000 so that it could conclude its work.

11.2. Objectives and action principles

Generally speaking, PIC aimed to promote integrated development in economic, social and cultural areas in the Reguengos de Monsaraz council, and considered that the best way of resolving situations of poverty and social exclusion was to integrate the work of institutions and the participation of the populations.

Its **main objectives** were:

i)   to intervene on the economical, social and cultural fronts and encourage the population to participate in defining strategies to resolve their problems;

ii) to develop a network of inter-institutional and multi-disciplinary partnerships which create closer ties between the institutions and the populations involved;

iii) to contribute to the council's local and associative development which provides the initiatives of the various local institutions with greater potential and support;

iv) to encourage and strengthen family and community solidarity;

v)   to implement the research-action method for a coherent link between theory and practice in order as far as possible to tailor activities to needs;

vi) to promote vocational training and job creation to help strengthen the most needy families;

vii) to raise families' self-esteem and quality of life.

The **basic action principles** resulting from these objectives were:

●   to promote integrated local development dynamics;

●   to improve the population's participation processes;

●   to develop a partnership approach;

●   to employ an action-research method as the framework for activities.

These led to the adoption of the methodologies analysed in point 11.4.

11.3. Main stages and activities

As we have already noted, the project's activities were initiated in the last quarter of 1996. Firstly, a diagnosis was made of the situation and, in October 1996, socio-educational, cultural and recreational activities were launched in conjunction with family support and measures to improve living conditions.

In 1997, an action aimed at improving well-being was added to the initial activities.

Later that year, on 5th November 1997, the council was also hit by serious flooding. PIC, with the aid and additional budget provided by the South Region Commission of the National Programme for the Fight Against Poverty, organized support for the most affected families so that they could return to their economic activities.

A Medication Bank was set up as part of the family support, to subsidize medication prescribed by doctors at the local Health Centre, either entirely or partly, depending on the families' financial circumstances. These doctors were given a list of people in greatest need by the social workers and subsequently prescribed medication available in the Medication Bank instead of others that patients could not afford to buy. The Medication Bank was funded by *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* of Reguengos de Monsaraz or by donations made to PIC for that purpose by the population.

These actions continued throughout 1998 and, during this year, a diagnosis was also made of the older population in the council and meetings were held for discussion, reflection and the exchange of experiences on matters raised by this intervention and others of its kind.

The project was programmed to end in 1999 and therefore, besides continuing the work already underway, families which had not yet received support were approached.

At this time, with the end of the project in sight, the strategy changed slightly and there was a tendency to give more emphasis to activities focusing on prevention and autonomisation than to those providing responses to the needs detected.

The original philosophy was assumed again in 2000 when PIC was prolonged for another year; training and developing skills activities as well as reflection and evaluation meetings were resumed. However, direct support to families was stopped and the latter were instead directed to the appropriate public services in an attempt to prevent them from becoming dependent on support which was coming to an end.

This was also the transition period when the most important actions to be continued after the project were transferred to the most appropriate local institutions, in line with the partnership approach, and to ensure continuity after the project (cf. points 10.5. and 10.6.).

On the other hand, the dynamics generated by PIC meant that the council was among those chosen for a pilot project to form a Local Social Network starting in 2000 (cf. chapter 5).

Throughout the project (1996-2000), PIC organized a range of activities which can be grouped into five intervention areas:

a) diagnosis, involvement of partners, publicity and organization;

b) socio-educational, cultural and recreational activities;

c) improvement of housing conditions;

d) improvement of general well-being;

e) family support.

The main activities organized are indicated below in these groups:

a) Diagnosis, involvement of partners, publicity and organization

In this area, we stress the following:

- an on-going diagnosis/evaluation system was defined and put into practice; this involved questionnaires, holding periodic meetings of the technical team and partners and collaboration by the University of Évora (cf. point 11.4.);

- the rules and conditions for the partnerships were established, resulting in the formation of a Partners Council with regular six-monthly meetings and which actively participated in the definition of objectives and activities, evaluation and establishment of work groups;

- a number of strategies were adopted to publicise the project, through meetings with local associations, pamphlets and posters, information in the regional press and the Municipal Newssheet, the use of local radio programmes and active participation in local meetings and fairs;

- the project's organizational structure was developed, covering the technical, administrative, financial and accounting areas and including on-going training for the technicians through their regular attendance of seminars and conferences relevant to PIC's intervention areas.

b) Socio-educational, cultural and recreational activities

Various activities were organized in this area, for example:

- boosting continuing education courses and other socio-educational courses (for gypsy families);

- support for schools and kindergartens in the council through participation in different activities (Christmas parties, New Year parties, International Day of the Child, field trips, holiday camps, get-togethers, gardening, pottery, theatre, etc.);

- meetings and seminars about education and childhood;

- opening workshops with traditional games, ceramics, computers, sports, gymnastics and other recreational activities;

- support for local cultural and recreational activities (choir meetings, market gardening festival etc.).

c) Improvement of housing conditions

There were a number of different activities aimed at improving the housing and domestic facilities of the most needy families; these were always preceded by an analysis of the situation (with the help of partners in the social services) and home visits to assess living conditions. The process was later monitored and evaluated.

d) Improvement of general well-being

A previous analysis was also made of these situations (always with the assistance of the relevant partners) followed by home visits when necessary and support either from the project (training and awareness courses, job insertion programmes, the start of an Insertion in Active Life Unit – Univa – for young people in search of their first job, etc.) or by directing them to the respective local services which provide the relevant assistance.

Courses were held, for example, in personal development; beginners courses in computers were also held for young people, long-term unemployed and older persons from the most rural parishes and locations, in addition to those already mentioned in the socio-educational field.

e) Family support

In addition to specific support resulting from other areas, there were some strategies specifically for the more vulnerable families, namely:

- integrated assistance involving the local service of the Regional Social Security Centre, the Job Centre and the state housing department;
- assistance, home visits and monitoring of families in the most rural and isolated areas;
- definition of responses to satisfy most basic needs in conjunction with the social security services;
- setting up of the Medication Bank and a Milk Bank.

It should also be mentioned that meetings and seminars were held in all areas of activity for debate and exchange of experiences with partners, members of the community and teams from other projects. For example:

- two debates on "Interventions with the Gypsy Community" and "What are the answers for our older persons?" (1998);
- a working party on drug addiction (1998);
- information session on "Prevention of Child Accidents " (1998);
- seminar on "Early Intervention: Which Way?" (1999);
- seminar on "Gypsies in Education: A Challenge, A Change to be Developed" (1999).

11.4. *Methodological choices and their implementation*

Essentially, four intervention methodologies resulted from these objectives and action principles:

a) A **locally-based integrated development** perspective, put into practice through:

- activities in different fields: economic, social and cultural (cf. actions referred to in point 11.3.);
- collaboration between institutions/technicians and population (cf. paragraph b);
- inter-institutional integration (cf. paragraph c);
- complementarity and collaboration of interdisciplinary know-how (cf. point 11.3.;
- pooling of resources coming mainly from the project's partners (particularly technicians, space and materials) as well as funding from NPFAP, as illustrated also in point 11.3.;
- combination of research and action for diagnosis and on-going evaluation (cf. paragraph d).

b) **The population's participation** was considered to be a vital aspect of PIC, particularly regarding the definition of strategies to resolve their problems and the mobilisation of associative dynamics in the council.

However, during the project, this participation was expressed mainly in the action taken to improve housing where the people affected participated closely in choosing the modifications and repairs to be made and providing the man-power.

Following a campaign to raise awareness of the need for volunteers in these projects, some members of a Catholic church offered their help and, after receiving training, they worked with some of the beneficiaries of the project, giving them support.

The project endeavoured to involve the population, represented at least by the chairmen of the parish councils (local authorities) or the local associations and institutions when making the diagnosis which was used in the annual work plans.

On the other hand, as PIC was supposed to be a local development project, the involvement of technicians who were from the council and the associations implicitly guaranteed their participation in putting the objectives into effect.

The population's participation was limited and was more in the form of representation than active participation; this was probably not unconnected to cultural resistance and inertia in a project that was still quite recent, particularly as this kind of process is particularly difficult to implement.

c) **Partnership work** or **inter-institutional integration** was another of the key methodologies from the outset.

This was expressed mainly in:

- pooling of resources;
- forming a body to deliberate and reflect on strategy – the Partners Council;
- active participation in the evaluation system.

In relation to pooling resources, technicians were assigned to the project (some on a part time basis) and were integrated in the technical team and the working groups, space was made available to hold activities and offer services and material was provided. The percentage of resources made available by the partners in relation to the total used by the project increased consistently: 9.2% in 1996, 11.2% in 1997, 23.3% in 1998 and 28.8% in 1999.

The Partners Council, composed of the directors or representatives of the institutions involved in PIC, was responsible for the management and planning of the availability of resources; its other duties included discussion and approval of the annual plan of activities, strategic evaluation of the project and analysis of changes and adjustments in the objectives and activities when necessary. Their meetings were usually held at six monthly intervals.

The partners' participation in the evaluation was not only through the Partners' Council; the technicians from the various institutions who worked in the technical team and the working groups also monitored the on-going application of the process (cf. paragraph d).

PIC had about 20 partners with different degrees of involvement: public services of the central public administration at a national (housing), regional (education and youth) and local level (social work and social security, education, employment and health); local authorities (Town Hall and the five parish councils); local private social and religious institutions (including the managing body); and the region's university (Évora).

d) The **action-research methodology** was considered decisive to the smooth running of the project as it enabled theoretical reflection and practical action to work together coherently.

e) This methodology required a number of diagnoses to be made so that the community's problems and potentials could be carefully identified. This involved the use of questionnaires, participation-observation by the technicians and partners and collaboration of the population and/or their representatives. The Sociology Department of the University of Évora made a very significant contribution to this area.

Diagnoses were based on the definition of objectives, activities, groups to be targeted and the methods to be used and they were essential in the preparation and discussion of the annual plans of activities.

This provided an on-going evaluation system which could monitor the various activities organized and make any necessary changes and readjustments. Formally, this system consisted of the following:

- regular meetings (whenever required) of the work groups (per activity) to evaluate each activity;
- regular monthly meetings of the technical team permitting a coherent overall evaluation of the interventions as a whole;
- regular six-monthly meetings of the Partners Council for the strategic evaluation of the project;
- support given by the Sociology Department of the University of Évora whenever necessary.

When the project was concluded, a final evaluation was made which consisted of a questionnaire sent to families who were given support and to all the council's institutions and associations (including partners), also with the methodological support of the University of Évora.

In short, some aspects of the general methodology of integrated development were put into practice more than others.

The coordination between partners and application of the action-research method were the most successful aspects.

On the other hand, the integration of activities, the involvement of the population and the mobilisation of resources from sources other than the partners were less successful.

11.5. Main results

As the project was only concluded at the end of 2000, it is still too soon to make a reliable evaluation of the results. It is, however, possible to indicate the most prominent factors. The main **positive results** include:

- guaranteed continuation of the Medication Bank (due to finish in 1999), the mobile computer office for the courses given in the various parishes and home help after the end of the project;
- opening of a Univa for young people in search of their first job;
- change in the population's attitudes towards the project and the services they use both because they feel better supported and also because it has become a closer, more reciprocal relationship;

However, the partnership dynamics developed in PIC were the most important outcome.

Prior to the project, there was no coordination between the institutions working in the council, they exchanged no information about the respective diagnoses and actions but, instead, each worked in their own area. Hence, at first, they were reticent and reluctant to collaborate because they had not felt involved since the application and planning phase.

With the start of this project, the representatives of the institutions started meeting at least once a month and this way they got to know each other better and started taking an integrated approach to working with the community.

This also enabled them to share, develop and adopt common concepts (integrated local development, participation, partnership, etc.) and methods (action-research) which was also enriching for the more sector-based work of each institution or service.

The start of a pilot project of the Local Social Network in the council during its national experimental phase is also an indication of the achievements made in this field.

The most significant **less positive aspects** or factors are:

- lack of rules and norms at the beginning about how certain actions worked or in regard to access to specific institutions; as a result, the project was sometimes thought of as a "supermarket for resources and support" to which people, families and even associations turned. This happened for example in the actions to improve the housing and some socio-cultural activities, whereas the Medication Bank had no problem of this kind (because it set out at the start when and who it would support);

- use only of private skilled workers (e.g. masons) for home improvement work when it would have been more logical, given the objectives of the project, to use trainees who were trying to qualify and find work;

- lack of time and human resources and materials for more in-depth work with the gypsy population, due to their specific cultural difficulties;

- mobility (departure and substitution) of some technicians assigned to the project which resulted in a breach of the trust previously established with the population, loss of information and continuity of activities;

- lack of planning during the final phase of the project for the future placement of social workers in other services, which resulted in three of the four full-time social workers leaving prematurely (half way through the last year) in search of a secure job; this left just one social worker and administrative worker in the final stage;

- limited extent of effective involvement of the population in the different aspects of the project, as already described.

11.6. Prospects

The Reguengos de Monsaraz Community Intervention Project appeared at the end of 1996 and nothing remained the same in the council after this. People were alerted to the local problems of poverty and social exclusion and the institutions got to know each other and started working together towards a common goal: the improvement of the population's living conditions.

The guarantee of continuity of some actions and services as we have already described is also positive in terms of future prospects.

Reguengos de Monsaraz is now a council with social infrastructures and a network of institutions working together, not only in PIC. One possibility currently being studied is the development of social work and local authority intervention in order to continue the work done during the project. The experimental phase of the Local Social Network is an important step in this direction.

PIC ended at the close of 2000; however the seeds were planted which, if well cared for, can provide the roots for the local development of this community in the Reguengos de Monsaraz council.

PART IV

ANALYSIS OF MAIN LESSONS, CONCLUSIONS AND SUGGESTIONS

Introduction

Part IV provides a critical analysis of the main lessons which can already be learned from the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty, with special reference to the projects presented in Part III but also considering others not referred to here, and the experience obtained from the Programme as a whole.

Chapter 12 starts with an overview of lessons and suggestions; it then focuses on some of the most important aspects, notably with regard to:

- limitations of the concepts and situations of poverty and social exclusion;
- discussion of the concepts and strategies for the social integration of excluded populations;
- adoption of an approach to these questions revolving around a development perspective;
- main intervention methodologies adopted and their importance in obtaining the results;
- role of social workers and of the organisational structure where they work;
- questions and challenges raised about public policies with social effects and their influence in these projects.

Finally, we present a brief conclusion and discuss how these experiences in Portugal can be transferred to other geographical, social, economic and cultural contexts and to other times.

No attempt is made to provide a comprehensive evaluation and identification of the conclusions of NPFAP; instead we present the aspects considered to be the most important and decisive to the (partial) results known to date. There is therefore scope for a continued and more in-depth analysis.

Chapter 12 – Main lessons and suggestions arising from NPFAP

12.1. Main lessons (overview)

As we have already stated, it is not the purpose of this study to evaluate the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty in Portugal.

This would involve extending the scope of this work and allowing more time to elapse following the conclusion of the projects, in order to consider the following aspects:

- extent to which the actions envisaged were **implemented**;
- **efficiency** of the use of resources and means;
- **suitability and coherence** of the methodologies adopted in relation to the stated objectives and expected results;
- **effectiveness** of the actions organized in fulfilling the stated objectives;
- structural **impact** of the interventions promoted in terms of **changing** the mindset, behaviour, knowledge, methods and practices, strategies, organization models, policies, living conditions and the dynamics of local community development.

An attempt was therefore made to identify and analyse only the most outstanding lessons, and the conditions which they imply, by giving examples rather than in a comprehensive way.

It should be mentioned however that one of the main characteristics of these projects is the extraordinary **diversity** of their starting points, mobilisation factors, protagonists, partnership and participation dynamics, methodological choices and predominant strategies, momentum of the intervention, results reached, etc. This becomes even more apparent when the analysis is extended (that is, beyond the case studies presented in Part III).

Nevertheless, the projects have a great deal in common, principally in how they form their objectives, methodologies, organizational structures and some reference concepts which are a result of the guiding principles and philosophy of NPFAP itself (cf. part II). These obviously serve as the reference for applications, although there have also been cases of a reverse "transfer", that is, the inclusion of principles in the Programme based on lessons taken from concrete projects.

In fact, it can be said that there is an overall similarity in how the general reference framework is formed (in spite of the diversity of terminology and expressions

used, as we have seen and justified) and a difference in how they are put into practice and their content.

Given these constraints, this study confirms that there are various **important lessons** to be learned from the team leading this research, namely from information collected from the project teams and the technicians from the NPFAP Commission, that demonstrate both positive and negative aspects.

Starting with the **positive aspects**, the most important are indicated using an analysis grid based on: the population involved, local institutions, central government and society as a whole.

There can be no doubt that the effect of the **projects in question** on **the population** was:

- a general improvement in living conditions with access to a wider range of responses and opportunities (employment, vocational training, income, education, housing, health, etc.);

- as a result, a reduction in the incidence and severity of poverty and social exclusion and therefore in the level to which basic needs were not satisfied[1];

- increased skills (empowerment) at various levels and their individual and associative capacity to participate, that is, of citizenship.

Greater proximity to institutions and technicians and in their understanding and "ownership". **For local institutions (including local authorities) or those working locally, and their technicians,** we stress the following positive aspects, clearly exemplified in the projects studied:

- better understanding and identification of poverty and social exclusion from both the theoretical and practical perspectives (more in-depth and broad-based diagnoses and other forms of evaluation);

- adoption of a more integrated and global development perspective when analysing these situations and strategies to eliminate them as opposed to the traditional perspective which is more sectoral (segmented) and assistance-based;

- use of new working and intervention methodologies which are more in keeping with the problems to be tackled and attempts to integrate solutions, which implies, for example: active participation by the population, articulation between partners, combining of resources and activities, use of action-research method, etc.;

- need for technicians to have close and direct contact with the population; this proximity and relationship protects them, except bureaucratically, and it potentially generates more lasting dynamics which encourage autonomy; on the other hand, this requires their technical skills to be more closely linked to personal skills;

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[1] Generally speaking, the same has happened in Portuguese society in the last five years (cf. chapter 5).

- territorial approach to social intervention strategies which is local (community) and based on endogenous weaknesses and potential, that is, one which motivates a "reading" from the inside (or from below);

- endogenous-exogenous integration of resources (financial, human, material, institutional, information, etc.) and results which can have a positive and enriching effect on local skills and is not inhibiting or substituting;

- the "discovery" of specific social or cultural groups which, thanks to these projects, often emerge from the shadows or darkness where they have been hidden by history and/or social marginalisation (gypsies, immigrants, particularly African immigrants, former drug addicts, carriers of HIV-AIDS etc.).

For the State (centralised structures), these projects have contributed to reducing the "distance" which separates it from the population and puts pressure on it to develop policy measures and provide facilities, infrastructures and services which are more appropriate and effective in dealing with poverty and social exclusion.

The improvements introduced in recent years in public social policies and their coordination in Portugal also reflect this "pressure" and the lessons learned from concrete experiences.

This "pressure" takes many forms and results from:

- greater visibility of poverty and social exclusion;

- greater proximity between the population and the departments (decentralised) of the central public administration;

- demands of the associations and private social institutions and their federal or equivalent structures which are strengthened by these projects (in Portugal, Union of Private Social Solidarity Institutions, Union of Mutual Assistance and Union of *Misericórdias* are among those which now have a place in the national associations for social dialogue and social consultation);

- dynamics introduced (in some cases almost subversive) in the public departments and services from the grass roots by social workers confronted with the nature and demands of community work which traditional hierarchies and bureaucracies do not understand.

For society, the positive aspects best illustrated by the projects are:

- greater visibility of poverty and social exclusion, in part due to the role played by the media which has brought advantages (greater knowledge, assumption of responsibility, etc.), but also disadvantages or risks (greater exposure of situations, pressure on social workers, simplistic readings, etc.);

- availability of new and more responses to society's problems and general increase of opportunities;

- development of new activities (e.g. economic, cultural and social).

Clearly, all these positive aspects do not result just from NPFAP but also from other programmes or measures that have existed previously or simultaneously, nationally (in the areas of employment, health, education, social action and housing), or co-financed by the EU. Examples of the former include the Social Employment Market, other employment and vocational training programmes and the Guaranteed Minimum Income, whereas the Integrar Programme, LEADER and the Community Employment Initiative are examples of the latter (cf. chapter 5).

Turning to **negative aspects** highlighted by the projects studied, we can speak of shortcomings in some cases and/or difficulties or limitations in others.

The **populations** demonstrate above all an on-going cultural resistance and inertia to effective participation; they tend to be passive, resigned, disbelieving, dependent on services or excessively demanding (demanding but without taking any initiative).

In terms of **institutions and technicians**, we note particularly:

- persistence of institutional cultures which resist working in partnership or integrating activities, resources and knowledge (interdisciplinary approach);

- technical cultures which distance them from the population, are assistance based and/or conserve their power and which inhibit their effective participation and emancipation;

- more frequent use of "ready-made" models and responses that are easier than investing in creativity and innovation which occur only occasionally;

- lack of tradition and training in the use of strategic planning methods which include evaluation of activities as a way of responding to the weaknesses in a constantly changing situation with flexibility and appropriate action, that is, using the principles of action-research;

- temptation of excessive protagonism and lack of leadership in the organization and management of some of these processes, hampering partnership work and participation of the population;

- still-frequent inability (despite some positive exceptions) of knowledge institutions (notably universities) to focus a significant part of their research on linking society's concrete problems to, in this case, questions of poverty and social exclusion;

- lack of economic and "business" (in the broadest sense) awareness of many institutions working in social services, which makes it difficult for the projects to have a sustainable basis.

For the State, as the central administration, the main limitations are due first and foremost to the lack of progress made so far in integrating policies. Although there have been some advances among the various social policy areas, possibilities for coordinating these with economic policies continue to be ignored and dominated by the former policies. This forces local services and technicians to display

imagination and creativity when trying to fit together the complex puzzle linking the various intervention areas and programmes.

The temptations of liberalism which returned in strength to western societies in the 80s and still persist, bring added difficulties to these projects because they often make use of the population's and their associations' capacity for initiative as a justification for reducing State action in social areas. The multidimensional nature of poverty and social exclusion and the predominant characteristics of societies nowadays make it impossible to do without public support and it is this support which sows the seeds for local dynamics, not from the angle of subsidies but from that of complementarity of resources (that is, State-partner and not Welfare State or Liberal State) .

From the angle of **society as a whole,** the main obstacles lie in the predominance (in some cases strengthening) of individualism and growth-centred competition which prevents the development of a more active culture with intrinsic solidarity and the adoption of a vision of the different situations of poverty and social exclusion not as situations on the margins of the market but as wasted skills and resources.

In the following points we present some specific aspects and suggestions arising from the analysis of these questions.

12.2. Concepts and dimensions of poverty and social exclusion

One of the most important lessons of NPFAP is that, together with other programmes and experiences, it has led to the definition, debate and more widespread understanding of the poverty and social exclusion concepts[2].

In terms of the **poverty** concept, the experiences and subsequent reflections of many technicians and institutions underlined the following:

- its association with the concept of **insufficient resources** as opposed to just insufficient income;

- its **multidimensional aspect**, expressed at economic, social, cultural, environmental and political levels and implying interdisciplinary perspectives and integrated responses;

- its link with the lack of **participation** in social and cultural activities of the society in which they live, which lays the stress on wasted skills instead of just on needs which are not satisfied.

Turning to **social exclusion,** which for some authors is inextricably linked to or even coincides with poverty, the most important "gains" resulting from the various experiences of these projects are:

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[2] On this point these reflections should be related to those presented in chapter 1.

- the suggestion that it is the **loss of social and cultural bonds** and not exercising the rights and duties of **citizenship**;

- its **multidimensional aspect,** which in this case is expressed at the personal level (being), social level (acting/reacting), professional level (doing), the ability to take initiative (creating), of critical information (knowing) and income and consumption (having);

- **although distinct from the concept of poverty, its close relationship with it,** in so far as the lack of resources normally generates social exclusion, but at different levels according to the social and cultural contexts (urban or rural environment, role of the family; relations with the neighbours; ethnic origin; etc.), and in that social exclusion can be compatible with an abundance of some resources (e.g. in the case of older persons, children and young people who are neglected or marginalised in overly-competitive and economics-based societies).

This distinction is relatively recent in Portugal as we have seen in chapter 1; it has emerged in some projects with advantages not only in the understanding of the problems but also in the methodological choices and strategies adopted (cf. also point 12.3). However, many projects make no distinction between the two concepts.

The deeper and more extensive understanding of these concepts has had other important consequences as it has led to a broader and more integrated insight into:

- factors and causes (personal and societal; economic, social, cultural and political; circumstantial and structural) and their complex interaction with the consequences in which the traditional relationship of cause-effect is challenged;

- life styles and survival strategies associated with the most frequent situations of poverty and social exclusion;

- responses and prospects for their eradication;

- immense diversity of all these processes.

12.3. Concepts and practices of social integration

A better understanding of poverty and social exclusion and their main factors, dimensions and expressions, or simply the need to find concrete responses to varied situations, explain the innovations made in intervention strategies and practices in Part III.

In addition to the action methodologies which we shall discuss in point 12.5. with regard to the concepts implicit in those practices, we must first highlight the attempt to coordinate and **integrate** fields of intervention corresponding to the above-mentioned multidimensional aspect of the situations. However, the most innovative cases sought above all to achieve complementarity between strategies:

- with individuals and families in social exclusion situations;
- and with institutions and society.

In the first case, there were actions in the area of personal and community development, education, vocational training and information and general awareness or in specific fields (health, diet, personal and family hygiene, safety, family planning, etc.). **These are strategies to develop capabilities** ("empowerment"), aimed at achieving the emancipation and autonomy of these individuals and families, usually in many areas:

- personal training (about being);
- community training (about acting);
- vocational training (about doing);
- business training (about creating);
- information/educational training (about knowing);
- acquisition training (about having).

The second case refers to the creation or improvement of facilities, infrastructures and services (in education, employment, housing, health and social security) so as to improve the response to basic needs which are not satisfied and to mobilise under-used capacities. In this case, it involves **strategies to increase opportunities,** normally at the local level where the families and individuals are found.

From this perspective it can therefore be said that strategies to combat poverty and social exclusion have tried to work with:

- individuals and families, equipping them to become full citizens;
- with institutions and services, and society as a whole, making it richer in opportunities and responses for all.

The resulting double perspective underlines the importance of acting jointly at two levels: what we call **insertion** (from the individual to society) and **inclusion** (from the society to the individual).

This necessary complementarity between **insertion strategies and inclusion strategies** is one of the most important conclusions of the work done in these projects. It suggests the definition of the concept (and strategies) of **social integration** and also the integration of the two previous aspects. There are therefore three concepts to be used, as opposed to just one.

However, one aspect of the projects has not advanced significantly, but the Programme as a whole can help influence it (and already has, to a certain extent): the inclusion strategies have mainly been expressed in strengthened local responses (of facilities and infrastructures), changes in some institutional practices (some social security services, health centres, job centres, schools, local authorities and private

social solidarity institutions), making them less assistance-based and/or distant and more emancipated and accessible, and in the application of some social policy measures (social action, education, employment, vocational training, housing, youth, health, etc.).

But for **inclusion** to be more effective, it has to make far more profound changes in society as a whole, that is, in terms of values (solidarity *versus* competition, community *versus* individualism, diversity *versus* uniformity; etc.), of macro policies beyond the social areas (notably economics and finance which often cause poverty and social exclusion), and also institutional practices as a rule and not as an exception.

12.4. Approach from a development angle

The **social integration** approach (in the two aspects referred in point 12.3) from a development angle or the promotion of individual, social and environmental well-being, is one of the most interesting innovations of these projects (and other similar programmes).

On the one hand, the approach to poverty and social exclusion from a purely individual perspective – the satisfaction of needs and providing assistance – is set aside and is replaced by a social and integrated framework (of which the individual is part and is not forgotten), – the development of skills, emancipation and self-reliance of the population.

On the other hand, the fight against poverty and social exclusion is understood to be a process of community development, with this being the best preventative strategy.

An approach through development (clearly assumed in the projects analysed), is a highly significant qualitative, conceptual and practical step forward (with immediate effects at policy level), although it is still not totally understood and assumed by social scientists and those with political responsibility.

In terms of project experimentation, these new approaches generated expressions such as "integrated development", "participative development" and "local development" (or the equivalent "community development" or "endogenous development") or even (but less frequently) "human development" and sustainable development"[3] to the stated objectives and strategies.

They will probably not always have a strong theoretical foundation or sound practical implications because important work needs to be done to clarify them, through discussing and comparing alternatives, and this clearly goes beyond the scope of this study.

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[3] There is an extraordinary diversity of expressions used nowadays and they often have equivalent or similar meanings; this demonstrates the transition being made in the definition of the development concept, and the richness of the contributions and proposals made. Nevertheless, it is in need of clarification. The different terminology used in the projects well illustrates this (cf. Part III).

However, in addition to the above considerations, the fact that they are used implies a refusal to understand development as simply economic growth or to consider this as the automatic and sufficient cause for development, as happened in the past.

Nevertheless, there are aspects in the first three concepts mentioned which have revealed strategies in these projects, as we shall see in the point on methodological choices (point 12.5), that is:

- integrated vision;
- focus on participation of the populations involved;
- territorial aspect of the interventions.

For the latter, which is one of the most frequent in the projects, a definition of **local development** is proposed here resulting from the various reflections made above about several projects of this kind and other similar programmes. Local development can be understood as[4]:

- process of change,
- focus on a (geographically) small community where identity and solidarity networks can be built,
- seeks to respond to basic needs that are not satisfied,
- based on local capabilities,
- that is, implying an attempt to achieve the participation and emancipation of the populations involved,
- but with the support of exogenous resources (of different kinds) which foster as opposed to inhibit or substitute endogenous potential,
- integrated approach,
- which requires a strategy of partnership between institutions and resources,
- which has a visible impact on the whole community,
- and with a wide range of initial situations, protagonists, paths, momentums and results.

The advantages of this concept are:

- it is appropriate to the territorial context of NPFAP (cf. chapter 5) and to the underlying concern for starting from the local community, with its specificities and capabilities;

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[4] AMARO, Rogério Roque (coord.) (1999) – *Projecto "LE CHEILE" – Análise das Necessidades e das Potencialidades da Freguesia de Santa Marinha (Concelho de Vila Nova de Gaia), numa Perspectiva de Criação de Emprego e de Desenvolvimento Local*, Lisbon: Proact-ISCTE/ Portuguese Red Cross (Porto), pp. 37 and 38.

- it places the strategies to fight against poverty and social exclusion in the context of a process of social change which involves the whole community in different ways, making it both an "accomplice" and beneficiary of the process;
- it contains the Programme's essential methodological choices which were initially adopted by the projects (cf. chapters 4 to 11 and point 12.5.).

It therefore emerges as the concept which **best expresses the reference matrix of the action principles and methodologies of most of the projects.**

12.5. *Main methodological choices*

The methodologies adopted for a project can be said to be one of the main expressions of its intervention philosophy as they express its perception of the reality and the formulas used to fulfil the objectives.

The stated methodologies of the various projects are very similar which is not surprising given the influence of the Programme in drawing up the applications (including aspects to be considered).

But the order in which they are listed, the emphasis and application vary; this could enrich the Programme if a systematic, comparative and in-depth evaluation was made (for example, on diverging understandings of the same concept, - different obstacles and resistance encountered, influence of territorial and cultural contexts, importance of the promoter, the main protagonists and their disciplinary background, etc.).

The following are the most frequently used methodologies[5] resulting from the **action principles which give them their name**[6]:

a) **Territorialisation** of activities, as mentioned in point 12.4. and which presupposes a community-based reading, rooting of the institutions and the technicians, mobilisation of local resources, involvement of the community and of its associative structures, etc.

b) An **integrated perspective** of the process of change which implies different methodological levels of articulation:

- know-how and skills in diagnosis and planning, and in forming teams (interdisciplinary approach);

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[5] As the title suggests, the decision was made here to refer to the most frequently adopted methodologies and not to mention others (perhaps innovative – cf., for example, the project presented in chapter 10), as they are not yet widely employed and/or not yet adopted by the NPFAP.

[6] There is obviously a very close relationship between the **strategic action principles** and the **methodological choices** which express them, and they are often given the same name: the principles of participation and partnership, for example, are concentrated on the adoption of participative methodologies and working in partnership.

- action resources and approaches in establishing partnerships (institutional approach);
- dimensions of interventions and activities (inter-sectoral approach);
- origins and sources of resources, principally financial resources (integration of programmes);
- reflection/research and practice/action (interactive evaluation);
- social groups and age groups (social and generational interaction);
- cultural and ethnic groups (intercultural approach);
- proximity between community and institutions/technicians (interpersonal approach).

This **integration** has proved very difficult to put into practice effectively given considerable resistance, inertia and obstacles encountered, notably due to:

- disciplinary boundaries and codes;
- institutional habits of working behind their "walls";
- sectoral specialisation of the intervention areas;
- segmented conception of programmes and policies;
- persistent distance between research (theory) and action (practice);
- social discrimination and the generation gap ;
- ethnic and cultural intolerance;
- technocratic superiority which separates the technicians from the people in the community.

Nevertheless, the projects show that a new path has opened up with new horizons and, essentially, the results have been positive.

c) The effective **participation** of individuals and families suffering from poverty and social exclusion is usually presented as a decisive factor of emancipation and self-reliance, that is, of citizenship.

If participation is understood as a dynamic individual and collective process which facilitates recognition and social validation of individual and collective needs and skills, and simultaneously individual and collective access to the opportunities of society (**here the redefined concept based on reflection on the projects)**, it is easy to understand why it is difficult to put into effect.

There are countless obstacles and difficulties which complicate it: predominant non-participative culture, resistance of the predominant powers (including that of technicians), primarily assistance-based approach to poverty and social exclusion, the artificial nature of some so-called participative processes and, concerning frequent attitudes and characteristics in the community itself, accepting

the easiest solution, passiveness, low self esteem, individualism, low levels of information, exaggerated expectations, etc.

Even though all the projects experienced limitations and difficulties of this kind, many made considerable progress particularly in eliminating or reducing some of these obstacles and resistance, as we have already analysed.

However, this will be a long, slow process which will be subject to advances, shocks and setbacks.

d) In order to promote participation skills and make them viable, projects often adopt strategies and methodologies to **develop capabilities** (empowerment), as discussed in point 12.3. (cf. insertion concept), using training courses, education, information and awareness campaigns in a wide range of subjects for individuals and families suffering from poverty and social exclusion.

This sometimes also involves the training of technicians and partners, developing their capacities of interpretation and action.

e) The establishment of **partnerships** between the different public and private institutions and departments in local intervention is another of the essential characteristics of the strategies and methodologies of these projects. Experiences have been very diverse, both from the point of view of the range of partnerships and their content and intensity, and the results achieved or the difficulties faced.

Some partners have been found to be more involved than others, as in the case for example of local public services for education and social work, local authorities, local development associations (sometimes actually formed in the scope of the project) and some private social institutions.

There are others which are more inconsistent, such as the public services for health and employment and local cultural, social and recreational institutions. Others, such as universities and various higher education and research institutions, make sporadic contributions of great importance, but which are not sufficiently regular.

And there are also those who are conspicuous by their absence, such as enterprises, their representative structures and workers.

The main difficulties and restraints which put strong constraints on partnerships are: sectoral and segmented cultures in institutions; involvement because it is fashionable or compulsory; excessive and rigid formality; conflict between loyalty to the community or to the institution to which they belong; the "resourse supermarket" approach; a desire for leadership or recognition from the institution or his/her superiors; institutional ethnocentrism; lack of persistence; opportunist utilitarianism, etc.

Although in some cases the partnerships have been very divided, superficial and utilitarian (obtaining resources), they can be considered one of the projects' major successes because they have helped create habits of sharing and working together on diagnoses and evaluations and in coordinating actions. The forming of

the Local Social Network will be able to take advantage of these experiences and build on them (cf. point 5.2.).

Finally, the data collected and considered in the analyses of this kind of project permits the following definition of partnership to be **proposed:**

Process of joint action between institutions which are mobilised by common objectives and which share resources so that they can articulate strategies so as to reach these objectives, whilst making a constant and joint evaluation of this process.

f) An important factor in extending the projects' work was the possibility of and ability to **mobilise and organize different resources from various sources** other than from the partners, namely from national and European Union programmes, which facilitated the integration of the different social measures and policies in practice.

Putting this "puzzle" together is not always easy and requires a great deal of energy which could be better used elsewhere; greater integration and compatibility in the actual conception and content of policies would therefore be very beneficial.

The lack of information about the different kinds of financing and aid which are available (some of which are unconventional sources) often leads to wasted opportunities and synergies between the logic of intervention, partners and activities.

g) An **action-research methodology** was a fundamental aspect of the strategies used because it permitted:

- more rigorous and frequent diagnoses;
- establishment of more effective evaluation systems;
- learning from practical experience, that is, strengthening, correcting or creating theory by induction;
- justification of action, that is maintaining, readjusting or inventing practices with the help of theory;
- making projects (objectives and strategies) flexible and adaptable in response to changing circumstances.

The full application of this methodology, however, requires conditions which are not always easy to assure: time to meet, theoretical preparation to systematise learning; availability to work at grass roots; support from research organizations (e.g. universities); creation of data files and other relevant systems to register data; etc. Yet again, there are significant differences between the projects here with some excellent examples and others where the method went no further than good intentions.

h) The question of the **economic and business base** of the projects is one of the most important and controversial points. Their sustainability and the correct application of the area **integration** principle presupposes the presence of economic activities in the projects (job and income creation, satisfaction of needs, adding

value to skills, etc.) but these were generally difficult to establish. There seem to have been a number of reasons for this difficulty:

- there were rarely economists/managers in the technical teams;

- there was sometimes a "primary" anti-economics feeling, as a social and environmental reaction to the prevailing excessively economic approach;

- it is not easy to create sustainable economic activities and jobs particularly in local contexts which are weak from this point of view and which have limited markets;

- enterprises and business associations rarely collaborate in these projects;

- for a long time it was thought that economic growth alone would eliminate poverty and social exclusion and that remaining cases were of a social, not economic, nature.

Nevertheless, we stress that the projects which invested in this area developed some interesting and innovative solutions which contributed to what is called the **"new social economy",** like the groups of economic activities which are autonomous from the State which manage to reconcile economic efficiency and social effectiveness (predominant social objectives), in this case, in the fight against poverty and social exclusion and the promotion of local development [7].

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[7] On this matter cf., among others:
– BORZAGA, Carlo, e DEFOURNY, Jacques (2000) – *The Emergence of Social Enterprise*, New York: Routledge.
– CIRIEC (2000) – *As Empresas e Organizações do Terceiro Sistema – Um desafio estratégico para o emprego*, Lisbon: Inscoop-Instituto António Sérgio do Sector Cooperativo.
– ESTIVILL, Jordi, et al. (1997) – *Las Empresas Sociales en Europa* – Comisión europea/Dirección General V, Barcelona: Hacer Editorial.
– GAZIER, Bernard, et al. (eds.) (1999) – *L'Économie Sociale – Formes d'organization et Institutions*, tome 1 (XIX^e Journées de l'AES), Paris: L'Harmattan.
– JEANTET, Thierry (1999) – *L'Économie Sociale Européenne – ou la tentation de la démocratie en toutes choses*, Paris: CIEM Édition.
– PERRI 6 and VIDAL, Isabel (eds.) (1994) – *Delivering Welfare – repositioning non-profit and co-operative action in western Europe welfare states*, Barcelona: CIES.
– VIDAL, Isabel (coord.) (1996) – *Inserción Social por el Trabajo - una visión internacional*, Barcelona: CIES.

12.6. Role of social workers and of the organizational structure

An analysis of the projects demonstrates that a new kind of social worker is emerging from these experiences. They are no longer assistance-based social workers, nor do they have the sole objective of social intervention. These projects demand much more of them:

- they must be trained in (any) area of the social sciences (social services, sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, business or organization management, law, etc.), but they must also have an interdisciplinary culture;

- they must combine the abilities to reflect (theory) and intervene (practice) and constantly update them (ongoing training) which involves an understanding of methodological principles and choices;

- they must know how to make diagnoses and draw up evaluation systems;

- they must be able to dialogue with different institutions (including with local associations);

- they must be able to manage the tension (which could become conflict) between loyalty to the community and loyalty to their institutional hierarchies;

- they must combine competence and thoroughness (professionalism) with commitment and motivation (active involvement);

- they must be prepared to work long hours and not earn accordingly;

- their technical skills must be complemented with personal and relational skills which are increasingly decisive for a community-based strategy whereby they settle in the community; this involves the development of empathy, assertiveness, mediation, acting as an intermediary, negotiation, regulation, representation, etc.

The role of the social workers has been decisive in the experiences analysed; it is challenging and motivating work which is not always given due recognition and has also not always been well done.

In short, it can be said that the most successful social workers were those who were able to "put technical work aside", going beyond their technical skills and mobilising principally their personal and relational skills, implanting their technical skills in them ("making them technical again, in accordance with these other skills").

However, this process is not just the result of the social worker's voluntary and spontaneous intuition and personal motivation; they need to be reinforced through the inclusion of pedagogy linked to relational competences (self-confidence, capacity to dialogue, acting as an intermediary, representation and negotiation, assertiveness, developing empathy, etc.) in their basic and on-going training.

The same is true of the methodological choices mentioned because applying them demands skills which are not always thoroughly taught in the conventional training of these theories.

The organizational structures adopted are quite similar in the various projects and consist of:

- a promoter which may be distinct from the managing body (when the former is a local authority or public social security service);
- a technical coordinator;
- a technical team, in some cases divided into work groups or sub-teams, by area of intervention;
- a partnership structure (with distinct formulas) to monitor the project.

The regularity with which the different groups meet varies (between those that are most operational and involved in concrete actions, and the partners); they discuss, analyse, define objectives and activities, make evaluations and resulting adjustments. The technical team and their sub-teams are responsible for the activities themselves.

Annual plans of activities, normally approved by the partnership structure and on-going evaluation systems, make it possible to programme and gauge the actions. However, in most cases, the lack of flexible and effective strategic planning reduces the range and effects of those intentions considerably [8].

12.7. Public policies with social effects

The NPFAP appeared at a time when social policies were increasingly important and had taken on new proportions in Portugal. It was the result of both the influence of the European Union directives in these areas (notably the European Programme for the Fight against Poverty) and the new public policy guidelines in Portugal (cf. chapters 3, 4, and 5).

There were a number of initiatives and measures in social areas specifically directed towards the fight against poverty and social exclusion, as we have seen, and particularly in the last decade.

In relation to social action, the adoption of the Guaranteed Minimum Income and the start of the Local Social Networks (cf. chapter 5) are among the most notable examples, other than the actual NPFAP and other specific programmes for disadvantaged social groups (Integrar), children and youths (*Ser Criança*- Being a child) and older persons (Integrated Support Programme for Older Persons).

But, in addition to these social policies, there were also initiatives and measures which had an effect on the projects analysed, such as (cf. chapter 5):

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[8] On this, the project analysed in chapter 10 is the most innovative.

- in **education**, with the start of "priority intervention education areas" and the Local Education Councils;
- in **employment and vocational training**, with the approval of the National Employment Plan, the Social Employment Market, Occupational Programmes and many others, in addition to the Regional Employment Networks;
- in **housing**, with the approval of the Special Re-housing Plan and other social housing measures;
- in **justice**, with the enactment of a new law protecting minors, which led to the setting up of a commission for the protection of children and young people in conjunction with social action, education and health;
- with **young people**, with various measures supporting youth activities, associations, youth voluntary work;
- in **health**, notably with the start of on-going health care with integrated home care (health visits) for older persons and children, in conjunction with social work.

While in some cases there was already concern about coordinating sectoral policies, as we have illustrated, in others the first steps were taken in this direction and these still have a long way to go.

This lack of integration and the resulting overlapping is exemplified by the partnerships which exist today in Portugal, each devoted to an intervention sector (social work, education, employment, protection of minors, health), to which we must add those emanating from programmes such as NPFAP, *Ser Criança*, LEADER, PAII, etc., or autonomous community dynamics, and now the new Local Social Networks, nearly always involving the same institutions and same representatives.

This duplication, which generates excessive and repetitive meetings, frequently without integrating approaches, is the result of the dominance of the sectoral approach (and the respective "domains") over the territorial approach. This can only be overcome when the latter approach, and the respective local development dynamics, become the fundamental reference underpinning intervention and the formation of partnerships. The setting up of the Local Social Networks may therefore be a good sign if they substitute and integrate the other committees and groups of partners which already exist.

This still-rudimentary integration of the conception and formation of social policies has in part been overcome, however, in practice through the attempts of the technical teams and local partners to introduce some compatibility between the measures and programmes, as we have already illustrated in the projects analysed.

However, these "puzzles" rely almost entirely on an ability to take initiative, **information,** and availability of time and energy which do not always exist or cannot be used for this purpose.

While these abilities and results are doubtless valuable, and should be encouraged as they often obtain excellent results (as we have seen in the case studies), there is unquestionably a need for better integration between the various social policies.

This would even help avoid the discrimination which is often found as a result of the different constraints on the technical teams and local partners and which can lead to unequal opportunities to benefit from the initiative, information, time and energy available.

But the real question of the lack of coordination between public policies with social effects lies in the almost non-existent relationship between social policies and others with a social impact, such as economic policies (e.g. monetary, exchange, budgetary, credit, agricultural, industrial, tourism policies, etc.) or environmental policies (e.g. linkage between conservation of nature and local development).

Economic policies are undoubtedly the most worrying because they are conditioned by the (economic and monetary) targets of the construction of the European Union and/or are blinded by competition in the spirit of globalisation of the economy (cf. chapters 1, 2 and 5), and rarely include social or environmental concerns, leaving them to social (or environmental) policies.

Clearly Portugal, like other member States of the European Union, has been losing sovereignty in the definition of many of these policies (e.g. exchange, monetary, credit, agriculture and fishing policies, among others). Nevertheless, it is possible and essential to make a greater effort at integrating such policies because otherwise the **inclusion strategies** described in point 12.3, which should complement the insertion policies developed in the scope of these projects, for example, will be decisively limited or even reversed.

It therefore appears to be essential to:

- work towards not allowing the objectives of **social cohesion** in the European Union to become subordinate to those of the single currency or competitiveness (cf. chapter 1);

- develop innovative experiences in articulating social and economic policies at the national level, like those found, on an exceptional basis, in agriculture e.g. the start-up of rural centres, and in tourism e.g. rural tourism;

- create and improve conditions and provide incentives for making **enterprises socially responsible** or for **business citizenship**, by getting them involved in actions and projects such as those we have analysed;

- compare and support experiments in the social economy, not just from the angle of social policies but also from that of economic policies.

Local authority policies – that is the powers and duties of the municipal authorities – are another important aspect of the articulation between public policies (given that other local authorities in Portugal – the parishes – are almost powerless in these matters). Here, the main issues are:

- lack of coordination with the powers and duties of the central public administration which creates conflicts or gaps between local and national public policies at the sectoral level;

- difficulty in ensuring that the powers and duties of the local authorities accord with the resources allocated to them which often limit or hamper their intervention capacity.

Furthermore, there is also often a lack of coordination between the various departments, particularly in the larger municipalities (e.g. Lisbon and Porto) which causes contradictions in municipal policy.

Examples of this lack of coordination between national and local policies and/or within local authorities are often those which occur in:

- social re-housing actions where the housing solutions are not accompanied by the building of infrastructures (in education, health, public transport, commerce, security, etc.) or by psycho-social guidance, or these are totally uncoordinated;

- in education, in the contradictions in the (national) rules for the placement of teachers (notably in primary schools) and the (local) criteria for the building and use of school buildings and community work, which involves schools and local partners and requires greater stability between them.

Some of the projects analysed exemplify these situations.

Generally speaking, it can be said that, in relation to these situations, NPFAP has also made an important contribution to new perceptions and practices of the State's role, of national and local public policies and their necessary integration, as reflected in NPFAP's principles, concrete projects and innovative experience and direction.

12.8. Final conclusions and potential for transfer

As we have seen, the most positive aspects and lessons learnt from NPFAP concern the improvement in living conditions of individuals and families who were in a situation of poverty and social exclusion and the new lessons, practices and methodologies which have emerged from this.

However, the conjugation of a number of favourable **conditions** was decisive to this, namely:

a) existence of a Programme with an intervention philosophy, innovative action principles and flexible procedures and simplified bureaucracy which made it possible to place, integrate and learn from many local projects, systematizing and channelling the lessons learnt (through seminars and studies) for national public reflection and social policies; this is a **decisive advantage in comparison with the widespread proliferation of projects**;

b) appearance of more favourable, public social policies which make the fight against poverty and social exclusion a priority;

c) existence of other programmes and aid, notably those which permitted the channelling of financial resources from the European Union's structural funds (ERDF, FEOGA and ESF);

d) territorial focus in these projects, based on promoting the local development of communities where socially excluded individuals and families live;

e) adoption of innovative methodologies of which we stress: concern for integration, active participation of those actually excluded and development of their skills, work and involvement of partners, linkage between research and action and resulting flexibility and innovation in strategies;

f) profile and work of social workers, developing new skills of which personal and relational skills were the most decisive, and giving new value to technical skills.

On the other hand, the **continuity of dynamics** after the projects were concluded depended essentially on:

- autonomy developed within the local community through the emergeance of associative dynamics and the active participation of the population;

- assumption of responsibility for many of the facilities, infrastructures and services created by the local public services of the central public administration as part of their normal duties, and the implementation of social policies;

- role of local authorities, as the local power, responsible for promoting the development of the communities which elect them and therefore for implementing local public policies which can be decisive to that continuity;

- existence of other programmes and aid which permit essential resources for ensuring the continuity of initiatives which have not yet got a strong base or which result from previous projects;

- establishment of an economic and business base which makes it sustainable;

- dissemination, discussion and development of these experiences, which is a sign of **social marketing** in the projects analysed, which remains little used or even non-existent in Portugal.

The extent to which these conditions can be transferred raises a number of questions, the most important of which concern **cultural diversity** and **adaptation to specific social, economic, cultural, political, environmental and historic contexts.**

Knowledge of other similar experiences in other countries and continents leads us to the conclusion that different combinations of the conditions mentioned may make good practices viable in other contexts.

The most decisive conditions which can be easily transferred to other contexts (with the necessary adaptations) are:

- mobilisation of resources, notably financial, from various sources (international aid programmes, bilateral cooperation, involvement of non-governmental and foreign organizations, national public programmes, etc.);

- territorial approach to interventions based on a local development focus;
- use of **all aspects** of the above-mentioned innovative methodologies;
- profile and skills of social workers, which suggests the need for training (as stated) as an essential option;
- knowledge, dissemination and exchange of experiences with other countries (learning and spread of good practices).

The existence of favourable public policies, or at least a **political will,** is also of great importance: however, it is not always present and its transfer sometimes encounters obstacles which are extremely difficult to overcome; these relate to the nature of the political system, attitude of those responsible, availability of resources or imposition of conditions from other countries (e.g. international organizations). However, it is vital that there is no **political obstruction** to these initiatives.

This also means that the relationship between the state (at the central and local level), private institutions, associations and other non-governmental organizations, enterprises (possibly), international organizations and the foreign non-governmental organizations, and the resulting protagonists of these processes, must be very varied and adapt to each specific situation and context. This is, in fact, one of the most important lessons to be learned from the experiences studied in different continents.

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ANNEXES

Annex 1 – Legislation on the National Programme for the Fight against Poverty

Ministry of solidarity and social security

Council of Ministers Resolution no. 8/90

The economic development and scientific and technological progress of modern societies must be accompanied by an increasing concern for raising well-being and the quality of life for all strata of the community.

With economic and social development there are sometimes imbalances which lead to the appearance of groups of people whose material, cultural and social resources have not kept up with the community average; this results in unacceptable living situations and collective means must be mobilised to combat them. In Portugal, the Government has been consistently and systematically struggling to resolve situations of need among social groups in rural, urban and suburban areas.

Citizens are generally unaware of this struggle to deal with pockets of poverty and this is also true of the people it affects, making it difficult to get the best possible results.

It is necessary to make a commitment to close cooperation between the different State departments and private initiatives working in this field in an attempt to raise the effectiveness and efficiency of the work and resources involved.

Finally, this coordination could also be of great interest and benefit to Portugal given the community programmes working in this area.

As a result, the Government has decided to form an intersectoral body responsible for promoting special projects for the fight against poverty; it will ensure the coordination of the work of different departments and institutions involved in this struggle, together with an appropriate dissemination, exchange of knowledge and evaluation of the actions taken.

Thus:

In accordance with paragraphs *d)*, *e)* and *g)* of article 202. of the Constitution, it is the decision of the Council of Ministers:

1 – To create Regional Commissions for the North and South for the Fight against Poverty which are directly answerable to the Minister of Employment and Social Security.

2 – The Commissioners shall be nominated by the Minister of Employment and Social Security and shall accumulate this responsibility with other mandates, being entitled to a small monthly remuneration, the amount of which shall be determined by the joint dispatch of the Ministers of Finance and Employment and Social Security.

3 – The commissioners shall be responsible for:

a) The definition and framework of the projects and actions to be included in the general programme for the fight against poverty, namely those which work in coordination with the second community programme of research-action for the fight against poverty, or Portuguese programmes included in the new community support programme for the economic and social integration of disadvantaged groups;

b) The support and coordination of the action of promoters and those responsible for the projects, as well as the evaluation of the results with a view to their effectiveness and efficiency;

c) To guarantee the involvement of the different State departments and civil society so as to optimise conditions and ensure the initiatives are run harmoniously;

d) To promote widespread participation in the debate on the causes and spread of poverty in relation to its material, social and cultural aspects and make public opinion aware of the importance of the action taken and their possibility of success;

e) To make recommendations on policies, priorities and strategies for action.

4 – The Minister of Employment and Social Security shall determine annually by dispatch the amount allocated to each of the commissions and ensure the logistical support necessary for this work.

5 – The Minister of Employment and Social Security and other Minister responsible shall determine in a joint dispatch, following proposals by the commissioners, the interlocutors and respective services involved for each department.

Presidency of the Council of Ministers, 22nd February 1990.
The Prime Minister, *Aníbal António Cavaco Silva*

Ministry of solidarity and social security

The Cabinet of Ministers

Dispatch 122/MISSAS/96. – In accordance with my dispatches of 2-1-96 and 13-2-96, the evaluation of the national Programme for the Fight against Poverty shall be undertaken to analyse its economic profitability/social effectiveness in relation to expenditure.

The committee nominated for this purpose, coordinated by Maria Lucília Figueira, delivered the final and comprehensive social and financial evaluation of the Programme for the Fight against Poverty projects which are underway or concluded in 1995.

The methodology used to analyse the organization structure of the projects, the financial procedures, social infrastructures and interventions in the housing area are considered correct.

Given that the regional commissioners for the fight against poverty are responsible for "supporting and coordinating the work of the institutions and those in charge of the projects, as well as the evaluation of the results, with a view to their effectiveness and efficiency, para. b) of no. 3 of the Council of Min. 8/90, of 20-2, and in accordance with the results and conclusions of the above-mentioned report:

I approve the social and financial evaluation report of the Programme for the Fight against Poverty projects underway or concluded in 1995;

All the projects underway or which will take place in the Programme for the Fight against Poverty shall comply with the principles and norms in the regulation in annex which is an integral part of this dispatch.

27-8-96 – Minister of Solidarity and Social Security
Eduardo Luís Barreto Ferro Rodrigues

Annex

Regulation of the Programme for the Fight against Poverty

Article 1

Promoters

1 – The promoters of projects organized under the Programme for the Fight against Poverty shall be in condition to undertake all procedures involved in developing these projects, and shall not acquire the goods or services of any other entity.

2 – Local authorities, municipal associations, private social solidarity institutions (IPPS) and non-governmental organizations (NGO) shall be accepted as promoters.

3 – Only under exceptional circumstances and with the authorisation of the Minister of Solidarity and Social Security may the regional social security/centres/sub-regional services act as promoters.

4 – The promoters must be required previously to prove their accounting is in order and declare their acceptance of imputing no costs to the projects as a result of their being promoter in the respective accounting and all movements inherent to it.

Article 2

Partnership

1 – All partners participating in the development of the project shall be involved in any application process to the Programme for the Fight against Poverty; the documentation presented to the commission shall therefore include declarations from the partners stating in broad terms the contribution to the project for which they assume responsibility.

2 – The promoters shall assume responsibility for holding general meetings of partners (Partners' Council), the regularity of which shall be defined, but which will be at least every six months; the Partners' Council shall approve the annual plan, budget and report of activities which is to be presented subsequently to the commissioners and, also, the overall monitoring of the partners.

3 – The regional social security centres/sub-regional services shall be partners of each project.

4 – The municipal council shall be part of the Partners' Council of projects for which they are not promoters, should they so wish.

5 – In the areas of health, education sport, housing, vocational training, agriculture and others, the framework principles of the participation of the different services and bodies in the various projects shall be defined at national and regional levels and the commissioners shall be responsible for instigating this process as one of their duties in accordance with Res. Council Min. 8/90, of 22-2.

6 – The contributions of the partners shall be calculated as accurately as possible when these contributions are not made in money, and these amounts shall be included in the respective reports.

Article 3

Human Resources

Applications for the Fight against Poverty projects shall include an indication of personnel:

a) To be hired for each project, indicating categories, kind of contract and payment;
b) To be made available by the partners, including the promoter, without costs for the respective projects.

Article 4

Project Leaders

1 – Each project shall have a leader who shall have a suitable social and administrative profile.

2 – The appointment of each project leader shall be proposed by the promoter to the regional commissioner and is subject to his approval; the candidate's curriculum vitae shall be presented and the level of remuneration shall be defined in accordance with the project's size and complexity.

3 – The project leaders shall assume the responsibilities taken in previous projects by the project coordinators.

Article 5

Accounting

The promoters shall assume the responsibility of the costs with accounting movements involved in the said projects without apportioning any costs to them, other than in exceptional cases which are duly authorised by the regional commission.

Article 6

External Evaluator

External evaluators may not be contracted in the ambit of any project; however, when the commissioner considers that the evaluation made by his technicians is insufficient, he may contract one or other entity as a service provider to evaluate the projects which for justified reasons is to be subjected to special analysis.

Article 7

Project Grouping

1 – No applications shall be accepted where there is a grouping of projects.
2 – Existing groups shall be separated, and this process shall involve:
a) Division of the total grant, with some possible adjustments;
b) Possible rearrangements of personnel.

Article 8

Project Headquarters

In each application the promoter shall state how it proposes to install the support services for the project and what it can contribute in goods and services to that effect with a view to keeping costs of this nature for the Fight against Poverty Programme as low as possible.

Article 9

Accounting Procedures

1 – When the Regional Social Security Centre (CRSS) is exceptionally the promoter, the sub-regional service shall include all movements concerning the projects in its general accounting with the classification foreseen for PCISS, and open a cost centre for each project.

2 – When the CRSS is not the promoter, the sub-regional service shall only do accounting for transfers made on 6.05.15.

3 – Whenever a subsidy, or part of a subsidy, is specifically aimed at a certain investment in the project, this shall be registered as "deferred income" in account no. 27.

4 – In the above mentioned circumstances, the entity shall enclose the ledger for account no. 27 in annex to the accounts justifying the subsidies received, and of the investments made in the same period with the support of the referred subsidies, which are sent to the commissioners and the sub-regional services.

Article 10

Cost Centre and Cost Sub-centres

1 – Promoters shall open a cost centre for each project, with which a cost benefit analysis can made.

2 – There shall be sub-centres for each activity in the framework of each project corresponding to the cost centres for the fight against poverty projects. In this way the costs referring to the various activities can be obtained.

Article 11

Apportionment of Common Costs

Costs which are common to different activities, notably personnel and running costs of facilities, shall not be considered autonomous activities; in the scope of the project for which they are responsible, each entity shall define criteria to apportion common costs as accurately as possible so that these costs can be automatically divided and apportioned to the different activities.

Article 12

Supporting Documents

1 – Expenses incurred with the projects must have the legally required documentary support.

2 – All expenses must be duly justified and authorised.

Article 13

Budget and Treasury Management

1 – Entities involved in the Fight against Poverty Programme shall undertake suitable budget and treasury management procedures to ensure the correct management of the project.

2 – The promoters shall monitor every step of the implementation of the budget of the respective projects and, when necessary, negotiate with the commissioners budgetary readjustments which might be required to the previously fixed annual subsidy.

Article 14

Balance forwarded

1 – When a project can free a specific amount x from the budgeted grant y fixed for year n, but it is found that this same amount shall be used in year n – 1:

a) The sub-regional social security service shall enter the initial amount y as project cost, in year n, and shall forward the grant x not used in "Other debtors and creditors", to be received from the sub-regional service in year n + 1;

b) The promoter shall also enter the initial amount y as a receipt in year n, and shall forward, "Other debtors and creditors", the unused portion x to be received from the sub-regional service in year n + 1;

2 – In any project, when a part of the fixed budgeted grant for a specific year can be freed, the sum available shall be taken in budgetary terms by the region's commission for the year in question, to boost grants for other projects or, possibly to award to new projects.

3 – Where a balance exists on 31-12-95, that is, the difference between the income from each project – transfers from the Fight against Poverty programme, bank interest and others – and the expenses incurred with the project until 31-12-95, promoters shall present duly supported proposals to the respective commissions for the re-use of that balance within a period determined by the commissioners; in the absence of this the commissions shall have the said balance deducted from the grant fixed for 1996 or determine that is returned to the regional social security centre or sub-regional service.

Article 15

Bank Accounts

1 – Except where there has been a duly justified decision to the contrary from the commissioners, each project, even if already in progress, shall open a bank account specifically for the receipts and payments of the said project.

2 – The interest received on accounts opened in accordance with the above paragraph shall be used in favour of the respective projects.

3 – In addition to the annual accounts presented to the sub-regional social security service and the regional commission, each entity shall also present a bank statement for the project bank account.

Article 16

Other sources of Financing

With the participation of partners, the promoters shall quantify annually the amount conceded by them in goods and services; however, this shall not be included in the project accounts nor as income or costs, but shall be added to the costs directly supported by the promoters with financing from the Fight against Poverty programme and possibly from other financing (in the form of money) in the annual reports on activities.

Article 17

Refunding of VAT

1 – The commissioners of the Fight against Poverty should take action on the problem of the refunding of VAT so that the problem may be analysed and clarifications issued given that promoters are not suitably clear on this matter.

2 – On the other hand, refunded VAT shall always be deducted from the amount invested, if VAT was included in that amount or added to the year's income, if this refers to the investment made in previous years and it was included in the amount of that investment.

Article 18

Employment Clubs

Whenever the project includes employment clubs, the sums received from the Employment and Vocational Training Institute shall be included in the income of the said project and also the costs incurred by the employment clubs shall be entered in the accounts as investments.

Article 19

Financial Reporting

The IPPS and the NGO, as promoters, must present financial reports to the regional social security centres/sub-regional services and to the commissions in accordance with the respective accounting plans and only with regard entries which concern the respective projects.

Article 20

Intervention in the Housing Area

In theory, no new expenses should be apportioned in the housing area to the projects other than those concerning the conservation or modifications of housing in poor conditions or where there is no adequate response.

Article 21

Rights to Housing

1 – Some projects involve building houses and neighbourhoods on municipal land, without any deeds transferring ownership or building lease and therefore the promoters should take appropriate action to clearly define ownership of the houses or neighbourhoods constructed, whether prefabricated or not.

2 – The fight against poverty commissioners shall define the guidelines for the users' bond to that housing and the charging or not of a rent.

Article 23

Monitoring, Training and Social Insertion of Assisted Families

Whenever a project intervenes in some way in housing, this intervention shall include a monitoring and domestic training programme and social insertion of the families given assistance; hence, programmes which include this kind of intervention are obliged to state the programme in question and indicate the means required for that purpose, in the application and during its development.

Article 24

Articulation between entities

Quarterly meeting shall be held with the regional commissioners for the fight against poverty, the director general of social action, the manager of the operational intervention to be included and the chairman of the board of the Financial Management of the Social Security to assure the necessary articulation between these entities.

Article 25

Period of validity and effective dates

1 – The present regulation comes into effect immediately.

2 – In relation to projects underway or in the approval phase, the commissioners and promoters should make the necessary adjustments to come in line with these norms but without putting the development of each project in risk.

Article 26

Systematic Evaluation

1 – The commissioners shall make an evaluation of each project every six months and present the overall report to the trustee.

2 – Whenever the commissioners consider the projects are in need of auditing, this should be stated in the above mentioned reports.

Annex 2 – List of projects related to the Fight against Poverty
(January 1996 to December 2001)

List of Northern Region Projects

DISTRICT: AVEIRO

Council	Project name	Duration
Aveiro	Continuing... Santiago/Griné	1995/2001
Espinho	Integrated Development Project of Espinho Council *	1995/2002
Estarreja	Innovating Estarreja	1997/2001
Oliveira do Bairro	Rainbow	1998/2002
Ovar	Integrated Development of the Fishing Neighbourhood of Praia de Esmoriz	1996/2001
Santa Maria da Feira	Rights and challenges	1997/2001
Sever do Vouga	Cooperating for Growth	1997/2002

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRICT: BRAGA

Council	Project name	Duration
Amares	Innovating Amares*	1995/2001
Barcelos	Integrated Development Project of Barcelos	1999/2003
Braga	Children in the Street	1996/2001
	Revitalisation and Community Development Project	1999/2001
Cabeceiras de Basto	Integrated Development Project of Cabeceiras de Basto	1996/2001
Celorico de Basto	Arriga	2001/2005
Esposende	Continuing in Solidarity*	2000/2004
Fafe	A Culture for Development	1999/2003
Guimarães	Social Intervention in the Social Neighbourhoods of Gondar and Atouguia	1999/2003
Póvoa de Lanhoso	Dialoguing*	1999/2003
Terras de Bouro	Our Land	1999/2004
Vieira do Minho	Integrated Development of Vieira do Minho*	1997/2002
Vila Nova de Famalicão	Weaving/Web	2000/2004
Vila Verde	Between Neiva and Cávado*	1997/2003

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRICT: BRAGANÇA

Council	Project name	Duration
Alfândega da Fé	Breaking Isolation and Promoting Participation*	1996/2000
Bragança	Mãe D´Água – Rights to Citizenship*	1996/2002
Carrazeda de Ansiães	Living in the future with dignity	1999/2003
Macedo Cavaleiros	Giesta*	2000/2004
Torre de Moncorvo	Moncorvo – Integration and Social Development*	1998/2001
Vimioso	A future with potential*	1999/2003
Vinhais	Integrated Development in the Rural World	1997/2001

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRICT: COIMBRA

Council	Project name	Duration
Cantanhede	Sun	2000/2003
Coimbra	Friendly Door in Coimbra	1998/2001
	Working with Children and Youngsters in the Streets	1996/2002
Condeixa-a-Nova	Solidarity in search of citizenship	2001/2004
Góis	Intervention in the Underprivileged Countryside	1996/1999
Lousã	Integrated Development Project of Lousã	1996/1999
Mira	Developing Mira	1996/1999
Miranda do Corvo	New Ways for Solidarity	1998/2002
Pampilhosa da Serra	People from the Serra Challenging Change	1996/2003
Penacova	Sopenha	1998/2002
Penela	For Solidarity and Social Integration	1998/2001
Vila Nova de Poiares	Giving Support	1997/2001

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRICT: GUARDA

Council	Project name	Duration
Aguiar da Beira	Working in Solidarity in Aguiar da Beira	2001/2005
Almeida	Countryside in Change	1995/2001
Celorico da Beira	Promotion for Integration	1999/2002
Figueira Castelo Rodrigo	Shelter	1999/2003
Fornos de Algodres	Tilling the Land of Algodres*	2000/2003
Gouveia	Solidarity in Gouveia	2000/2004
Guarda	Participated Change	1996/2001
Mêda	Involving +	2000/2004
Pinhel	PODEPI – Bridges for the Development of Pinhel	2000/2004
Sabugal	Sabugal Intervention	2000/2004
Trancoso	Roots	1999/2003

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRICT: PORTO

Council	Project name	Duration
Baião	Baião in Movement	1994/2002
Ermesinde	Open City* Ermesinde	1999/2003
Gondomar	Gondomar Rebirth	2000/2004
Matosinhos	(Re)Action Matosinhos*	1996/2002
Paredes	Paredes Shelter	1999/2003
Penafiel	New Ways	1996/2001
	The Dream	2001/2003
Porto	Food Bank	2000/2001
	The Homeless in the City of Porto	2001
	Integrated Project of Aleixo Neighbourhood	1998/2002
	East Porto – Integrated Development Project of Lagarteiro Neighbourhood	2001/2004
	Renewing Paranhos	1999/2002
Valongo	Employing	1999/2002
Vila Nova de Gaia	The way to a new future	2001/2003
	Integrating Requalification*	1999/2002

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRICT: VIANA DO CASTELO

Council	Project name	Duration
Arcos Valdevez	Social in Action	1996/2002
Caminha	Caminhar (Walking)	2000/2003
Melgaço	Solidarity in Melgaço	1996/2002
Monção	Giving Life to the Years	1998/2002
Paredes de Coura	Terras de Coura	1997/2001
Ponte da Barca	A Social Look in Ponte da Barca	1998/2002
Ponte de Lima	Integrated Development Project of Ponte de Lima Council	1997/2003
Valença	Renewing Valença	1997/2001
Viana do Castelo	Viana do Castelo – Healthy Municipality	1997/2001
Vila Nova Cerveira	Fraternal Cerveira	1997/2002

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRICT: VILA REAL

Council	Project name	Duration
Alijó	ProLocal	1999/2003
Boticas	Integrated Project of Calaico	2001/2005
Chaves	Aquae Flaviae	1996/2002
Montalegre	Land of Barroso	2001/2005
Murça	Integration for Development *	1999/2003
Peso da Régua	Awakening	2001/2005
Ribeira de Pena	Winds of Solidarity	2000/2004
Sabrosa	Living Sabrosa	2001/2005
Vila Real	Aleu	1999/2003

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRICT: VISEU

Council	Project name	Duration
Moimenta da Beira	Arco da Velha*	1996/1999
Penalva do Castelo	Solidarity	1997/2001
Resende	Action*	2000/2004
S. Pedro do Sul	Our Mountain Serra Nostra*	1997/2001
Santa Comba Dão	Sharing	1997/2001
Sernancelhe	Domino	1998/2001
Tondela	2000 – Determined Solidarity	2000/2004
Vila Nova de Paiva	Growing in Citizenship *	1999/2002
Viseu	Promotion and Social Housing in Viseu Council	1996/2001
Vouzela	Vouzela…with Solidarity	1999/2003

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

List of Southern Region Projects

DISTRICT: BEJA

Council	Project name	Duration
Beja	Beja Social Development.	1995/1998
Ourique	Social Animation of Panoias Community	1995/1996
Mértola	Community Development of the Population of Mina de S. Domingos	1995/1998
Ferreira do Alentejo	Nomad Park	1995/1999
	Social Support for Housing Restoration and Improvement in Ferreira do Alentejo Council	1996/2000
	Giving Life to Old Age	1996/200
Moura	Social Support for Housing Restoration and Improvement in Moura	1997/2002
Odemira	In the Mountain	1997/2002
Alvito	Support for Integrated Development of Alvito Council	1999/2001
Cuba	Acting to build a better future Project	1999/2001
Moura	New Ways	1999/2002
Serpa	Integrated Development Project of Serpa Council	1999/2002
Barrancos	Integrated Development for Barrancos Council	1999/2002
Mértola	Building Project	2000/2003
Castro Verde	Living a Better Life in Castro Verde Project	2000/2003
Moura	Poverty – an adversary to be overcome	2001/2004

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRICT: CASTELO BRANCO

Council	Project name	Duration
Fundão	Integrated Development Fundão Council	1995/1999
Castelo Branco	Integrated Development Castelo Branco Council	1995/1998
Idanha a Nova	Integrated Development Idanha a Nova Council	1995/1996
Vila Velha de Rodão	Integrated Development Vila Velha de Rodão Council	1995/1996
Penamacor	Integrated Development Penamacor Council	1995/1996
Oleiros	Integrated Development Oleiros Council	1996/1996
Castelo Branco	Integrated Development of Run-Down Urban Areas	1996/1999
Covilhã	Covilhã Historic Centre	1997/1999
Sertã	A look at Sertã	1998/2000
Belmonte	A Better Person Project	2000/2003
Fundão	Integrate to Develop	2000/2003
Covilhã	React	2000/2002
Fundão	Inter-Margin	2001/2003
Castelo Branco	Open Door	2001/2004
	Bit by Bit	2001/2003

* Project with Integration Enterprises

DISTRICT: ÉVORA

Council	Project name	Duration
Évora	Integrated Development of Sé Parish	1992/1996
Alandroal	Community Integration of Alandroal Council	1995/1998
Vila Viçosa	V. Viçosa Community Action for Development and Well being*	1995/1998
Estremóz	Integrated Development Estremóz City	1995/1998
Évora	Support for Battered Women and those in Urgent Social Need	1995/1998
	Community Intervention within the walls of Évora*	1996/1999
Mourão	Integrated Development of Mourão Council	1996/2000
Reguengos de Monsaráz	Reguengos de Monsaráz Community Intervention	1996/2000
Vendas Novas	Vendas Novas Community Intervention	1997/2000
Arraiolos	Integrated Social Development of Arraiolos*	1997/2000
Mora	Mora Community Development*	1997/2000
Portel	"Água Vida" in Portel*	1998/2001
Redondo	Social Development of Redondo Council	1999/2002
Borba	Borba Council Community Development	1999/2001
Montemor-o-Novo	Espiga	1999/2002
Viana do Alentejo	Viana do Alentejo Council Community Intervention	1999/2002
Évora	Kindness Network*	2000/2003
	Respecting the Past, Constructing the Future in a Present with Solidarity	2000/2003
	Living in the City	2000/2003
Montemor-o-Novo	Community Intervention of the Parishes of Santiago de Escoural and São Critóvão	2000/2003
Reguengos de Monsaráz	For Inclusion and Citizenship in the Council of Reguengos de Monsaráz	2000/2004
Estremóz	Living Better – Integrated Development of 4 Rural Parish Initiatives in Estremoz Council	2001/2004
Alandroal	Rebirth – Alandroal Council Comm.Intervention Project	2001/2004

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRICT: FARO

Council	Project name	Duration
Portimão	Integrated Development of Cruz da Parteira	1993/1998
Loulé	Integrated Development of the Quarteira Community	1995/1998
Olhão	Integrated Development of the "Al-Hain" Community	1996/1999
	Blue Field	1996/1998
Vila Real de Stº António	Community Development of Stº António de Arenilha	1996/2000
Portimão	Integrated Development do Barranco do Rodrigo*	1997/2001
	Portimão RCD*	1999
Loulé	Loulé RCD*	1998/1999
Vila Real de Stº António	Vila Real de Stº António RCD*	1998
Loulé	Integrated Community Development of Loulé	1999/2001
Lagos	Integrated Development of the Chinicato Neighbourhood	1999/2001
Faro	Sunrise	1999/2002
Alcoutim, Castro Marim and Vila Real de Stº António	More Life More Guadiana	2000/2003
Vila Real de Stº António	Integrated Intervention and Community Development – Areal de Monte Gordo	2000/2003
Portimão	Rebirth	2000/2004

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRITO: LEIRIA

Council	Project name	Duration
Figueiró dos Vinhos	Learning for a Better Life	1996/1998
Castanheira de Pêra	Integrated Community Development of Castanheira de Pêra	1996/1998
Pedrogão Grande	Integrated Development of Pedrogão Grande Council	1996/1998
Ansião	Integrated Community Intervention in Ansião Council	1996/1998
Peniche	Rainbow Operation	1997/2000
Caldas da Rainha	Solidarity	1998/2001
Nazaré	It's already Summer	1999/2001
Marinha Grande	Revitalising through Change	1999/2002
Castanheira de Pêra	Community Development of Castanheira de Pêra	1999/2002
Pedrogão Grande	Light	2000/2003
Figueiró dos Vinhos	A Council in Change	200/2002
Alvaiazare	En route to the 3rd Millennium	2000/2002
Bombarral	Social and Economic Development of Carvalhal Parish	2000/2002
Lieria	Full Life	2000/2003
Ansião	Development without Exclusion	2000/2003

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRICT: LISBON

Council	Project name	Duration
Sobral M. Agraço / Fátima	For the Homeless Elderly – Life and Peace Community	1996/1998
Lisbon	Homeless – SCML	1995/1997
	Integrated Bica and Bairro Alto – SCML	1996/1999
	Integrated Boavista Neighbourhood – SCML	1996/1999
Lisbon / Cascais / Almada	Friendly Door Olaias / Cascais / Almada	1995/1998
Loures	Loures Social and Community Development	1995/1998
Amadora	Quinta das Torres – SCM Amadora	1994/1998
Lisbon	The Nazarene – Lisbon	1995/1997
	Integrated Alto Pina	1996/1998
Loures	Families for Growth – Loures IAC	1996/1998
	Development for 2000 – Qtª da Vitória – Portela Loures	1996/1999
	Integrated Development Operation – Quinta do Mocho	1996/1999
Sintra	Promoting Citizenship Today – CIVITAS	1997/1999
Lisbon	New Ways – Condestável Parish in Lisbon	1998/2000
Cascais	D'Al Windmills – Cascais	1998/2000
Lisbon	Social Intervention in Anjos and Socorro Parishes	1997/1999
	Building – The Companion	1997/1999
	Shelter for the Homeless of Xabregas	1997/2001
	Food Bank	1997
	Mother Aid	1997/1999
	Temporary Reinsertion for Adolescents in Pregnancy	1997/1999
	Rebirth – SCML	1999/2001
	Chelas Friendly Door Centre	1999/2002
Loures	Multi-Service Pavilion – Quinta do Mocho	1999/2002
Lisbon	PADI – Support for Integrated Development	1999/2002
Ericeira	Shelter for the Youth of Ericeira	1999/2001
Carnaxide	I can	1999/2002
Lisbon	Autonomy 2000	1999/2001
Vila Franca de Xira	Integrated Development of Vila Franca de Xira	1999/2001

DISTRICT: LISBON (continued)

Council	Project name	Duration
Amadora	Support for the Disabled, Families and Youngsters at Risk	1999/2001
Lisbon	Princes of Nothing*	1999/2002
Amadora	Community Development of Carenque Neighbourhood	1999/2001
Cascais	Galiza	1999/2002
Lisbon	Socio-educational and Cultural Insertion of Quinta Grande Neighbourhood	1999/2001
Sintra	"Feto Rai Timor"	2000/2001
	Re-housing for a New Life Project – Barcarena	2000/2002
Loures	Integration for Development – Famões	2000/2002
Lisbon	Home Help Project	2000/2003
Loures	Espiral	2000/2003
Lisbon	Social Integration and Promotion of Disadvantaged Groups in Campo Grande	2000/2003
	Re-discovering Bela Flor	2000/2003
	Orientation (CIC)	2000/2003
Odivelas	S. José Garden	2000/2003
Lisbon	Ways	2001/2003
Amadora	Interconnecting	2001/2004
Loures	Being a Citizen in Odivelas	2002/2004

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRICT: PORTALEGRE

Council	Project name	Duration
Fronteira	Fronteira Community Development	1996/1998
Portalegre	Integrated Development of Portalegre – Bº dos Assentos	1995/1997
Elvas	Integrated Support for Disadvantaged Groups of Elvas Council	1993/1996
Marvão	Integrated Development of Beirã	1997/1999
Crato	A Changing Community – Crato	1997/1999
Castelo de Vide	Living Better in Póvoa and Meadas	1997/1999
Nisa	Enjoying Life in the Historic Centre of Nisa	1997/1999
Ponte de Sor	Integrated Ponte Sor	1997/2000
Gavião	Integrated Developmentof Comenda e Margem Parish*	1997/2000
Portalegre	Lively Portalegre	1998/2000
	Interactive Solidarity in the City of Portalegre	1998/2000
Campo Maior	Mobilising and Developing – Campo Maior	1998/2000
Arronches	Solidarity – Arronches… from dream to reality	1998/2000
Alter do Chão	The Winds of Change	1998/2001
Sousel	Integrated Development of Sousel Council	1999/2001
Marvão	Community Intervention for the Development of Marvão	1998/2001
Cabeço de Vide	Community Development of Cabeço de Vide	1999/2001
Monforte	Rehousing and Reinsertion Operation of Monforte and Vaiamonte	1999/2002
Portalegre	Helping to Live*	1999/2001
Elvas	Integrated Social Development of Elvas Council	1999/2002
Castelo de Vide	Building the Future, Looking at the Past	2000/2002
Crato	A Changing Council – Crato	2000/2003
Avis	People with Solidarity in Avis	2000/2003
Nisa	Friendly Door of Nisa	2001/2004

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRICT: SANTARÉM

Council	Project name	Duration
Tomar	Integrated Development of Tomar	1996/1998
Ourém	New Ways of Living	1996/1998
Ferreira do Zêzere	Integrated Development of Ferreira do Zêzere	1995/1997
Tomar	Support for Refurbishing Homes in Nª Srª da Purificação	1995/1998
Abrantes	Supporting, Developing and Living in Solidarity	1995/1998
Tomar	Wonderful Older Persons	1995/1997
Golegã	Intervention in Azinhaga Parish*	1996/1998
Torres Novas	Holding Hands for a better future – Riachos	1996/1998
Santarém	Being a Citizen	1996/1999
Almeirim	Local Support for Refurbishing and Improving Homes	1996/1999
Coruche	Integrated Development of Coruche	1996/1999
Santarém	Living Better	1998/2000
	The First Step – Santarém RCD**	1998
Ferreira do Zêzere	Rebirth – cautiously	1998/1999
Ourém	Ribeira do Fárrio RCD**	1999
Tomar	"New Way" RCD**	1999
Golegã	Whitewashed Houses*	1999/2001
Ferreira do Zêzere	ABA/ERA	1999/2001
Mação	New Opportunities in Maçao	1999/2001
Tomar	Open Window	1999/2001
Rio Maior	Routes to Citizenship	2001 /2004
Alcanena	Learning to Live	2001/2003
Torres Novas	Face – Recovering a Smile through overcoming difficulties	2001/2004

*   Projects with Integration Enterprises
** Rehabilitation Centre for Drug Addicts

DISTRICT: SETÚBAL

Council	Project name	Duration
Setúbal	A Changing Community	1995/1997
Montijo	Soc. Integration of Disadvantaged Families of Afonsoeiro	1995/1997
	Social Integration of the Youth of Baixa da Banheira and Alhos Vedros	1995/1997
Almada	Integration of Youth and Adults in Risk and Social Exclusion*	1994/1998
	Social Development of Rehousing Neighbourhood of Orla C. Da Costa da Caparica*	1996/1998
Alcacer do Sal	Soc. and Prof. Integration of Unemployed Women Support for Children at Risk – Alcácer do Sal	1995/1996
Palmela	Sewing the seeds for the future – Poceirão and Marateca	1996/1998
Setúbal	Socio-Educational Training of Families in S. Sebastião Parish – Setúbal	1995/1996
Barreiro	Support for Young Single Mothers and Young / Children without Family Support – Barreiro	1996/1997
Almada	Starting a Development Centre in S. João and Stª Antº Neighbourhoods – Laranjeiro	1997/1999
Montijo	Social Insertion for change – Afonsoeiro – Montijo*	1997/1999
Almada	Support for children and families at risk – Cova da Piedade	1997/2000
	Integrated support for the elderly – Almada	1998/2001
Grandola	Rebuilding for better service – Grandola	1998
Seixal	Open Window	1998/1999
Setúbal	There is also a future – a question of balance	1999/2000
	Networks	1999/2001
Grândola	Developing through involvement and revitalising… Minas do Lousal	1999/2001
Seixal	Intervention Action – Seixal	1999/2002
Montijo	Opening Ways	2000/2002
Almada	Social Family Intervention of S. João and Ruas Limitrofes Neighbourhood	2000/2002
	Equal Opportunities – integration/autonomy (ULMAR)	2000/2003

DISTRICT: SETÚBAL (continued)

Council	Project name	Duration
Sines	Synergy 2000	2000/2003
Setúbal	Developing and Flourishing	2000/2002
Palmela	Food Bank	2000/2001
	Learning for Growth	2000/2001
Setúbal	Support Centre for Social Development and Integration	2001/2004
Moita	Living Vale da Amoreira	2001/2004

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRICT: AZORES

Council	Project name	Duration
Angra do Heroísmo	Shelter for a friend – Angra do Heroísmo	1996/1997
	Daybreak	1995/1996
Rabo de Peixe	Sewing the seeds of change I	1996/1999
Praia da Vitória	Sewing the seeds of change*	1996/1999
Graciosa	Flicker of Hope*	1997/2000
Lagoa	Lagoa Vale a Pena*	1997/1999
Angra do Heroísmo	Winds of Hope*	1997/1999
Ribeira Quente – Povoação	Adding Value*	1997/1999
Ptª Delgada e Angra do Heroísmo	Children at Risk – Emergency	1997/1999
Vila do Porto	Arts and Crafts Network – Vila do Porto – Stª Maria	1998/1999
Ponta Delgada	Support Centre for Repatriated Citizens	1998/2002
	SOS Housing and Social Employment*	1998/2000
	Fajã Community Development Centre	1998/2000
Faial	Psycho- Social Support for Faial Victims	1998/2000
Vila Franca do Campo	Vila Franca do Campo Community Intervention	1999/2001
Ribeira Grande	Ribeira Grande Community Intervention*	1999/2001
Inter-Ilhas	IDEIA – Initiative for the Development of Integration Enterprises	1999/2000
Angra do Heroísmo	Angra XXI	1999/2001
Ponta Delgada	Alternative	1999/2001

DISTRICT: AZORES (continued)

Council	Project name	Duration
Flores, S. Miguel and Terceira	Machado Joseph Support Network	1999/2001
Ponta Delgada	Centres for an Economy with Solidarity*	2000/2001
Rabo de Peixe /Ribeira Grande	Sewing the seeds for change II – Rabo de Peixe / Ribeira Grande	2000/2002
S. Miguel and Terceira	Network of Community Support Centres for Fishermen	2000/2001
Ponta Delgada	Community Intervention 2000-2002	2000/2002
	SOS Citizen in a Justice System	2000/2002
	Living	2001/2003

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

DISTRITO: MADEIRA

Council	Project name	Duration
Calheta, Santana, Funchal and Câmara de Lobos	Social Community Development for Depressed Rural Areas	1995/1998
Ponta Sol	Child Support Centre in Ponta do Sol	1996/1999
Calheta	Social Development in Sítio do Pinheiro	1996/1999
Funchal	Protection for the Poor Association	1996/1999
	Friendly Door in Funchal	1996/1998
Ribeira Brava	Social Community Action of Ribeiro Gordo	1997/2000
S. Vicente	Social Community Action of Lombadas and Ponta Delgada	1997/2000
Funchal	Community Development of Imaculado Coração de Maria	1997/2000
Câmara de Lobos	Developing and Integrating Câmara de Lobos	1998/2000
Machico	Remembering Bemposta	1999/2002
Stª Cruz	Community Development of Caniço	1999/2002
S.Vicente	Community Development of Rosário	2000/2003
Funchal	Ilheus Garden for Social Cohesion	2001/2003

* Projects with Integration Enterprises

THE FIGHT AGAINST POVERTY PROGRAMME FINANCING
FROM JANUARY 1996 TO DECEMBER 2001
South Regional Commission for the Fight against Poverty: 16.826.859 escudos