
Preface

During the second half of 2005, the Portuguese government presented its programme proposal 'Critical Urban Areas (CUA) Initiative' to the EEA Financial Mechanisms. Norway is the main donor country for this financial mechanism. In early 2006 NIBR was contacted by the Norwegian Ministry for Foreign Affairs, section for Central Europe and EEA Financial Mechanisms. The Ministry had decided to support the CUA Initiative, but wanted to include an element of Formative Dialogue Research.

The Royal Norwegian Embassy in Lisbon was particularly interested in using the CUA Initiative and the involvement of researchers to promote co-operation between Portuguese and Norwegian institutions. NIBR extends thanks to the Embassy for inviting NIBR into the process and for presenting the institute to the Portuguese government's Institute for Habitation and Urban Rehabilitation (Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana, IHRU) and other central actors in Portugal.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs approved the Terms of Reference and the budget in mid-2007. The research team was then set up: Senior researcher Einar Braathen (project leader), Dr. Marit Ekne Ruud and Dr. Susanne Søholt, all from NIBR, and Dr. Elsa Lechner (Portuguese anthropologist). Dr. Lechner and Ms. Silvia Olivença (Portuguese psychologist) provided very valuable help in the fieldwork. The team has visited sites in Portugal five times: at the end of March, end of April, end of September, end of October and end of November, 2007. An additional visit was made in April 2008.

This report covers the background and the first phase of implementation of the CUA Initiative.

The team would like to express its gratitude to Dr. Maria João Freitas and Dr. Virginia Sousa of IHRU for generously sharing their time and knowledge, as well as facilitating the research in the field. The team would also like to thank Prof. Isabel Guerra and Prof. José Manuel Henriques from the Advisory Expert Group attached to the intervention programme. We are grateful for their extended collaboration wherein they accepted to participate in the Reference Group for NIBR's subsequent research in Portugal. Prof. Isabel Guerra has also been kind enough to read and comment on a draft of the report.

Finally, thanks go to all informants for their great hospitality and openness, in Lagarteiro, Vale da Amoreira and, above all, in the location for the case study of this report, Cova da Moura. Without this cooperation, it would have been difficult to obtain insight regarding how this programme works at the local level.

The research was designed as the first step of a long-term project following the methodology of Formative Dialogue Research. Although NIBR would like to see a follow-up of the research during the next years, the report can be viewed as a baseline study that may stand on its own feet.

Oslo, May 2008

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Summary

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The ‘Critical Urban Areas’ Programme in Portugal

– First Assessment

NIBR Report: 2008:3

Background and overview of the CUA programme. During the second half of 2005 the Portuguese government presented its programme proposal ‘Critical Urban Areas (CUA) Initiative’ to, and obtained partial funding from, the EEA Financial Mechanisms. The CUA Initiative is coordinated by the Portuguese government’s Institute for Habitation and Urban Rehabilitation (Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana, IHRU). The programme is a result of an innovative planning process in 2005 and 2006, based on strong participation methodologies and territorial approaches. It is being implemented in three specific neighbourhoods.

The goals of the programme are to: (i) contribute to the social, economic, educational and cultural development of disadvantaged neighbourhoods; and (ii) develop the organizational and methodological framework as part of a national learning process.

The research approach. NIBR was commissioned by the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs to initiate research on the CUA programme co-funded by the Norwegian government through the EEA mechanism. The principles of Formative Dialogue Research have been applied: A research team has followed the programme over a specific period of time, collecting and analysing their own data. A dialogue was facilitated, providing feedback of results to the different stakeholders in the programme process, the ministries and agencies responsible for the funding and the implementation of the programme, as well as local residents’ groups. The report in practice presents a baseline study

of the local situations and their national contexts – after the programme has been planned, but before implementation.

The European agenda for multisectorial urban renewal.

Chapter 2 provides a background of the mixed Portuguese and European Union policy contexts that have influenced the CUA Initiative. In the EU, a consensual definition of, and focus on urban critical areas has emerged: spatial areas that are subject to more social stress (e.g. through overpopulation, degradation of the habitat and life conditions, pollution, unemployment, crime), and hence, to more public concerns than other spatial areas of a nation’s urban population. Multisectorial urban renewal is now practised in most European countries, and these urban policies have merged with the ‘integrated social policy’ approach. In this context, the CUA initiative is not unique. However, it focuses on suburbs of quite recently built large estates as well as non-regulated/informal settlements. Moreover, the Initiative builds on the understanding that Europe has not yet found the solutions to the social inclusion challenges, and that the CUA Initiative should contribute to further policy innovation at the European level, for example in the area of ‘inclusive entrepreneurship’.

The three ‘critical urban’ territories. Chapter 2 also depicts some of the social backgrounds of the three neighbourhoods selected to be pilots in the CUA Initiative. The report draws partly on the situational analysis (‘diagnósticos’) produced at the participatory planning stages of the CUA Initiative.

- Cova da Moura (Lisbon Metropolitan Area): the most stigmatized area in the Lisbon region – an informal neighbourhood (approximately 6000-7000 inhabitants, of which 70 percent are from Cabo Verde). About half of the population is under 20 years old.
- Vale da Amoreira (Lisbon Metropolitan Area): social housing area (224 hectares and 13 522 inhabitants) – has benefited from significant investments in physical rehabilitation since 1995. The area is in need of initiatives that can generate more social and economic dynamics.
- Lagarteiro (Oporto Metropolitan Area): social housing area (approximately 2000 inhabitants) – 40 percent of the total population is under 24 years old and suffer from a low skills

base, high levels of unemployment and drug addiction. The area is characterized by degradation of its general and built environment.

One of the questions discussed is why the three neighbourhoods were chosen to be pilot areas in the CUA Initiative. According to the report, it seems there were national and local politics involved. The three municipalities containing these neighbourhoods are governed by a wide range of political parties, thus possibly ensuring the political sustainability of the programme.

Complex multi-actor & multi-level governance. Chapter 3 describes the development of the CUA Initiative, and the organization of the programme. The chapter also gives a brief overview of the organization plan and of the local and central implementation. In the end, the chapter deals with the financial model in the programme. About 15 per cent of the funding stems from the EEA Mechanisms. Seven ministries are involved in the planning and implementation of the project. The municipalities are also very important, and they are supposed to finance almost half of the programme investments, particularly those related to physical and infrastructural renewal. Problems in getting the national and municipal levels of government to agree on the financial issues have contributed to some delay in the programme, particularly in its Oporto (Lagarteiro) component. Finally, the residents of the neighbourhoods are to participate actively in the planning and management of the programme. The resident representatives do not always have an easy relationship with the Municipality, as the case of Cova da Moura in Amadora shows. In this complex political-organizational set-up, the coordinating body – Institute for Housing and Urban Rehabilitation (IHRU) – may have the upper hand in the programme, chairing each of the local CUA Executive Committees, and employing each of the local Project Leaders. Moreover, the way of ensuring resident representation in the Executive Committee faces challenges in handling the different local situations. While the residents in Cova da Moura are very vocal, and their representatives highly dissatisfied with having been allocated only one joint seat in the Executive Committee, the residents in Vale da Amoreira have not yet nominated any joint representatives of their own.

Cova da Moura: a special case. Cova da Moura was selected for an in-depth case study, not because it is one of the most stigmatized neighbourhoods. Rather, it was chosen because it was the only CUA neighbourhood where the local representation in the management structure was in place. Chapter 4 presents findings from the Cova da Moura case study. The chapter starts by presenting local voices, as an illustration of the conditions of Cova da Moura today. Then the chapter deals with local organizations and their role in the CUA programme, and the experiences so far from the local key actors as well as from the non-local stakeholders. A focal point is the experience from the Steering Committee's way of working. In the end of this chapter, some possible dilemmas in the governance of the CUA programme in Cova da Moura are discussed. The intervention programme may change the economic, social and political structure of the neighbourhood in a way that may cause increased conflicts in the future.

Challenges ahead. Chapter 5 suggests a few conclusions, in addition to some alternative strategies and perspectives in this kind of intervention programme. The progress of the programme varies considerably between the three neighbourhoods: Lagarteiro – no implementation to date (by the end of 2007); Vale da Amoreira – relatively fast implementation with the Executive Committee in place, but not yet with residents' representation; Cova da Moura – late, but fast and dynamic implementation. The chapter also presents some further challenges for the CUA programme in Cova da Moura. Finally some further research questions are posed. One set of questions is linked to the long-term effectiveness of the programme, depending on issues such as the legitimacy of the local Executive (Steering) Committee, local ownership, and residents' effective representation. Another set of questions concerns how certain structural relationships influence the programme, e.g. the local associational network (its cohesion, capacity to mobilize), the trust relations between the municipality and neighbourhood, and the relations between the central government and specific municipal leaderships.

Resumo (português)

Antecedentes e visão geral do Inicativa ‘Bairros Críticos’.

Durante a segunda metade de 2005, o governo português apresentou a sua proposta de programa ‘Bairros Críticos’ aos mecanismos financeiros da EEA (Área Económica Europeia) que forneceu parte do financiamento. O programa “Bairros Críticos” é coordenado pelo Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana, IHRU. O programa é resultado de um processo de planeamento inovador que teve lugar em 2005 e 2006, baseado em metodologias fortemente participativas e abordagens territoriais, estando a ser implementado em três bairros específicos.

Os objectivos do programa são (i) contribuir para o desenvolvimento social, económico, educacional e cultural de bairros pobres, e, (ii) desenvolver o quadro organizacional e metodológico como um processo de aprendizagem nacional.

A abordagem de investigação. O Instituto Norueguês para a Pesquisa Urbana e Regional (NIBR) foi indigitado pelo Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros Noruegues para iniciar um projecto de investigação sobre o programa “Bairros Críticos” co-financiado pelo governo noruegues através da EEA. Os princípios da Investigação de Diálogo Formativo foram aplicados: uma equipa de investigação acompanhou o programa ao longo de um certo tempo, recolhendo e analisando dados. Foi favorecido o diálogo com apresentação dos resultados aos diferentes participantes no processo— os ministérios e agências responsáveis pelo financiamento e implementação do programa, bem como grupos de residentes dos bairros em questão. O relatório apresenta um estudo base das situações locais e contextos nacionais após o planeamento do programa e antes da sua implementação.

A agenda Europeia para a renovação urbana multisectorial. O capítulo 2 desenha o contexto político português e europeu que

antecedeu e influenciou a iniciativa do Programa BC. Na UE, uma definição consensual de - e o foco nas – zonas urbanas críticas emergiu: áreas territoriais mais sujeitas a tensão social (densidade populacional, degradação das condições de vida e habitacionais, poluição, desemprego, crime) e, conseqüentemente, maior preocupação pública do que noutras áreas urbanas. A renovação urbana multisectorial é hoje praticada na maioria dos países europeus, e estas políticas urbanas surgiram com a abordagem das ‘políticas sociais integradas’. Neste contexto, a iniciativa BC não é única. No entanto, centra-se em subúrbios de recente construção habitacional e povoações clandestinas. Além disso, a Iniciativa resulta do entendimento de que a Europa ainda não encontrou as soluções necessárias para enfrentar os desafios da inclusão social, e de que o programa deveria contribuir para a inovação de políticas futuras ao nível europeu, por exemplo no que diz respeito ao ‘empreendedorismo inclusivo’.

Os três ‘bairros críticos’. O capítulo 2 descreve ainda as características sociais dos três bairros seleccionados pela Iniciativa. O relatório baseia-se em parte nas análises situacionais dos diagnósticos produzidos na fase de planeamento da Iniciativa.

- Cova da Moura (Área Metropolitana de Lisboa): o bairro mais estigmatizado da região de Lisboa – bairro clandestino com cerca de 6,000 – 7,000 habitantes, dos quais 70 por cento originários de Cabo-Verde. Metade da sua população tem menos de 20 anos de idade.
- Vale da Amoreira (Área Metropolitana de Lisboa): área de habitação social (224 ha e 13,522 habitantes) – beneficiou de significativos investimentos na reabilitação física desde 1995. Este bairro necessita de iniciativas que possam gerar uma maior dinâmica social e económica.
- Lagarteiro (Área Metropolitana do Porto): área de habitação social (aproximadamente 2000 habitantes) – 40 por cento da população total tem menos de 24 anos de idade, baixa escolaridade, altas taxas de desemprego e toxicod dependência. A área é caracterizada pela degradação das habitações e do ambiente.

Uma das questões discutidas é a razão pela qual foram escolhidos estes três bairros para serem as áreas piloto da Iniciativa BC. O

relatório conclui que políticas nacionais e locais estão envolvidas nessa escolha. Os três municípios aos quais pertencem os bairros são liderados por partidos políticos de tendência muito diversa assim garantindo a sustentação política do programa.

Governança complexa multi-actores & multi-níveis. O capítulo 3 descreve o desenvolvimento da Iniciativa BC, e a organização do programa. Este capítulo também oferece uma breve visão geral do plano de organização e da implementação local e central do programa. No final, é analisado o modelo financeiro do programa. Cerca de 15 % dos fundos provêm do EEA. Sete ministérios estão envolvidos no planeamento e implementação do projecto. Os municípios também têm um papel muito importante, e são supostos financiar quase metade dos investimentos do programa, particularmente os que estão relacionados com a renovação física e das infraestruturas. Dificuldades de acordo entre os níveis nacional e municipal de governança sobre as questões financeiras têm contribuído para o atraso na implementação do programa, em particular no Porto (Lagarteiro). Os residentes dos bairros devem participar activamente no planeamento e gestão do programa mas os seus representantes nem sempre têm uma relação fácil com os municípios, como no caso da Cova da Moura, na Amadora. Perante tal situação política-organizacional complexa, o Instituto da Habitação e Reabilitação Urbana (IHRU), tem a decisão final, chefiando cada um dos Comitês executivos locais, e escolhendo cada um dos líderes de projecto para cada bairro. A forma de garantir a representação dos residentes nos Comitês executivos é desafiada pelas características locais de cada bairro. Enquanto os residentes da Cova da Moura são muito assertivos, e os seus representantes altamente descontentes em ter um só representante no Comité, os residentes do Vale da Amoreira ainda não elegeram qualquer representante.

Cova da Moura: um caso especial. Cova da Moura foi escolhido para um estudo de caso aprofundado não por ser um dos bairros mais estigmatizados de Portugal mas por ser o único bairro do programa a ter já um representante local e uma estrutura de gestão do processo organizada. O capítulo 4 apresenta dados do estudo de caso. Em primeiro lugar são apresentadas vozes locais ilustrativas das condições actuais do bairro. Segue-se a indicação das organizações locais e o seu papel no programa, bem como a

experiencia dos actors-chave locais e dos participantes não locais. Um ponto fulcral centra-se nas experiências relativas ao trabalho no Comité executivo local. No final deste capítulo são discutidos dilemmas possíveis na governancia do programa no bairro da Cova da Moura. A intervenção prevista pode transformar a estrutura económica, social e política deste bairro assim causando um aumento dos conflitos no futuro.

Desafios futuros. O capítulo 5 sugere algumas conclusões e algumas estratégias e perspectivas alternativas para este tipo de programa de intervenção urbana. O avanço do programa difere muito em função de cada bairro piloto: no Lagarteiro – ainda não houve implementação até agora (finais de 2007). Vale da Amoreira – implementação relativamente rápida com Comité executivo mas ainda sem representante local. Cova da Moura – programa implementado mas desafios grandes. No final do capítulo são colocadas algumas questões de investigação. Um conjunto de perguntas está relacionado com a eficácia de longa duração do programa, dependente de questões como a legitimidade dos Comités executivos locais, propriedade local, e representação efectiva dos residentes. Outro conjunto de questões respeita a influencia de algumas relações estruturais no programa – por exemplo as redes associativas locais (sua coesão, capacidade de mobilização), as relações de confiança entre os municípios e os bairros, e as relações entre o governo central e as lideranças municipais específicas.

1 Introduction

1.1 The ‘Critical Urban Areas’ Initiative in Portugal

Through the EEA Financial Mechanisms, the Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) supports projects and programmes that aim to reduce social and economic disparities within the European Economic Area (EEA). Another aim is to enable all EEA countries to participate fully in the Internal Market. One of these programmes is the Critical Urban Areas (CUA) Initiative in Portugal.

The CUA Initiative is coordinated by the Portuguese government’s Institute for Habitation and Urban Rehabilitation (Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana, IHRU).¹ The CUA Initiative aims to promote an integrated and comprehensive territorial approach by piloting a new organizational model – one that does not solely focus on financial resources, but presents alternative ways of socio-territorial interventions among different actors (public, private and voluntary sector, central and local administration).

The programme is a result of an innovative planning process that primarily took place in 2005 and 2006, based on strong participation methodologies and territorial approaches. It is being implemented in three specific neighbourhoods:

- Cova da Moura (Lisbon Metropolitan Area): the most stigmatized area in the Lisbon region -- an informal

¹ Formerly Instituto Nacional da Habitação, INH; renamed May 30, 2007).

neighbourhood (approximately 6,000-7,000 inhabitants,² of which 70 percent are from Cabo Verde). About half of the population is under 20 years old.

- Vale da Amoreira (Lisbon Metropolitan Area): social housing area (224 hectares and 13,522 inhabitants) – has benefited from significant investments in physical rehabilitation since 1995. The area is in need of initiatives that can generate more social and economic dynamics.
- Lagarteiro (Oporto Metropolitan Area): social housing area (approximately 2000 inhabitants) – 40 percent of the total population is under 24 years old and suffer a from low-skills base, high levels of unemployment and drug addiction. The area is characterized by degradation of its general and built environment.

The goals of the programme are to: (i) contribute to the social, economic, educational and cultural development of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and (ii) develop the organizational and methodological framework as part of a national learning process.

1.2 The approach - Formative dialogue research

The objective of the research commissioned by the Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) is to contribute to organization and policy learning through evaluating the CUA programme in operation. Knowledge on how to succeed with socio-territorial interventions are in demand in disadvantaged areas across Europe. Special emphasis was given to the components of the CUA programme financed under the EEA financial mechanism.

The research process was organized in the following way:

1. A permanent research team followed the programme over a longer period of time, collecting and analysing their own data.

² The exact population is difficult to assess due to the informality and to the non-legal status of many of its inhabitants.

2. A dialogue was facilitated, providing feedback of results to the different stakeholders in the programme process – in particular the ministries and agencies responsible for the funding and the implementation of the programme, respectively.
3. The quality and relevance of the research – in terms of methodology, accountability, documentation, publication, impartiality and ethical aspects – was to be judged against academic, scientific standards.³

Repeated dialogue meetings allowed the researchers to build a relationship of trust with the implementing partners in this particular project. Much of the feedback was given verbally through regular meetings, seminars and workshops, as well as in the written reports. When the feedback was provided, the researchers had the opportunity to discuss and further develop the understanding of the critical elements that are decisive for such a comprehensive and network-based programme to succeed.

1.2.1 The research in 2007 – a baseline study

The specific task for the research in 2007 was to get an overview of the programme in terms of objectives and organization, as well as the situation on the ground in the three CUA neighbourhoods before implementation of the programme started. Hence, the research in 2007 can be considered a baseline study.

In addition, the team needed to get a picture of how the first actions of implementation were carried out. The ambition was to identify the stakeholders and their roles. Furthermore, to get a proper overview and knowledge of the programme in this first phase, one of the areas was chosen for an in-depth study..

Cova da Moura was selected. This was because the Steering Committee for this area had started their work. Moreover, the community had been active in the planning process and in the follow-up. Cova da Moura reported more progress than in the other neighbourhoods regarding participatory structures for

³ For further elaboration and examples of formative dialogue research, see Braathen (2002).

residents, thus gathering more experience and having local key informants more readily available.

The research methodology was a combination of different approaches:

- A study of the recommended management models for the implementation of the programme;
- A document study and interviews with the key advisors and managers of the programme;
- A more stakeholder-oriented study, based on extensive interviews, employing semi-structured person-to-person interviews with different players in the planning and implementation of the CUA programme at the both central and local levels.

The study of management models and experiences from the key advisors pursued the following questions:

1. How is the management in the programme organized?
2. What kind of progress and activities in the implementation of the Intervention Programmes can be identified after this first year?
3. Who plays the main role and commands the key resources under the political-organization set-up described in the Management Model attachment to the Partnership Protocol?

When focusing on the local stakeholders' experiences in the first measures implemented in one of the neighbourhoods (Cova da Moura), the particular research questions were:

1. Who, or what kind of local organizations and other actors are invited to be part of the Intervention Programme in Cova da Moura? Who do they represent? In which way are they involved, and how is their role defined?
2. How do the representatives experience the starting process in the Intervention Programme? What kind of wishes and demands do they have for the neighbourhood? Do they experience real influence?

3. What kind of preliminary results, according to the first aims in the programme, have the different groups of dwellers experienced? Do some groups benefit more than others?

The team has built its descriptions and analyses on interpretations of what it has read, observed and heard from different stakeholders engaged in the CUA Initiative. As three of the four researchers are from another country (Norway), they interpreted the descriptions within certain Norwegian points of references. It is hoped that this view might give some new insights to the processes.

1.2.2 The structure of the report

Chapter 2 provides a background of, on the one hand, the mixed Portuguese and European Union policy contexts that have influenced the CUA Initiative. On the other, it depicts some of the social backgrounds of the three neighbourhoods selected to be pilots in the CUA Initiative. The report draws partly on the situational analysis (“diagnósticos”) produced at the participatory planning stages of the CUA Initiative. One of the questions we discuss is why the three neighbourhoods were chosen to be pilot areas in the CUA Initiative.

Chapter 3 describes the development of the CUA Initiative, and the organization of the programme. The chapter also gives a brief overview of the organization plan and of the local and central implementation. In the end, the chapter deals with the financial model in the programme.

Chapter 4 presents findings from the Cova da Moura case study. The chapter starts by presenting local voices as an illustration of the conditions of Cova da Moura today. Then the chapter deals with local organizations and their role in the CUA programme, and the experiences so far from the local key actors as well as from the non-local stakeholders. A focal point is the experience gained in the Steering Committee’s way of working. In the end of this chapter, some possible dilemmas in the governance of the CUA programme in Cova da Moura are discussed.

Chapter 5 suggests a few conclusions, in addition to some alternative strategies and perspectives in this kind of intervention

programme. The chapter also introduces some further challenges for the CUA programme in Cova da Moura.

2 Background

The Portuguese programme on urban critical areas has to be evaluated inside European and Portuguese policy contexts, as it is perceived by the Portuguese stakeholders.

The report here reconstructs policy contexts suggested by the informants in IHRU and in the programme's expert group.

2.1 Europe: New urban policies

In the European Union there has been a focus on the urban distressed areas in its member states. A consensual definition of *urban critical areas* has emerged: *spatial areas that are subject to more social stress (e.g. through overpopulation, degradation of the habitat and life conditions, pollution, unemployment, crime), and hence, to more public concern, than other spatial areas of a nation's urban population*. As a consequence, the EU has initiated several programmes to cope with such areas. The programmes URBAN I and II for ten years (1994-2004) have demonstrated cross-sector, integrated and participatory urban development approaches to stabilize distressed urban neighbourhoods.⁴ The Commission stresses the support of participatory, integrated strategies to tackle the high concentration of economic, environmental and social problems affecting urban areas (Third report on Cohesion, 18/2/ 2004). The above-mentioned declaration underlines that urban measures within European Social Cohesion Policy should preserve the opportunity to realize innovative approaches, especially as new instruments of urban management and governance are concerned. This should

⁴The 'Acquis Urban', Common Declaration of URBAN cities and players at the European Conference "Urban Future", Saarbrücken 8-9/6/2005.

concern both interventions and research on sustainable developments in stressed urban areas.

Behind this development is a strong French influence on urban planning – not only in Portugal, but also in other member states. There has been a continuous flow of theories and practices of ‘the politics of French cities’ since the 1980s. One may distinguish three generations in the French debate. The 1st generation was based on the ‘small is beautiful’ paradigm, emphasizing the bottom-up approach to urban planning. It was mainly materialized in rural towns, ‘politique de la ville’. The 2nd generation dealt with larger cities and was concerned with the stigmatization of certain neighbourhoods. The challenge was to include these neighbourhoods in a wider ‘big plan’ for social and economic development. A 3rd generation perhaps combines the two previous ones, focusing on neighbourhoods most in need, but not as part of the big city plan. Instead the emphasis is on a bottom-up approach, with focus on the target group and the logic behind the planning process. The aim is to generate social and economic processes across sectors – socio-territorial interventions.⁵ For the last 10 years this approach has been adopted by urban developers in many EU countries, not only in France, but even in the UK, Denmark, Portugal, Norway and others.

Multisectorial urban renewal is now practised in most of the European countries. A great diversity of public and private organisms are included in the different national intervention programmes: ‘Politics of the City’ in France, ‘Social Renewal and Politics of the Great Cities’ in Holland, ‘Renewal and Challenges to the City’ (City Challenge and Single Regeneration Budget) in the United Kingdom, etc. Countries like Norway, Denmark, Sweden, Finland and Belgium were committed to this task as early as the 1980s. Norway (Oslo) implemented a vast programme on urban renewal in the city centre, focusing on physical rehabilitation of the buildings and change in the tenure structure. Subsequent action programmes focused on traffic, childhood environment, culture, education and social improvements for the deprived in the same areas (Ruud 2003; Holm and Søholt 2005). Today new territorial

⁵ Experts disagree about the extent of local focus in terms of ‘area up-grading’ and whether this focus may ignore the needs for wider societal structural changes.

action programmes focus on the Norwegian multiethnic suburbs in Oslo to improve social cohesion and social and environmental sustainability.⁶ Denmark and Sweden already have experience from area-focused intervention programmes in the suburbs, supporting social and economic integration.

2.2 The ‘integrated social policy’ approach

The European Union since the mid-1970s has moved away from a social policy model that was mainly ‘compensatory’. The compensatory model addressed poverty and other social problems by means of state cash transfer to needy individuals. There was an emerging consensus that poverty could not be addressed by social policy alone, but in combination with economic policy, regional and urban policy. The 1989-1994 ‘Middle-term programme for the economic and social integration of the least favoured’ was a milestone in this new policy direction. Interdependency between a strategy for social inclusion and strategy for employment was emphasized. Furthermore, partnerships and active involvement of groups of least-favoured people themselves were highlighted. The aim was to invest in social capital rather than in certain actions themselves, in order to promote self-sustained action. Capacity-building – building of social, entrepreneurial and technical skills – was seen as more important than big cash transfers. In this context the experimental character of interventions, aimed at social innovation, was paramount. The 1994 Essen Summit, the 1997 Amsterdam Treaty and the 2000 Lisbon Summit deepened this policy consensus. After 1994, the previously mentioned Urban I and II were among the programmes that implemented this policy.⁷

2.3 Portugal: new housing policies

Until the 1980s social housing was a central government responsibility in Portugal through the Fundo de Fomento da

⁶ See Appendix 2 for a presentation of relevant Norwegian research and points of references.

⁷ Urban II was administered by the municipalities. The activities were not based on a participatory or comprehensive plan. There were problems, yet the programme was a positive experience.

Habitação that was created in 1969. The organization bought land, built and owned houses and offered rental housing to certain parts of the population. The government later transferred the role of the promotion of housing to the National Institute for Housing (Instituto Nacional da Habitação, INH:1984) and the Institute for the Management of State Housing (Instituto de Gestão e Alienação do Património Habitacional do Estado, IGAPHE:1987). INH provided incentives to entities closer to the population: municipalities, housing cooperatives and construction companies to enhance social housing. The incentives included tax exemptions and financial benefits (soft loans, subsidized interest rates) granted to the construction of new houses. Direct subsidies of the construction costs mainly addressed re-allocation schemes for families living in slum or sub-standard areas, primarily in Lisbon and Porto. A special housing programme for these two cities led to the reallocation of 33 400 families in Lisbon and 5000 in Porto. In total 60 000 families have been reallocated and live in INH-subsidized houses.

For some families, these housing schemes were accompanied by rental subsidies (usually 250 Euros a month) to families in need or couples under 35 years of age. Later on, there were attempts to redirect these rental subsidies to family loans for house ownership. However, recently the priority has changed. About 70 percent of the Portuguese population own their house or flat.⁸ However, due to demands for more geographical mobility, e.g. to adapt to fluctuations on local labour markets, and due to changes in the family structures (higher divorce rates, etc.), the policy is now to promote the rental housing market.

At the same time, the emphasis has shifted from house construction to rehabilitation. There is simply not much urban land left to build new and cheap houses. However, the rehabilitation of rented houses has been hampered by a law guaranteeing that the rent cannot increase more than the inflation rate – this applies to tenants with contracts from before 1985. The contracts allow one within-family transfer. This arrangement has been an effective disincentive for house owners to rehabilitate. With the present rehabilitation schemes, up to 70 percent of the rehabilitation costs could be covered by INH. After a new policy

⁸ www.cccodhas.org (European Liaison Committee for Social Housing)

and legislation emerged in 2004, urban rehabilitation companies have been established, such as Lisbon Occidental and Porto Vivo. Furthermore, the rehabilitation programmes are increasingly targeting distressed areas.

2.4 Is there anything new about the CUA Initiative?

To answer this question, one needs to distinguish between two levels: 'New' in the Portuguese context, and 'new' in the European context.

In Portugal, the Critical Urban Areas Initiative is definitely new. There had long been confusion regarding the 'new social policy approach'. The EU programmes emanating from the new approach in Portugal were perceived as ordinary social support programmes, and not as integrated policy experiments. In this perspective, the CUA Initiative is the breakthrough for the European approach in Portugal. The Initiative combines multiple sectors in social-territorial interventions, allowing the mentioned social, employment, urban and housing policies to converge.

The new Socialist Party government in 2005 took a home-grown Portuguese initiative to catch up with the new European directions of social-experimental policy. A non-partisan and highly respected university researcher in geography, Prof. João Ferrão, was recruited as the Secretary of State for Urban Planning and Cities.⁹ In September 2005, the Council of Ministers' Resolution 143-2005 ('RCM 143-2005') was issued and launched the 'Critical Urban Areas' Initiative.¹⁰ For INH (renamed IHRU in 2007), who was to coordinate the Initiative, the CUA Initiative tests a completely new work model. The approach is widened, from narrowly focusing on buildings and physical structures to including the environmental, cultural and socio-economic facilities. As a result, the programmes need to be inter-ministerial and cross-sectorial, and local

⁹ Careers in the various elite fields of politics, academics and business are more interlinked in Portugal than in Norway.

¹⁰ The full name in Portuguese is: *Iniciativa 'Operações de Qualificação e Reinserção Urbana de Bairros Críticos'*. See Instituto Nacional de Habitação (2005).

partnerships are emphasized. Portugal's rather conservative political-administrative system faces immense challenges.

In Europe, the CUA Initiative is not unique, as spelt/spelled out above. Nevertheless, due to the specific social conditions in Portugal, it has some potentially innovative features by focusing on suburbs of quite recently built large estates as well as non-regulated/informal settlements. Moreover, the Initiative builds on the understanding that Europe has not yet found the solutions to the social inclusion challenges, and that the CUA Initiative should contribute to further policy innovation at the European level.¹¹ One example is 'inclusive entrepreneurship'. Experiences from other European metropolises (London, Berlin) show that micro-credits are necessary, but not sufficient. Those who have been out of work for a long time, even their whole life, need to develop certain skills in order to become successful entrepreneurs. There is a huge skills gap. However, there is no prescription concerning which skills. The experiences gained in this field of CUA – inclusive entrepreneurship – may bring Portugal to the forefront of Europe and help it advance.

In summary, the CUA Initiative is a response to multiple policy challenges – from the European, national and local levels.

2.5 The three 'critical urban' territories

To describe the three case areas, the report draws on the situational analysis (diagnósticos) made for each of the territories. It also includes some of the team's own observations and interviews in the three areas. One of the case areas, Cova da Moura, is presented extensively in Chapter 4. A more extensive presentation of the main associations in Cova da Moura is presented in Appendix 3.

¹¹ If the current government loses the elections in 2009, the CUA Initiative might be reconsidered after the contract period expires in 2011. However, if good results are documented, a new government might follow it up on the grounds of evidence-based policy-making.

2.5.1 Cova da Moura



Cova da Moura is a favela located in the eastern part of Amadora municipality, adjacent to Lisbon town. It is situated on a hill, clearly delimited by roads and railways surrounding the neighbourhood. The land belongs, in a large portion, to the former farm property of the Canas family and other private and public owners. Cova da Moura is administratively divided between the two boroughs ('Juntas de Freguesia') of Damaia and Buraca.

Social history. The houses of Cova da Moura were first built on squatted land after the Revolution of 1974. Portuguese people returning from the colonies after the decolonization process needed a place to stay. People returning from Angola constructed the first buildings. During the 1980s immigrants from Cape Verde intensified the occupation of the land. The social history of the neighbourhood is directly linked to the decolonization process and the birth of democracy in Portugal. Cova da Moura illustrates the shadow side of Portuguese democratization, especially for the newcomers of the collapsed empire who were forced to leave the African colonies without any structured help from the government. Hence we find informal settlements such as Cova da Moura

Demographic characteristics. The population of this neighbourhood is demographically composed of a majority of ethnic African individuals and descendants, especially Cabo Verdeans. More than 40 percent were born in Portugal (Portuguese nationality), even though almost 2/3 of the residents have origins abroad.

Forty-five percent of the population is under 24 years; twenty-two percent are under 14 years old. The birth rate is high as is the percentage of adolescent mothers. There are different family types. The dominating family type consists of three to four persons. This is much higher than the average family type in the Amadora area as a whole, and in the Buraca and Damaia boroughs. In these two boroughs the average family consists of between 2.5 and 2.8 individuals.

According to the 2001 national census Cova da Moura had 5500 inhabitants including resident builders and their families, and all kinds of rental occupants. Local associations say the actual number is 7000.

Associations. Cova de Moura is characterized by a wide range of local organizations covering different interests and activities. A presentation of the most important organizations is described in Chapter 4.2 and in Appendix 3. It is important to point out that in spite of their differences diverge, the main associations in Cova da Moura for the last years have managed to act together through their joint Neighbourhood Committee.

Main community problems and challenges. Cova da Moura has community problems related to its urban marginality and social exclusion. Common space in the neighbourhood is degraded, sanitary and electrical infrastructures are bad, there are no green areas and many houses have substandard conditions. Apart from that, the area also has a particularly negative public image which exaggerates its criminality, drug trafficking and drug consumption patterns.

The main challenges for the CUA programme in Cova da Moura are the land and ownership issues since the neighbourhood was illegally built on farmland. For 32 years the owners never claimed the land. The Municipality applied ambiguous politics by receiving taxes from the Cova da Moura residents and, at the same time, not conceding clear rights to the owners of the illegally built houses. The government, the municipality and the residents' neighbourhood committee, will have to reach an agreement concerning this delicate issue.

Social and economic developments represent the subsequent challenges of the programme for this neighbourhood.

Qualification and requalification of Cova da Moura also means creating spaces for economic activities to ensure the continuation of current services (restaurants, grocery shops, hairdressers, garages), and the promotion of new ones in better conditions. This implies the conception of better physical spaces, professional services to customers, sanitary conditions, new workplaces, marketing, investment in ethnic tourism/commerce and appreciation of local cultural specificities.

Enhancing a more positive image of Cova da Moura is another challenge. The territory may promote a special local brand for cultural deliveries, through skilful marketing. A radio programme and web platform may open the neighbourhood to the outside and invite exchange with non-residents based on improved internal security.

2.5.2 Vale da Amoreira



Vale da Amoreira is located in the southern part of the Great Metropolitan Lisbon Area, south of the Tejo river. It belongs to the municipality of Moita and was built during the industrial boom of the 1970s and 1980s.

Social history. Vale da Amoreira hosted rural migrants from the interior of the country and the white “returnees” (“retornados”) who arrived after the 1975 decolonization of Angola (in particular) and Mozambique. Later, a new range of immigration of African families gave rise to a cultural mix with some cultural tensions. It is a social-housing neighbourhood constructed by “The Habitation

Fund', the municipality and the former state housing company (IGAPHE, now part of IHRU).

Demographic characteristics. Nowadays its population is officially estimated at 12 360 persons, divided into 3 572 families. However, local associations calculate the real number to be 50 percent higher (approximately 18 000 inhabitants). Forty-seven percent of the population are under 25 years of age (Vale da Amoreira Diagnóstico, p. 9). The first residents were white Portuguese ("returnees"). However, an increasing percentage is ethnically African from countries such as Cape Verde, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, São Tomé and Mozambique, although most of them have Portuguese citizenship. In addition, 75.6 percent of the houses are owned by the residents and 23.2 percent are rented or sub-rented.

Associations. The associational network in Vale da Amoreira is limited and divided along ethnic lines. In what concerns the technical competences of existing associations, they are related to:

- Immigration and ethnic/national cultures (The Cape Verdean Association, Friends of Angola – the returnees' association, the Association of Guineenses);
- Social solidarity (CRIVA – Center for Retired People of Vale da Amoreira; a state-subsidized NGO),
- Youth (RUMO)
- The neighbourhood (Resident's Association, quite weak).

The diverse institutional actors in the borough do not seem to act together for common goals. Instead, they form a complex power structure shifting between conflict and retraction. There are also limited formal economic activities, and no business associations. Besides, there seems to be few linkages between the associations, public services, local administration and residents. One can observe two consequences of these factors: On the one hand, the neighbourhood is 'colonized' by external interventions from organizations hosted in nearby boroughs and municipalities. These circumstances produce weak integration of associations, with few common visions for Vale da Amoreira. On the other hand, the most important organizing force seems to be the local government borough council (Junta de Freguesia). According to some local

stakeholders, they expect the CUA programme to bring the associations together and to help articulate their shared needs.¹²

Main community problems and challenges. The main problems identified in the Vale da Amoreira ‘diagnóstico’ are related to the physical conditions of buildings, houses and public spaces like green areas and sport zones. Moreover, conflicts among different ethnic groups living there create instability and violence in the neighbourhood. In addition, there is unemployment, especially among youngsters, drug trafficking and drug consumption. For example, a 24-year-old boy, born Portuguese but descendant from Cape Verdean parents, does not work because he lacks the necessary Portuguese documents. An eight year-old girl was taken care of by the kindergarten, while growing up without her mother who was in prison for prostitution and trafficking. Children and youth in Vale da Amoreira are in real need of help and social intervention.

2.5.3 Lagarteiro in Oporto



Lagarteiro is a peripheral neighbourhood in the eastern part of Oporto city. The neighbourhood is surrounded by a green undeveloped area. It has difficult access to public transportation, lies outside the ring road and is therefore isolated from the urban layer. However, Lagarteiro is situated only one hundred meters away from a good service infrastructure: health centre, two pharmacies, private health centre for lab analysis, alternative medicines, dentist, psychiatrists, nutritionists; bus stops, shops

¹² Th president of *Associação de guineenses*, the president of RUMO, and leaders of CRIVA.

(including flower shops, super markets), three cafés, a lawyer and two churches.

Social history. The residents living in Lagarteiro are socially and spatially isolated. The neighbourhood was built in 1973 and is constituted of 446 apartments hosting nearly 1800 persons originally coming from the “ilhas” (“islands” or working low class quarters built in the centre of Oporto during the 1950s by industrialists). Its population mainly has Portuguese background. In addition there are some gypsy families. The residents are characterized by young age, low education levels and high unemployment rates. Many children drop out of school after 12 (after the 2nd ‘ciclo’ aged 10-12; 1st ‘ciclo’, 6-10). Very few go to high school (13-18 years), allegedly because they have to take a bus to the other side of the ring road, to the centre of the Campanhã borough.

Associations. Lagarteiro is marked by an absence of an associational network. For outsiders the dominant attitude is collective apathy, dismissal and resignation. The parish (church) organizes a social solidarity centre for babies, young children and 1st ‘ciclo’ primary school children. It also provides domestic assistance to elderly people. Apart from that there is a Sports Club with a café described by the director of the cited centre as “unhealthy and unsafe”. This café is situated near the school playground and represents a central meeting point in the neighbourhood for drug trafficking, smoking and drinking.

Main community problems and challenges. The above observations fully justify the CUA intervention programme. The problems are related, first of all, to the housing and living conditions. In fact, buildings and collective spaces are degraded. The housing structure also needs to change since the actual flats are overpopulated. Moreover, the whole eastern sector of Oporto, where Lagarteiro is located, lacks an urban plan. Therefore, this neighbourhood is like an abandoned ghetto where people lose faith in their lives, accommodating to social assistance from the state, or falling into criminal activities like trafficking and consumption of drugs.. Another problem identified in this neighbourhood is the lack of social cohesion. Social life is mainly within family relations. For example, young couples tend to live

with the parents in the same house. This results from poverty, but also from the mentioned isolation of Lagarteiro.

2.5.4 Why were the three territories selected?

The resolution of the Council of Ministers (RCM 43-2005) and INH (2005) present relatively vague criteria for selection of three territorial areas. Among the stated criteria are:

- “The nature of problems -- the neighbourhoods should ‘represent different types of situations’
- “Conditions for the assured mobilization of the populations and local actors, in particular of municipalities and other strategic actors” (INH, 2005).

There are reasons for emphasizing the latter “in particular” reference to municipalities. Why were the three municipalities Oporto, Amadora and Moita selected? In order to be a really national and not only Lisbon-based initiative, there is no doubt that Oporto had to be selected. However, Oporto Municipal Council was in the hands of the ‘centre-right’ opposition (PSD). This was also the case at that time, in 2005, in the Lisbon Metropolitan Council. Hence, perhaps for political reasons and in order to guarantee a smooth organizational start-up of the CUA programme, other more pro-government (pro-PS) municipalities had to be selected from the larger Lisbon region. Amadora Municipal Council has a stable PS-majority. Moita Municipal Council is ruled by the communist party (PCP, who may offer ‘critical support’ to PS). Hence, by selecting the three mentioned municipalities, a broad political spectrum from the left to the right was incorporated into the programme. Thus, the political sustainability of the initiative had good prospects. In addition, “conditions for the assured mobilization of the populations and local actors” were in place.

Then, within these municipalities, why were the three ‘bairros’ selected? If using only social and economic criteria for distressed areas, many neighbourhoods looked equally or even more qualified than those selected. In Oporto, for example, there were about 30 neighbourhoods based on social housing schemes (‘bairros de habitação social’) that resulted from reallocation from the inner

city centre. In Amadora, the municipality had mapped the degraded areas ('Carta dos Núcleos Degradados'), and Cova da Moura was only one among 35 such areas on the list. In both municipalities, we think politics decided. In Oporto, there is a green zone surrounding Lagarteiro, and the city management wanted to develop parts of the zone for upper-middle class flats and commercial centres. Thus, integrating Lagarteiro into the plans was a good idea – this neighbourhood represented a potential threat to the plans (a social more than a political threat), while the new zones posed opportunities for the degraded neighbourhood (e.g. employment, green and recreational spaces). Similar reasons could be used for the selection of Cova da Moura. However, the Amadora Municipal Council since 2001 had faced strong political mobilization from the Cova da Moura against its urban renewal policy, and the conflict was covered by the mass media. Cova da Moura was also stigmatized by the public, so in some way the Municipality and the residents had common interests in seizing the opportunity offered by the CUA Initiative.

Anyway, and as the above presentation of the municipalities indicates, the three selected neighbourhoods met the criteria of 'representing different types of situations and problems'. For an experimental programme, this is an important and highly valid criterion.

3 Organization and progress of the CUA programme

3.1 The Organization of the Initiative at the national level

The initiative to the CUA programme was taken on the national level by the Portuguese Secretary of State for Spatial Planning and Cities. ‘The initiative for the Qualification and Re-insertion of Critical Areas’ was created by a government resolution in September 2005 (RCM 143-2005) The programme is an experimental pilot initiative that draws upon the experiences of previous urban rehabilitation operations, including innovative elements in an effort to create local dynamics for development (INH, 2006).

The planning and the implementation of the programme build on an increasing recognition in Portugal of the complexity involved in consensus building and the associated need for a significant change in matters such as management and implementation of action... (INH, 2006:4).

As a consequence, the approach in the programme includes strong strategic coordination with inter-ministerial cooperation under the coordination of the Secretary of State for Spatial Planning and Cities.

The programme is organized in an inter-ministerial team consisting of the following seven ministries:

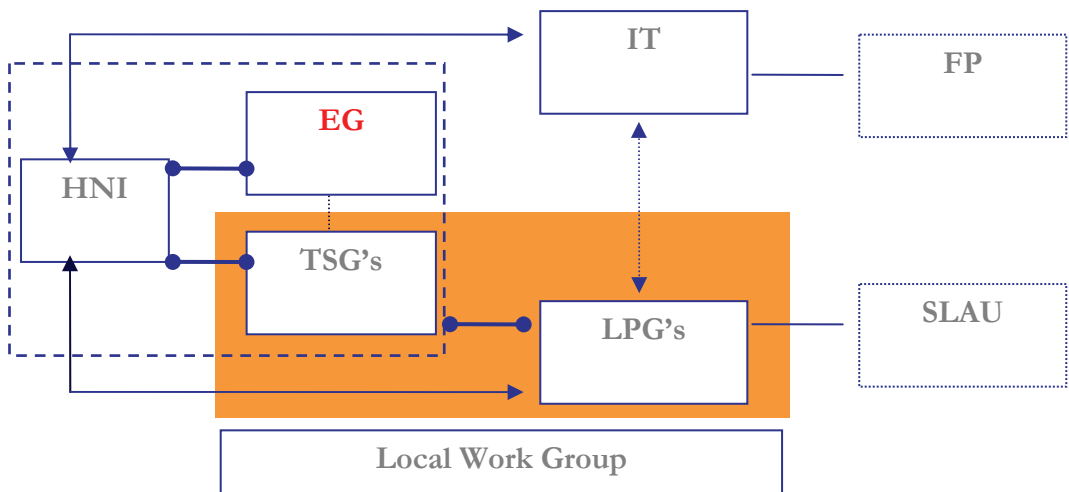
- Environment, Spatial Planning and Regional Development

- Internal Administration
- Social Security and Work
- Health
- Education
- Culture
- The Council of Ministers (the President's office)

The Institute for Housing and Urban Rehabilitation (IHRU) is responsible for the coordination of the initiative. IHRU is the national institution responsible for the revitalization of urban areas, in both social and physical terms.

IHRU has two main roles. First, as a programme coordinator, the responsibility is to define and ensure the partners' commitment through the establishment of rules and time schedules. Second, IHRU operates as a mediator between different working groups and actors at different levels. The aim in the planning process was to establish bridges between the Spatial Planning Secretary State (SPSS), the expert group (EG) and the Inter-ministerial Team (IT), the Technical Support Groups (TSG) and the Local Partners Groups (LPG).

Figure 3.1 *The organization of the CUA planning*



Note: HNI – Housing National Institute (now IHRU); EG – Expert Group; IT – Inter-ministerial Team; TSG’s – Technical Support Groups; LPG’s – Local Partners Groups; FP – Financial Partners; (SLAU) Strategic Local Action Unit. Source: INH (2006).

The monitoring of the project will be executed by the technical staff of IHRU. The system has not yet been designed (December 2007). There might be one joint monitoring unit for all neighbourhoods, or one for each. The experts maintain that there must be both common and specific indicators for each neighbourhood. As to evaluation, each neighbourhood – through the partners’ board – will be trained to do internal regular evaluations. The evaluation of Phase I was in progress, written by independent Portuguese academics, covering the period up to the finalization of the situation analysis – the ‘diagnósticos’.

3.2 The Initiative at the local level

One needs to distinguish between the stage before and after the signing of ‘partners’ protocol’, with approved ‘diagnósticos’ and action plans attached, in each of the three areas. For short we call the phase before signing ‘planning’, and the phase after as ‘implementation’. The stages differ as to organizational set-up and role structure.

3.2.1 The planning stage

Figure 3.1. shows the different entities involved and the relationships between them. IHRU operated as a first-among-equals in the Local Partners Group of each area .

The main outputs of the planning stage were the situation analysis (the ‘diagnóstico’) followed by the action plan. The CUA guidelines emphasize that the planning had to be genuinely local, participatory and dynamic. Cooperation between who were identified as local partners, in terms of public-public and public-private-voluntary partnerships was the key.

The programme employed an academic multi-disciplinary expert group as advisors. The group was involved not only at the national level (see below), but also in each of the three territories. A group

from the University of Lisbon worked with Cova da Moura, a group from ISCTE linked to Vale da Amoreira, and a group from the University of Oporto frequented Lagarteiro. They staffed the Technical Support Groups (TSGs). The TSGs facilitated and took down the situational analysis ('Diagnóstico'). The diagnosis started with a survey among the dwellers, visiting all the households. The survey was followed by meetings with different target groups: youth, elderly, etc., and the 'diagnóstico' was written up. Then action plans were formulated in direct communication with the Local Partner Groups, which now entered the stage and became its centre.

3.2.2 Coming to an agreement: the process towards the Partners' Protocol

Cova da Moura is presented here as a case for highlighting *the process towards* the protocol. The protocol for Cova da Moura was signed in late 2006 by 25 actors at the central, municipal and local levels. The variety of actors at different levels illustrates the complexity of the urban development processes at the local level. It also shows that the implementation of the programme depends on a successful coordination process where information, communication and networking become decisive.

During the process towards an agreed protocol there were more than 20 meetings before an agreement was reached. The Municipality (the Mayor) and the dwellers' representatives did not have shared goals and visions at the outset and had to come to an understanding. To involve the population and local associations in Cova de Moura and their perceptions of a desired future in the area, people had been invited to take part in participatory planning. This process went on from the beginning to the end of 2006. Open meetings/workshops were organized to invite and involve people in the process. In these meetings people could write their proposals on post-it notes. The protocol was intended to catch up on and put together most of these proposals into the action programme.

3.2.3 The implementation phase

The Partners' Protocol has a connection to the specific interventions, or 'axes' (lines of action), agreed upon for the area.. Table 3.1.summarizes the problems (diagnosis) and solutions (actions) in two of the areas, Cova da Moura and Vale da Amoreira. The protocol for Lagarteiro has not yet been signed.

Table 3.1 *Definition of problems and solutions. Cova da Moura and Vale da Amoreira.*

	Cova da Moura	Vale da Amoreira
<i>Situation (Problems)</i>	<p>Core: Uncertainties regarding residents' land rights and human security.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neighbourhood's image • Recognition of multiculturalism and diversity • Economic sustainability (families and community) • Skills and employability 	<p>Core: Fragmented and inward territory.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cohesion and social integration (youth cultures/ family/ multiculturalism and diversity) • Urban space (centralities/ housing/leisure and public spaces) • School and professional careers (educational system/vocational training/labour and labour market) • Governability (local organizations and associative movements/ integrated interventions/relational context)
<i>Actions (Solutions)</i>	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. A legal neighbourhood for all 2. New Cova da Moura: a (physically) rehabilitated neighbourhood open to the outside world 3. Immediate intervention measures 4. A safe, calm neighbourhood with new image 5. A neighbourhood with a future for its youth 6. An economically active neighbourhood 7. A creative place 8. An ecological neighbourhood 9. Feeling good on-line 	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Re-qualification of the neighbourhood: buildings, public spaces and accesses 2. Loose Art': centre for artistic experimentation 3. Vocational training in contexts of exclusion 4. Integrated social support platform 5. Participation, Citizenship and Governability Network 6. Feeling good on-line

In the Partners' Protocol, each axis/line of action is described in the terminology of Logical Framework Analysis: objectives/goals, measures/instruments, types of actions, methodology of implementation, expected benefits for the neighbourhood (results

and impacts), entity responsible, other specific partners' contributions, resources available and resources needed.

The Partners' Protocol specified the organizational set-up (or 'management model') for the implementation phase. As in the planning phase, all three areas have a similar project organization, but composed of different types of actors. The management model consists of a *Steering Committee*, a *Partners' Board*, and a full-time *Project Leader* with a Project Team of professionals. Local Technical Support Groups (TSGs) are re-organized to assist the Project Team in the implementation of the action programme.

What was labelled the Local Partners Group, LPG, at the planning stage is now dubbed the Partners' Board (Comissão de Acompanhamento). It consists of all the organizations and institutions that have signed the protocol. It will oversee the work of the Steering Committee. All suggestions to change the agreed action plan or protocol have to be discussed and approved by the Partners' Board. The actual institutional participants in these structures are listed in the management model, particularly the composition of the Steering Committee. A representative of IHRU chairs the Steering Committee. A question that later fostered discontent in Cova da Moura was the minor representation of the dwellers/residents in the Steering Committee and the procedures of Project Leader recruitment.

IHRU plays the key role in the implementation of the local action plans, by chairing the three local Steering Committees. IHRU represents the main financiers by channelling the funds from the Portuguese state and the EEA to the areas, and by articulating or appointing the expertise applied.

3.3 The role of the Advisory Expert Group

The Advisory Expert Group consists of three eminent academics. They are supposed to give advice in the different phases of the intervention programme. The academics have different, relevant backgrounds for understanding possibilities and challenges posed by the intervention programme: Prof. Isabel Guerra, sociologist, ISCTE; Prof. José Manuel Henriques, economist, ISCTE; and Dr.

Manuel Pimenta, sociologist, independent consultant. The Advisory Expert Group meets every second month.

The Advisory Expert Group has several functions, such as: (i) be a resource for the Local Work Groups/ teams, from planning throughout the stages of implementation, providing advice on request; (ii) be the ‘memory’ of the project, by publishing various aspects of the projects, although not formally linked to monitoring or evaluation of the programme, written by supervising students or junior researchers; (iii) advise the implementing coordinator, IHRU, and help it consider its role.¹³

Prof. José Manuel Henriques is also an advisor for the Secretary of State for Spatial Planning and Cities. While Prof. Guerra will advise on participatory planning and participatory implementation, Prof. Henriques will advise on economic questions, entrepreneurship and and job creation. Dr. Pimenta will on the other hand work with evaluations and help IHRU to produce outputs in this respect.

3.4 The funding of the CUA Initiative

The funding of the CUA Initiative is organized in a very complex way. Integrated financial mechanisms will be employed.

An agreement was made with the EEA in October 2007 that was worth 10 million Euros. Fifteen percent of the budget, excluding the physical rehabilitation, will be covered by the EEA 2007-2011:

Cova da Moura	3.80 mn €
Vale da Amoreira	3.75 mn €
<u>Lagarteiro</u>	<u>2.17 mn €.</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	<u>9.82 mn €</u>

These figures are from IHRU. The budgets from the EEA are dependent on the municipal financial frames. In Chapter 4.6 concerning Cova da Moura, the financial situation of this case is described.

¹³ In other words, the expert group will conduct ‘formative dialogue research’ and is the natural partner of the Norwegian researchers. Manuel Pimenta will work specifically with the evaluation activities of the programme.

For Lagarteiro the tentative budget is €2.170 million Euros. However, the allocation is not yet approved, since the Oporto municipality must present its application. There was still no Steering Committee in place in Lagarteiro to approve the budget proposal (December 2007).

4 Case: Cova da Moura

The main objective of this part of the report is to highlight the start-up implementation process of the CUA programme in Cova da Moura. The focus will be on what has happened so far as a result of the programme. The Steering Committee, the Neighbourhood Committee and the actors' experiences and views on the work done so far will be addressed. In addition we are concerned with how the actors perceive their own role in the project.

We also give a brief description of the local associations in the neighbourhood, as well as some brief assessments of the everyday life experienced by dwellers and local actors.

Finally, the chapter discusses some possible dilemmas in the governance of the CUA programme in Cova da Moura.

4.1 Voices from within

First we give a brief presentation of the neighbourhood of Cova da Moura, as told by a few people in the area. The focus is on the everyday life of the dwellers and their hard work and efforts to settle down and develop a "vital neighbourhood". Voice is given to the Portuguese *retornados*: the first dwellers returning to Portugal from the colonies in 1975, as well as other people working in the parish. Stories of people's everyday life, activities and local trade in Cova da Moura are presented.

The first homes

The *retornados* returned from the ex-colonies to Portugal without any follow-up or special arrangements provided by the Government. One of the first dwellers came from Angola to

Portugal with his wife and two young children (4 and 2 years of age) in 1975. The first few nights they stayed in a hotel in the centre of Lisbon, trying to find a new home, sharing a destiny with other *retornados* facing the same situation. Accidentally he met another *retornado* who had a taxi and knew about the abandoned land of Cova da Moura. At that time it was an old farm that had not been reclaimed by the owners, the Canas family. Together the two *retornados* settled down on this land with their families, without any legal permission.

“I built my house with my own hands, finding boards and bricks in the neighbourhoods”, he says. *“We had difficulties building our houses without any money”.* The municipality demolished his house twice, before he finally managed to settle down. *“Nobody in the municipality wanted us to build houses in this area”.* For two years he lived without any electricity or pipeline water. The mattresses his family used were found in the street. During the 32 years that have passed since this initial settlement, his home has become one of the biggest and best houses in the neighbourhood.

Solidarity

During these years the informant more or less continuously experienced threats against his home, being aware of the illegal status of the building. Some of the *retornados* started to organize themselves to prevent demolition. *“People in Cova da Moura have a feeling of solidarity with each other, and in extreme situations there is even more solidarity”,* he says. He also has felt somewhat betrayed concerning information and communication from the municipality from time to time. *“I read plans about demolishing our homes in the newspaper, but nobody told us”.*

One of the first associations was founded by a small group of neighbours, Portuguese and African, coming mainly from Trás-os-Montes (Portugal) and Angola. The goal of the association was to unite the “moradores” (the dwellers) by promoting meetings, sports and cultural activities, and strengthening the neighbourhood in its confrontation with illegality and an uncertain future.

The families and childcare

The Catholic church in the Buraca borough has played an important role in the social life of Cova da Moura. The people working in the church have (can get) an inside picture of people’s

lives and their everyday conditions in the neighbourhoods through visiting homes.

The families as household units are strong in Cova da Moura, according to one of the **persons** working in the church: *“Even though people are facing difficulties, they manage to take care of their families. The solidarity in the area is of great importance in this respect. For example, neighbours take care of children while the mothers are working outside the neighbourhood”*. Even though the housing conditions can be unhealthy, the hygiene for the children is important for the mothers: *“Africans like to clean their kids all the time. They like to wash. It is the same as they do in Angola, where the mothers take their kids to the river”*.

One of the concerns, however, is that single mothers are away from their children during the day. *“There is an important percentage of single mothers living in Cova da Moura. They often have two or three different jobs during the day; working 10 hours, cleaning public buildings in the city of Lisboa. Meanwhile the children at home don’t have proper childcare. The mothers often leave for work at 5 A.M. in the morning”*, the informant says. Cova da Moura does not yet have enough kindergartens or nursery schools, and often a neighbour lady or elderly brothers and sisters take care of the small children. The informant is concerned about these conditions: *“Some of the childminders often have bad home conditions and bad health”*. However, the neighbours’ network is strong and is of great importance for the young mothers’ ability to work.

The neighbourhood as a social arena

The neighbourhood can be characterized by significant local business activities, such as restaurants, hairdressers, ethnic stores and garages. The social life can, to a certain extent, be characterized by “empowerment”, creativity and strong ties between dwellers and neighbours. Social ties are also strong between, for example, the women from Cova da Moura and other parish members. African women join the social activities in the church: *“Especially the African women are welcomed and valued by the other church members here. They are seen as resources for the choir and in social congregations, and the women feel accepted and respected”*.

Concerns about the young and the old dwellers

According to the church representatives, one concern is the consumption of alcohol among *“the male dwellers that use all the money to get drunk”*. Another concern is the youth. *“The most vulnerable group in Cova da Moura are the youngsters. They spend a lot of time alone in the area during the day, without adults keeping an eye on them”*. *“Some of them start their way into criminality”*. However, he points out that the criminality in the area is not as high as the media headlines proclaim. Some of the criminals in the area are claimed to be from the outside: *“The drug dealers are mainly white people. They use the neighbourhood to hide, to sell and to consume drugs.”*

The African family dynamics have changed over the last years, and the group of elderly dwellers has increased. The informant sees this as an increasing problem in Cova da Moura: *“Some of the elderly people remain inside their dwellings for months living in bad physical conditions”*. From other areas, this informant had experienced that the African families’ way of life can be difficult to integrate into public social housing. Still he thought this way of family life was a benefit for the individuals’ capability to take part in the society as a whole.

This informant also had some reflections about the public social assistance benefits handed out in the area. The rates of social benefits do not amount to more than 100 Euros per person per month. This is different from other areas in the municipality. In other Amadora neighbourhoods the rates are up to 150 Euros per month. In other words, according to the informant; *“the dwellers of Cova da Moura are economically discriminated against compared to others”*.

4.2 The local associations in Cova da Moura

In the intervention programme, four of the organizations in Cova da Moura have played a fundamental role in mobilizing and helping the residents. They have played an important role dealing with formal issues representing the residents in municipal matters. They have also gradually been transformed into social service entities specialized in different areas: school tutoring; free-time activities for children and adolescents; technical education; ownership and construction regularization. In addition, they have

been crucial for the mobilization process among the residents and for the reinforcement of the neighbourhood's socio-territorial identity. Many residents are members of more than one of the associations.

These associations are:

- *The Residents' Association (Associação de Moradores do Bairro Alto da Cova da Moura)*. It was founded in 1978. The association's goal/purpose was to organize the dwellers and promote their demands towards the state and the municipality, for basic infrastructures, water, electricity, etc. Today the association counts 600 members.
- *The Social Solidarity Association (Associação de Solidariedade Social do Alto Cova da Moura)*. It was founded in 1980 by a small resident's group to promote sports, cultural activities and recreation among the dwellers. It started as a sports club. One of the main goals was to promote stability in a neighbourhood with an uncertain future. The club has 400 members and today is organized in subunits dealing with different activities such as sports, amateur theatre, distribution of clothes and food, summer camps for youth, kindergartens, and counselling parents.
- *'The Youth Mill' cultural association (Associação Cultural 'Moinho da Juventude')*. It was founded in 1987, starting as an informal network for women and children fighting for basic sanitation as well as cultural services. The activity in the association today basically concerns stimulating the working capacity in the neighbourhood, creating local services and encouraging the local economy. It plays an important role in preserving and disseminating the residents' cultural heritage (e.g. dance and music groups), library, education, keeping crèches and kindergartens, help for adolescent mothers, etc. Today the association has 970 members. In total 65 employees, trainees and volunteers are working with the teaching and recreation activities.
- The Parish Centre (Centro Social e Paroquial de N^a Sr^a Mãe de Deus da Buraca; Our Mother of God' Social Parish Centre of Buraca'). It plays an important role for the dwellers in Cova da Moura as a church-supported social institution. For example, the Parish owns a kindergarten

with the aim of creating adequate conditions for children. The Parish also stimulates women's social participation in Cova da Moura through choirs and other social activities in the Parish. In addition, the people working in the church often visit families in Cova da Moura.

The Social Solidarity Association, 'The Youth Mill' (Moinho da Juventude) and the Parish Centre have been important for developing social, educational and cultural activities for residents. These associations represent a pillar for many families in the neighbourhood providing free food supplies, nursing rooms, legal and psychological counselling, educational programmes and training for youngsters, parents and women.

Except for the Parish Centre, the associations are member-based organizations with their own boards and internal elections.

In 2002, the four associations previously mentioned created the Neighbourhood Committee (NC), which represents the consolidation and maturity of the local social capital.

Regarding the CUA Initiative, the four associations fully support all the nine interventions pointed out in the Plan of Action (see Table 3.1 in the previous section). Still, they play complementary roles by having different stakes in the various parts of the Plan of Action. For example, the Residents' Association is mainly interested in 'a legal neighbourhood for all' and 'a (physically) rehabilitated neighbourhood open to the outside world.' The other three associations perhaps place more additional emphasis on 'a neighbourhood with a future for its youth' (in particular 'The Youth Mill'), 'an economically active neighbourhood' and 'a creative place'.

Through their joint Neighbourhood Committee they have agreed to operate with one common representative in the CUA Steering Committee.

4.3 The Neighbourhood Committee and the CUA in Cova da Moura

The Neighbourhood Committee (NC) in Cova da Moura was established in 2002 as a protest against a consultant report commissioned by the municipality – the report recommended demolition of the existing structures in Cova da Moura. The establishment of the NC was also a result of the European URBAN II programme (2001-2006). In this programme the Municipality applied for and received EU funding that would benefit Cova da Moura. The impression among the residents, however, was that much of the funding was used for other purposes in the Municipality. This impression contributed to the local scepticism towards external programmes, at the same time as programmes were needed and wanted to help improve the area.

During the URBAN II programme there was a request from external stakeholders that all organizations in Cova da Moura should be reorganized into one organization. From the local point of view this was not wanted. All the different organizations represented the variety of interests in the area. However, the establishment of the NC was in a way a response to coordinate and voice local interests. As such, the NC played an important role in getting the local CUA programme started.

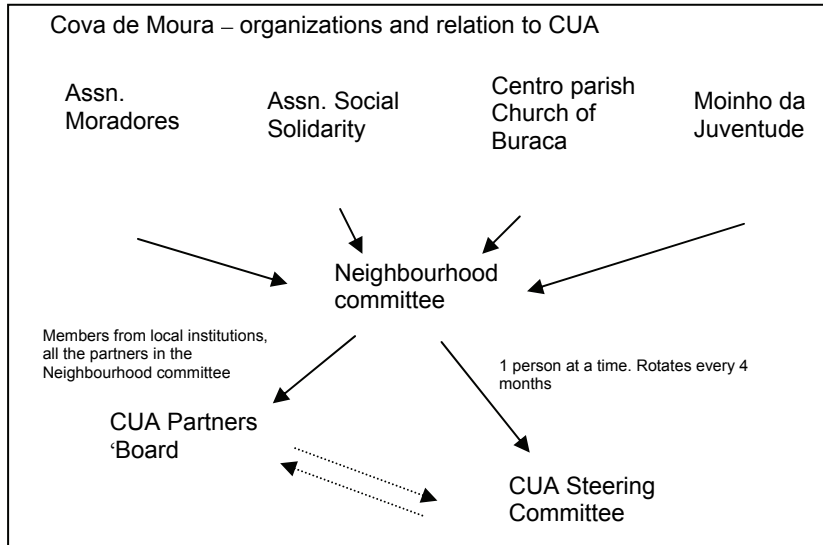
*“The lack of progress in the definition of projects has worried the four associations of the neighbourhood, who yesterday [10/09/2007] received the state secretary for spatial planning and cities, João Ferrão”.*¹⁴ On 13 July 2007 the leading newspaper *Diário de Notícias* announced that the CUA Initiative in Cova da Moura was ‘stopped’ and that there was ‘lack of funding’. The NC wrote a letter to the government, and the radio broadcaster RTP Africa covered the story. The NC demanded that the Steering Committee should be established. Hence, on 10 September 2007 there was a public meeting in the neighbourhood with the State Secretary João Ferrão and Mayor Joaquim Raposo. The state secretary contributed to getting the Initiative back on the track. One week after the encounter with the residents, the first Steering Committee meeting took place (19 September). From then on the Steering Committee has met

¹⁴ *Meia Hora*, 11/09/2007, “Cova da Moura – Requalificação do bairro orçada em 100 milhões”.

regularly. Before its second meeting, the NC adopted a two-page letter with questions and recommendations to the Steering Committee. The most urgent issue was the housing survey of the National Laboratory of Civil Engineering (LNEC). The letter stressed the necessity of experts and mediators from the neighbourhood to participate in the survey. The letter was discussed and most of its demands were accepted by the Steering Committee. Furthermore, subcommittees or working groups were to be established to work with different issues of the Action Plan. The first working group is on inclusive entrepreneurship.

The NC has one representative on the Steering Committee. As the associations did not obtain one representative each on the Steering Committee, they decided that the joint representative should be assigned for only four months on a rotation basis among the four associations. Before a new term arrives, the assigned association nominates its candidate, who does not have to sit in the NC. The candidate is then approved by the NC. The representative in the Steering Committee reports extensively to the NC. Since each of the four associations also take part in the Partners' Board of the CUA, they receive the same information. In this way the leaders of the four associations and their representatives in the NC build competence together in how to participate in the CUA programme. According to one of the NC representatives, they have more influence than their representation could indicate, because they produce background papers and proposals beforehand. However, since there are different views and opinions, both within and between these associations, they have to come to an understanding *before* decisions are taken in the Steering Committee. Another concern expressed is that the person representing the NC in the Steering Committee uses a lot of time on paperwork and preparations before the meetings. Thus there is a wish to obtain funding for a paid secretary in the NC during the programme period.

Figure 4.1 *The structure of the Neighbourhood Committee and its relation to the CUA programme in Cova da Moura*



The Steering Committee is important for the progress of the implementation of CUA in Cova da Moura. IHRU heads the Steering Committee. Other participants are Amadora City Council, the Public Security Police (PSP), Reboleira Health Centre and Lisbon Social Security District Centre.

4.4 Cova da Moura: Practices and activities in the CUA programme in the start-up period

As stated above, the implementation of the programme in Cova da Moura can be regarded as starting with the establishment of the Steering Committee in September 2007. According to the representatives in the Steering Committee they are working with common projects as well as individual institutional projects. The individual activities concern enforcement of the local institutions' existing work in the area, and more activities or funding *because of* their participation in the CUA programme. It was underlined that much of the work consists in municipal preparations to be able to carry out the programme.

Activities and practices in the Steering Committee so far:

- A project leader has been selected. She is an architect and started in October 2007.
- Every part of the action plan has been examined to evaluate what kind of technician is needed to implement the task.
- In November 2007 the registration and mapping of the buildings was to start, conducted by the National Laboratory of Civil Engineering (LNEC). Each house will be evaluated as to its construction solidity, living conditions, viability of rehabilitation and legislation of homes and buildings.¹⁵ The survey was to be finalized in March 2008.
- The survey was to be introduced by an information letter to the inhabitants in Cova da Moura, to be decided upon in the Steering Committee. The objective with the letter was to inform people in the area that they should not build or spend money on their houses, since the future of their houses is uncertain until there is a decision bound to the urban plan. The letter was to be distributed by the Neighbourhood Committee to all the mailboxes in the area .
- In December 2007, the terms of references for the Detailed Plan tender were to be elaborated, “based on a consensus among all the partners”, and this process should be ended by 2007.¹⁶
- An open meeting on economic development and social security was scheduled for December 2007.
- Because many people in Cova de Moura cannot read, there is an understanding that information meetings are needed to reach and communicate with the inhabitants.
- There is work going on to legalize the undocumented immigrants living in Cova da Moura.

¹⁵ Margarida Guimarães, *ibid.*

¹⁶ Margarida Guimarães, representative of Amadora Municipal Council in the Cova da Moura Steering Committee, to *Journal de Construções*, 04/10/2007.

Individual institutional work in Cova da Moura

The representative from the Social Security District Centre of Amadora reported that the municipality was involved in the following activities:

- Family-based crèches run by “The Youth Mill’ (Moinho). Because of the programme the Moinho obtained/received more support to be able to increase the number of babysitters from 12 to 20 persons.
- Training programmes for parents run by the Moinho. Also in this case, Moinho has received more support. The extra support allows more parents to take part in this programme. From the perspective of Social Security, this is a good way to improve the conditions for children.
- The Municipality has increased its support to the school by providing three portable classrooms that are open from 9 A.M. to 4:30 P.M.. Hot meals are served to all pupils. This is free of charge for pupils from poor families.
- The Police have enforced their work in the area through a local project. The project started in January 2007 and implies policing 12 hours a day in Cova da Moura. The idea is not only to control, but to make people feel safe through helping and talking with the residents. Through this work the Public Security Police hope to build bridges of trust between policemen, the Municipality and the residents.
- The Police arrange football matches in Cova de Moura. To build bridges between the policemen and residents, they set up mixed teams. This is to prevent the image of a football match where the Police *play against* the locals.

Forthcoming questions and activities

The main activities in the near future are related to the survey (registration and mapping) of the buildings. This exercise has been more time-consuming than anticipated. One had estimated the number of houses to be surveyed at 1300, and the survey should be finalized by the end of March. However, as of April 2008, the surveyors reported that there are about 1800 houses in the area – thus there were 500 more to survey. This might lead to a delay of one month or more.

The original plan was:

- June 2008: a public tender for working out an urban plan for Cova da Moura, based on the mapping of the buildings.
- January 2010: The physical rehabilitation work based on the Detailed Plan to start.
- 2014: The physical rehabilitation work finalized.

The urban plan and the future of the houses will have to be discussed with the inhabitants. Based on the urban plan there must be a plan for infrastructure. The development of the local commerce will, for example, depend on the urban plan. Should there be only one market-place in the neighbourhood, and should stores on the ground floor be allowed in social housing projects?

Other activities can start independently of the urban plan: ‘The immediate programme for small improvements’ (Programa Imediato de Pequenos Melhoramentos – PIPEM) as well as ‘The immediate programme for social and educational intervention’ (Programa Imediato de Intervenção Social e Educacional’ – PIISE) will be carried out. Thus:

- In 2008 the Municipality will rearrange and rehabilitate the schoolyard as part of the Social Improvement Plan.
- In 2008 they will start the “politics of the three arts”. This is a project with recycling and reuse of plastic, glass and paper garbage. There will be small garbage containers in the area, like in other neighbourhoods.
- The Police would like to continue its work in the area and start new projects. One should focus on people leaving prison and help them reintegrate in their homes and in the neighbourhood. Another project should focus on the integration of descendants of immigrants.

Moreover, the Steering Committee will provide training and information to make as many of the local shopkeepers as possible *legal* shopkeepers. From the municipal representatives, strong expectations were expressed that the local economy should become legal as a result of the programme. At the same time there were concerns that some of the businesses might not be able to

adhere to following up all the regulations. While it might be possible to provide the necessary education for the hairdressers to receive a certificate, it might be more difficult for the cafés to survive the regulations.

The list of the started and forthcoming activities is in line with the CUA Action Plan for Cova da Moura. In addition to the work anchored in the Steering Committee, the activities show that the individual municipal institutions have taken responsibility by enforcing their areas of action. The first activities started are focusing on improving people's everyday life. This strategy has proved successful when it comes to motivating residents for engagement in their neighbourhood (Vestergaard 2004).

4.5 Central and local experiences and views for CUA in Cova da Moura

This section is based on interviews with representatives in the Steering Committee: from local associations in Cova da Moura, the Municipality, the Social Security, the Police and the Health Sector. In addition we had a short conversation with the Deputy Mayor. To complete the picture we also have some thoughts from a member of the expert group.

4.5.1 Experiences and views of local key actors

The people in the Cova de Moura have a 32-year history of political negotiations with the City Council of Amadora. These negotiations have not so far solved the problem of legalized ownership of the land and the dwellings. Representatives of the local associations as well as other observers following the process today want to believe that the CUA Programme is going to be a breakthrough for the upgrading of the area in line with the inhabitants' needs and preferences. However, the long history of former negotiations has made the local stakeholders aware of the different interests concerning the future use and ownership of the area. On the one side it is believed that the Municipality has economic interests in the land, while the inhabitants on the other side are concerned with their possibility to remain, own houses

and land, and develop the area into a more attractive community for all.

Experiences from the local representation in the Steering Committee

As mentioned above, the four local associations representing the dwellers in Cova da Moura each have one member in the Steering Committee, with four-month terms. That means that the member from the local key actors represents about 7000 residents in the Steering Committee. After one year of experience, the local key actors are critical of the representation model in the committee. There is a concern that the residents' voices become too vague and the responsibility is too big for one representative only. Another concern is that four-month terms are too short to maintain continuity and knowledge of how to handle the decision-making process in the Steering Committee in a good way for the community. An additional view is that this model seems to be too fragile concerning the dwellers' voices.

Another experience relates to the cooperation between the three neighbourhoods of Cova da Moura, Buraca and Damaia. So far, the experiences hardly show any cooperation of importance between the neighbourhoods. One of the reasons seems to involve a political matter: The politicians from the other neighbourhoods are afraid of losing votes if they cooperate with the dwellers' organizations in Cova da Moura.

Other views

From the local representatives the following views were expressed concerning the intervention programme:

- People in the area have expectations for the CUA programme. However, from the first independent surveys in 2005 until now, nothing has happened with the dwellings. Some people have moved away and there are some signs of speculation.
- The local stakeholders experience that the neighbourhood of Cova da Moura has not been favoured by the politicians in the Municipality so far.
- There is a serious concern, shared by all the interviewees: There should be acceptance of Cova da Moura's special

situation. The local representatives argue for special treatment regarding the land question and the evaluation of the buildings. If not, they fear that 80 percent of the housing might be demolished.

- There is a fear that the “village image” and the community’s self-perceptions combined with solidarity may disappear if the area is opened up to the nearby neighbourhoods. There is also a fear that the same will happen as a result of the rehabilitation/demolishing/rebuilding process.
- There is a desire and suggestion from the local stakeholders that local inhabitants become involved as employed workers during the reconstructing and rehabilitation process in Cova da Moura. There is already a lot of competence among the dwellers related to house construction -- competence achieved while building and rebuilding their own and their neighbours’ homes. It is important to consider this type of employment as skills-development schemes, giving the local dwellers formal certificates in housing construction. By using local competence from the area, some of the main tasks in the programme will be fulfilled. That is, for example, to improve the employment and the economic income for the dwellers (and to reduce unemployment). In addition, the dwellers will be strongly involved in the programme. (or involved in the programme more strongly.)

4.5.2 Experiences and views of non-local stakeholders (central level)

The non-local representatives in the Steering Committee have in common a serious engagement for the successful improvement of Cova da Moura through the intervention programme. However, the representatives are not naive. The programme is seen as a possibility to move forward with a comprehensive and necessary improvement of the area, but not without difficulties. In questions relating to the ownership of the land and decisions on what to rehabilitate, demolish and rebuild, there is an understanding that there will be conflicting interests. At the same time, there was an understanding that only those who want to should be re-housed

outside the area. The residents should have the possibility to stay on in the area.

The land question and the construction/urban questions were regarded as the most delicate and challenging. For the Municipality it is a prerequisite that these interlinked questions find an acceptable solution through the process. The land question so far is not solved. The representatives from the Municipality upheld the decision/view that Cova de Moura is an informal settlement. The Municipality wants to buy the land on which rebuilding and development can take place. Regarding houses of a quality good enough to be rehabilitated instead of demolished, the representatives from the Municipality were of the opinion that the house owners cannot become owners of land they do not own. It is argued that there are other areas that face the same land problems. The Municipality has mapped 35 other critical areas; some were self-built illegally as in Cova da Moura, while others entail social housing. From the perspective of the Municipality it is difficult to have different rules and criteria for different areas that are facing similar problems. Neighbourhoods on informal land are a general problem. Since the 1960s, immigrants as well as national migrants moving to the cities had to build their own houses, since there was no rental market. They often built on abandoned land, like army roads. Just north of Cova da Moura there is another critical neighbourhood, called the "Military Road of Alto da Damaia". This area is less attractive. It is difficult to access and is more chaotic in its building structure and standards, as well as in its social organization. This wider perspective is important in order to understand the Municipality's point of view in the land question.

The intervention programme, however, is not only about peoples' rights to land. It is also about interventions into peoples' homes. When the process entails deciding what house and area can be rehabilitated and what cannot, the representatives anticipate different interests and even conflicts. It will probably be difficult for people to accept that their home is not good enough. People have invested much of their fortune in self-built and irregular homes. Rehabilitation will save the investments. Demolishing, on the other hand, will demolish both the house and the investment. Whether there will be any kind of compensation for the private investments is not yet clear.

Another concern about the rehabilitation and demolition/rebuilding process is that it will imply temporary relocation of residents. This might be a complicated and hard process for the residents. In addition, because of the physical works, the *community* in Cova de Moura will be disturbed and changed. There will be new neighbours and new relations will have to be built. This is feared because the community and solidarity *in* Cova de Moura is seen as one of its important qualities.

Apart from the forthcoming events in the intervention programme, the public sector representatives were concerned about the planning process leading to the action programme. The involvement of both multiple ministries and the residents in the planning process was assessed as valuable. With the protocol signed by the Ministries it is believed that the programme is funded at the state level and will be given due attention by state level actors in the implementation process.

The involvement of the residents in the planning process was appreciated even though it was time-consuming and difficult to please everybody. It was highly valued that the residents in fact were *heard*. The residents can find many of their proposals in the Action Plan. In this process the neighbourhood organizations played an important role. The residents had confidence in these organizations which made it easier to invite and mobilize. It was underlined by some of the representatives that it was important to continue to motivate the residents to engage in the process. The idea was that the residents must be given opportunities to take responsibility for their future. It was believed that if the residents feel included in the decisions, they will take responsibility and have better chances to succeed with their future housing and living situation. Several of the representatives mentioned other negative examples of re-housing, where people had been moved out of their original area. There were worries about the process where people do not feel included and lack opportunities to take responsibility. Such a process could create indifference and even vandalism.

Some of the representatives expressed that the non-local representatives in the Steering Committee fail to have the necessary knowledge about local issues and preferences. By cooperating with the neighbourhood organizations through the

Neighbourhood Committee, they can obtain this knowledge, *if they know how to value it*. The peoples' confidence in the neighbourhood associations and the Neighbourhood Committee gives these organizations local legitimacy in the process.

This argument leads up to the question of the residents' representation in the Steering Committee. It is well known that the local associations wanted more than one shared representative. On the other side, some of the non-local representatives experience this arrangement as a good solution, because with one representative from the Neighbourhood Committee the population of Cova de Moura talks with a single voice. Moreover, with the arrangement with the Neighbourhood Committee this one voice has to be a debated and negotiated voice from four associations.

4.5.3 Experiences of roles and ways of working in the Steering Committee

The work in the Steering Committee started in October 2007. The representatives from the municipal and other public institutions so far have just some preliminary experiences of the work in the Steering Committee.

Some of the representatives still have some reflections on their own role in the Steering Committee. The representative from the Municipality assumes several roles. First, it is her task to do the articulation and coordination between the Municipality and the IHRU. Second, she should assure that the Municipality's commitments are understood by the other stakeholders. While the Municipality's representative has a general role in the Steering Committee, some of the others are there to defend and uphold special interests. For example, the representative from the health sector sees his task as identifying indicators for health that are important for the people in Cova de Moura. The representative has long experience from work in the area and can use this experience in the work with the programme. His acquired cultural sensitiveness will be of great help to identify useful indicators. His holistic approach to health includes preventing early pregnancy and sexually transmitted diseases as well as promoting education.

The work so far has concentrated on starting the implementation process. To make the meetings effective there are agendas sent out beforehand with necessary papers. This allows for negotiating processes *before* the meetings. They all communicate and negotiate by e-mail before meetings, "*we do a lot of this*". According to one of the representatives this opportunity was of importance both for the Steering Committee representative and for the others in the Neighbourhood Committee.

4.5.4 Common and opposite views among local and non-local stakeholders

Common views

First, it is important to underline that all the representatives in the Steering Committee and the Neighbourhood Committee have positive expectations to the implementation of the intervention programme in Cova da Moura. However, the external representatives seem more optimistic than the locals. The locals have worries that the different interests involved in the area might disturb the process.

All the informants, independent of institutional belonging, agree that the public myths about the area and the people living there do not correspond with reality, especially criminality and the drug situation. Criminality is lower than what outsiders think. When it concerns drugs, the informants underline that most of the dealers are white people hiding in Cova de Moura, which is easy because of its bad reputation. Moreover, following the same lines, most of the consumers live outside the area, in the neighbouring boroughs. This is not to deny that there is a drug problem in the area, but to nuance the situation. It is important to note that people in the area do not want to solve the problem by pushing the drug addicts belonging to Cova de Moura out, but by helping and supporting them in the area.

Overall, outsiders judge the people in Cova de Moura based on what they do not have. What they have, their capacities as individuals and as a community, is not in the picture. Therefore many of the informants, in line with the objectives in the Action Plan, are concerned with improving the public image and attractiveness of Cova de Moura.

Split views

There are different opinions about the fact that locals only have *one representative* in the Steering Committee. The local, and some of the external, informants support a broader local representation. They claim that it can be difficult to articulate the local interests with only one representative. It might be more difficult to bring out usable and necessary local knowledge in all its breadth. Such knowledge can help to make the programme more sustainable. Moreover, the burden of the responsibility (to take decisions on behalf of 7000 neighbours) is too heavy to bear for one person alone. The opposite argument deals with effectiveness in the decision-making processes in the Steering Committee. One local voice is easier to handle than many. Moreover, the external representatives assumed that all the representatives in the Neighbourhood Committee discussed the Steering Committee meetings before and after.

The locals argue that Cova da Moura should constitute a *special case*. If defined as a special case, they argue that arrangements in Cova da Moura do not have to be an example for other areas. According to the locals, special treatment would help to solve the land question and the decisions following the mapping of the built area.

4.6 Funding of the CUA programme in Cova da Moura

The total contributions from the Portuguese authorities will depend on the results from the housing survey and the urban plan. The total budget for Cova da Moura has been estimated to be about 100 million Euros.¹⁷ Of this, about 3.5 million Euros will be spent on the purchase of the land. The 16.5 hectares of private property occupied by the neighbourhood will be financed by the Government and the Municipality together.¹⁸ The Amadora municipality will contribute with 45 million Euros.¹⁹ The EEA

¹⁷ João Ferrão, state secretary for spatial planning and cities, to *Meia Hora*, 11/09/2007.

¹⁸ Margarida Guimarães, representative of Amadora Municipal Council in the Cova da Moura Steering Committee to *Journal de Construções*, 04/10/2007.

¹⁹ João Ferrão to *Meia Hora*, 11/09/2007 and Margarida Guimarães to *Journal de Construções*, 04/10/2007. .

Funding Mechanisms will cover 3.8 million Euros of the spending from 2007 to April 2011 in Cova da Moura (see specifications in Table 4.1. – source: IHRU November 2007).

Table 4.1 *Activities supported by the EEA financial mechanism*

Ref.	Action Plan component	Support (€)
1.1.a)	Survey (study and characterization) of the built-up area.	96.350
1.3.c)	Drawing up of the urban 'Detail Plan' (including study of residence population and drafting study for transports, circulation and traffic)	353.000
2.3.a)	Basic infrastructures (construction/remodelling)	1 400.000
2.3.b)	Recuperation of the (physical) Wind Mill	100.000
2.6.a)	Construction of/rehabilitation of social school and recreational amenities ('the anchor project')	750.000
2.6.b)	Preparation and animation of 'the anchor project' activities	266.200
4.1.a)	Preparation and implementation of a territorial Marketing Plan (construction and dissemination of the image 'New Cova da Moura') .	163.100
0.1.a)	Local technical Office and Office expenses	374.350
0.1.b)	Evaluation, monitoring and technical support	97.000
0.1.c)	Cops and e-learning technical support and local specific training actions	200.000

According to the financial director of Amadora Municipal Council, the Government and the Municipality have agreed on the main principles for financing the intervention in Cova da Moura.²⁰ As a main principle, the Municipality participates with services, not with cash money. Some of the Cova da Moura Action Plan is secured funding; some is not.

- Expropriation of the land and the housing development will be financed by the Government and the Municipality together.

²⁰ Interview 30/10/2007,

- The three professionals in the local technical office will be financed by different parts. The project leader (Architect) will be financed by the EEA (through IHRU), while the social assistant and the administrative support will be financed by the Municipality.

4.7 Who will benefit from the programme?

First, the intervention programme should benefit all those people living in Cova da Moura. The programme offers a comprehensive intervention and development of the area, for and with all the people already living there. It is not on the agenda to relocate special or difficult groups, but to improve their living conditions *in* the area. Whether this will be successful is hard to know in the beginning of the implementation process. One of the major challenges is how to make all the different self-made businesses legal. In some cases demands regarding education, regulations and documentation papers might be difficult to meet. If so, will there be a second plan for such businesses (inclusive entrepreneurship), for local businessmen and businesswomen? If not, the intervention programme might change these peoples' life situation from being self-reliant to becoming social-assistance dependants.

Even though the goal is to benefit all the people in Cova da Moura, it might be shown that the homeowners in the best areas will profit more or in a more successful way than the homeowners in the less viable areas. The latter homeowners might lose the most, if their investments are not compensated, even if they get new housing. The tenants, on the other hand, may get access to new and good housing with a stable and legal contract. People's assessments of losses/benefits will depend on the costs and tenure conditions in the new housing facilities.

As the population in Cova de Moura already belongs to different social classes, with the inherent development of a 'petit bourgeoisie', the intervention programme might enforce this differentiation process. Nevertheless, for the community as a whole it might be good to further develop social diversity across economic and ethnic lines.

Second, the programme should benefit the whole municipality of Amadora. It was underlined that the negative rumours and images

of Cova da Moura cast a shadow over the whole municipality. There were hopes that this negative image of Cova da Moura would be proved wrong during the process. With the wide-ranging and comprehensive requalification processes of the area, the municipality hopes that a new and positive image of Cova da Moura will be created, followed by a positive image of the Municipality of Amadora. The foreign researchers writing this report experienced the need for a change of image of Cova da Moura. All the taxi drivers taking the researchers to the area were surprised about where they were going and proclaimed something like this: *“Do you know where you are going? Why are you going there? Don’t you know it is a dangerous place? I am not driving inside the area!”*

4.8 Some possible dilemmas in the governance of the CUA programme in Cova de Moura

The decision-making process regarding the vital questions in Cova da Moura are located in different decision-making arenas and in different types of decision-making.

Up to this point in the process, it appears that the land question (Axis 2), which is vital for the population, is not under the control of the Steering Committee. The Mayor of the Municipality of Amadora has stated that this question will be decided by the Municipality. The argument is that this is a political question with consequences for other informal residential areas. Therefore the Municipality wants to keep the full jurisdiction in this issue. According to some of the informants, this was a prerequisite for the Mayor’s and the Municipality’s involvement in the programme for Cova da Moura. However, this does not prevent the Steering Committee from giving recommendations to the Mayor and other relevant political bodies in Amadora.

Other vital questions are related to the survey of the built-up area and its occupancy (Axis 1). The survey will identify, characterize and map the physical conditions of the houses - *people’s homes*. This mapping will thereafter form the base for an urban Detail Plan for the area. That plan will suggest which areas can be rehabilitated and which areas rather should be demolished and rebuilt. The considerations and negotiations will, as far as we know today, be taken in the Steering Committee. There are some dilemmas linked

to these decisions. First, this decision more than others concerns the future of people's homes. Nevertheless, representatives in the Steering Committee not living in the area are in the majority when negotiating this question. The majority of the Steering Committee represent public sector institutions that support the improvement in the area. Whatever the decision, it will probably be disputed and much debated, even though the idea is to reach decisions through dialogues and not by votes. Since the people of Cova da Moura only have one representative in the Steering Committee, a consideration is that the representative should abstain from voting in this case, if there is voting, to avoid being part of the potential conflict. The residents' representative should have the possibility to be a spokesman for, and support, all the different interests among the population in Cova de Moura, without taking actively part in the concrete decision.

Local representatives fear that these decisions might be influenced by the market potentials of Cova da Moura. Will the economic potentials pull the decisions in a direction which might counteract the interests of the people currently living in Cova da Moura?

These two examples highlight that there are different governance modes related to the different objectives, axes and components in the Action Plan for Cova da Moura. The land issue will probably be decided upon inside the established political and hierarchical decision-making system in the municipality. It may be a top-down decision. In the issue regarding the survey of the buildings and the urban (detailed) plan, the vital decisions will probably be taken in the Steering Committee *and* in relevant municipal political bodies related to urban development, as well as in the IHRU. In any case the power relations are likely to be asymmetrical. The Municipality will have the formal power. The Steering Committee has a majority of public sector institutions, making it difficult for the one local representative to voice the interests of the population, *if* there are clashes of interests between the members of the Steering Committee. However, the people living in Cova da Moura and its organizations might be successful in creating pressure through the mass media.

Given the locals' limited representation in the Steering Committee, they might develop alternative arenas to raise their voices. Networking with outside actors might be relevant. The community

associations are already experienced in this, by taking part in different political parties and by promoting candidates to be elected to the municipal and sub-municipal ('freguesia') councils.

In the next chapter some relevant alternative intervention strategies are suggested to understand the broad intervention in Cova da Moura.

5 Conclusion

In this early assessment of the Urban Critical Areas programme in Portugal, the purpose has been to get an overview of what is going on and what has already been initiated by the end of 2007.²¹

The three residential area programmes do not progress at the same rate. To get insight into how the programme looks from below, we chose to follow the area of Cova da Moura in this first phase, because it was the area that so far had introduced the most activities as part of the programme.

5.1 The progress of the programme

By November 2007 the status of the implementation of the CUA programmes can be summarized as follows:

Lagarteiro: No implementation yet. The Partnership Protocol was not yet signed by all partners. Delays are said to be due to the Porto Municipal Council demanding more funds or guarantees for funding, before starting implementation. The Steering Committee was not yet constituted, and the proceedings to recruit a Project Leader had not started. IHRU expected programme activities to start by the second quarter of 2008.

Vale da Amoreira: 'Fastest' progress so far (on the paper).

The Steering Committee has been established with regular meetings since April 2007. However, there were two problems: First, the Steering Committee was without community

²¹ It is hoped that this report will be the first in a series of reports to provide feedback to the stakeholders of the programme, in a Formative Dialogue Research design.

representatives. There were only four active representatives in the Committee: from IHRU; the Municipality; the police (GNR); and the social security. Two seats are reserved for rotating community representatives, but these seats were still vacant. One seat should be shared by the CRIVA (the centre for elderly), RUMO (the youth association) or another Portuguese NGO for social solidarity. The remaining seat is reserved for immigrant groups. There had not yet been any meetings in the Partners' Board (Comissão da Acompanhamento). There is a well-functioning network of municipal and social-delivery institutions (IPSSs), but the associational network – the local civil society – is very weak.

Second, the Project Leader was not hired before mid-September 2007. From his point of view it was said to be convenient that the formal set-up had been delayed – then more time would be available to mobilize the professional, bureaucratic and financial resources needed.

Cova da Moura: late, but fast. The first meeting in the Steering Committee was held 19 September 2007. Since then the Steering Committee has met regularly, the project leader and the project team have been in place, and the Municipality has been involved in activities in the area. Some of the local public institutions have increased their activities in Cova da Moura during the year – this is considered to be due to the CUA Initiative.

5.1.1 Different reasons for delays

The progress of the programme has been delayed relative to the initial time schedule. There has been a relatively long interval – between 10 and 12 months for Cova da Moura and Vale da Amoreira – between the formal agreement of the action plan and the first steps of implementation. The loss of momentum may erode the enthusiasm for the agreements initially obtained.

There are many reasons for the delays. The CUA Initiative has a complicated governance structure, multi-level and multi-actor based as it is. So far, more than 90 governmental and non-governmental, central and local services and organizations have been involved. Thus, the planning and implementation processes had to be decentralized in order to be effective. Decentralization means that the municipalities need to be the organizational locus,

offering close dialogue with and participation of the local partners and the neighbourhoods. “Strategic co-ordination with local actors and transversal residents’ participation are key principles” (INH, 2007)

The CUA Initiative seems to face problems regarding the attempts to make innovations in the mode of work. According to one of the members of the Expert Group, this type of participatory planning is new in Portugal. The model comes from the EU, and the question is whether and to what extent this model will work in Portugal. Traditionally the municipalities have worked more with ‘things’ – housing, roads, etc. – than with ‘people’: The municipalities are not used to having residents and neighbourhoods as partners in urban rehabilitation and development processes.

5.2 Alternative intervention strategies and perspectives: what is the case for CUA?

At this stage in the process we find it relevant to make a few comments on the intervention approaches in the CUA programme. Our comments are shaped by our impressions from Cova da Moura as well as by our research from Norway (see Appendix 2).

As has been mentioned earlier, the intervention programme involves recognition of the complexity in the approaches and in the consensus building. The complexity and the comprehensive approach imply that different kinds of approaches are included. As we understand the action programme, and as it was formulated at the beginning of the intervention process, there is a strong desire to take a complex and multifold approach.

- a) It seems obvious that the intervention programme in Cova da Moura focuses primarily on *urban development*. The urban plan will in many ways redesign the functions of the area (Axis 2). The plan will include localizing and relocalizing dwellings, public space, market functions and more. From the Municipality’s point of view, it is important to open the area to the surrounding neighbourhoods. Some of our informants also underline the importance of opening the local institutions in

the adjacent neighbourhoods for people from Cova da Moura. One example is that the children and the youngsters from Cova da Moura should be allowed to attend the schools in Buraca and Damaia. This is said to be important in order to avoid polarization and social segregation. This kind of social engineering could also help promote normalization between the people from Cova da Moura and other neighbourhoods in the Municipality of Amadora. One first step to reduce scepticism could be to make an urban plan which invites people to meet and interact in daily life.

- b) Another objective is to increase and *develop the attractiveness* and to *create a new image of the area* (Axis 4). This should benefit the people in Cova da Moura and outsiders. In addition to the other activities, this approach includes active dissemination of “The New Cova da Moura”. One important approach here would be to highlight, support and improve the special qualifications in Cova da Moura, such as the cultural and ethnic characteristics and activities (Axis 7).
- c) A third and connected approach is to *reduce the disadvantages of growing up and living in the area*. This can be done by resolving urgent and more permanent problems related to issues of public health, hygiene and health promotion (Axes 3 and 5). Besides, there will be increasing support to the already existing social institutions in the area, their activities and their physical conditions. Important in this approach is also to fight against crime and drug trafficking, to prevent domestic violence (Axis 4) and to promote parenthood (Axis 5).
- d) A fourth approach will focus *on the economic development* in the area (Axis 6). Today, the area is characterized by a vivid economy, even though it might not be in accordance with all regulations. There is an expressed objective to make it possible for people to continue in the businesses that are established or to create new ones, no matter whether or not this is inside the legal framework. One way to do this is through formation and training activities to qualify people for local business initiatives (Axis 6). Where to localize the local market place and where to arrange for what kind of small local businesses is part of this approach (Axis 2). In addition to supporting business development inside the area, another objective is to make it

- possible for parents working outside the area to have proper and safe care for their children.
- e) A fifth approach is to use the intervention programme to promote an understanding for developing a *sustainable neighbourhood* (Axis 8). This involves the use of and training in renewable and alternative energies in construction work. Furthermore, the sustainable approach includes a green structure as part of the urban plan, introducing collective vegetable gardens. Sustainable energy and vegetable gardens support peoples' health and ability to be self-reliant. To succeed with this approach, considerable attention will be given to training and information in order to make people capable of living a more sustainable life in sustainable environments, and to make them change attitudes and behaviour.
 - f) Finally, we realize that the organization of the planning process and the implementation depend on successful *networking*. The main decisions have to be understood and, if possible, supported by a wide range of actors: illegal immigrants, "the petit bourgeoisie" living in the area, local associations and institutions, municipal administrative entities and political bodies, as well as actors at the central level like the IHRU. Regarding implementation of the programme through networking decisions, one can say that the networking involves all the formal and informal relations and decisions that make the intervention programme work.

An essential element in this programme is that the approach is so broad, taking all sides of life into consideration in addition to the legalization of land and the housing conditions. As demonstrated in other European programmes, the time schedule might be too short (Vestergaard, 2004). Changing people's life perspectives takes time, and this has to happen along with managerial changes, physical changes and re-localization of people and rebuilding of sustainable social and cultural life.

Compared to Norwegian interventions in urban areas, the Portuguese approach is quite challenging because it includes so many approaches in *one* intervention programme and within a relatively limited number of years. The limited size of the programmes, regarding the number of inhabitants in each area and

the territorial scope, might be decisive for a successful outcome. Viewed from another perspective it is important that the programme have a comprehensive and holistic approach. In this way, one might be able to cover and relate to a lot of interlinked conditions that are important to improve peoples' lives.

5.3 Further research questions

There are a number of potential challenges for the implementation of the programme in the three areas that are relevant for future studies. A core question in the whole programme is to what extent governance through information, communication, networking and participation can be carried out. Seen from the outside, the challenges are related to:

- sufficient amount of understandable information, communication and time allowed for dialogue to involve the stakeholders and target groups in decisions built on consensus;
- enough time to implement all the objectives and activities in a satisfactory manner;
- to meet the peoples' expectations on time; and
- sufficient financing to implement the programme.

Future studies need to identify to what extent and how the participatory and dialogue-based approach has worked in the three neighbourhoods, what kind of conditions helped participation, and what kind of conditions were experienced as obstacles:

- How to include the locals in decision-making that is crucial for the implementation?
- How to keep the Steering Committees' local legitimacy in the areas if the local representation continues at a minimal level?
- How to keep and develop the sense of belonging and local ownership in the process?
- How to handle contradicting objectives and interests?

- How to prevent gentrification and speculative building (Cova da Moura)?

These questions may help us gain insights into the *effectiveness*, including punctual implementation of the intervention programme. The effectiveness may vary between the three neighbourhoods in the CUA programme. Certain governance issues relating to political-organizational conditions need to be addressed through a comparative analysis in order to understand variations in programme effectiveness.

Thus, to what extent, and how, do the following factors influence the effectiveness of the programme:

- The local associational network, e.g. its cohesion, social capital, capacity to mobilize external civil society and political support?
- The number of local/residents representatives (one in Cova da Moura, two in Vale da Amoreira) in the Steering Committee?
- The approach by the Municipality and the trust relations between the Municipality and neighbourhood?
- 'External factors', like the relations between the central government and the specific municipal leadership, the involvement of expert groups, the role of European actors (EU, EEA)?

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Appendix 1

List of informants

Representatives from the following organizations and institutions have been interviewed because of their role or relation to the CUA programme:

Central actors covering the three areas:

2006-November - 2007 December	IHRU top management Several representatives, several meetings.
2007-Nov-22	IHRU/CUA director
2007-March- 2007-December	ISCTE – CUA Expert Group 2 representatives, several meetings through the year.
2007-Sept-28	Universidade Técnica /The group of architects working on the Requalification project for associations in Cova da Moura
2007-Nov-21	IHRU top- management

Lagarteiro:

2007-Sept-24	Visit to Lagarteiro with IHRU representative
2007-Sept-24	Centro Social de Lagarteiro
2007-Sept-24	Fourth Division of the Public Security Police, Porto

Vale da Amoreira:

2007-Sept-25	Visit to Vale da Amoreira with IHRU representative.
2007-Sept-25	Local Project Leader
2007-Sept-25	Junta de Freguesia do Vale da Amoreira
2007-Sept-25	RUMO (Youth association)
2007-Sept-25	Associação Guineense
2007-Sept-25	Atelier de Tempos Livres 'Os Pintainhos*
2007-Sept-25	CRIVA; Centro de Reformados e Idosos do Vale da Amoreira

Cova da Moura:

2007-Sept-26	Associação de Moradores do Bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura
2007-Sept-27	Associação de Solidariedade Social do Alto da Cova da Moura
2007-Sept-27	Moinho da Juventude (Cova da Moura)
2007-Nov-23	3 representatives, several meetings
2007-Sept-27	Centro Social e Paroquial Buraca (Cova da Moura) 2 representatives, several meetings.
2007-Oct-30	EB 1 Cova da Moura (Primary School)
2007-Oct-30	Public Security Police (Cova da Moura)
2007-Oct-30	The Municipality of Amadora
2007-Oct-31	Medical Centre of Damaia – Buraca
2007-Oct-31	Social Security Office in Amadora
2007-Nov-23	Resident representative in the CUA local Executive Committee
2008-April-15	Resident representative in the CUA local Executive Committee
2008-April-15	Project Leader, CUA Cova da Moura

Appendix 2

Some Norwegian points of reference

Norway, and especially Oslo and some other cities, have experience from socio-territorial interventions in disadvantaged neighbourhoods. In this respect there are two programmes that can be mentioned, each lasted 10 years. The first programme on urban renewal (1977 – 1985) focused mainly on the housing question; rehabilitation, demolishing vs. new building, upgrading of semi-private green areas inside the quarters and a shift in ownership. In some of the studies from the programme, the dwellers' expectations and experiences in the renewal process were in focus (Ruud 2003) The programme was directed towards three city districts with old constructions and about 50 000 to 60 000 inhabitants. The result was better housing conditions, higher housing costs, homeownership and more attractive areas. The focus was only on improving the physical conditions and transfer of ownership. However, critical voices asked for a more holistic approach, including social and cultural dimensions.

Some years later an action programme for the same areas was launched. In this programme employment, social, cultural and educational investments and activities were in focus (1997 -2007). An important issue was also migration, the multicultural neighbourhood and ethnic minorities, as well as children and youth (Ruud 2001, Ruud 2002, Søholt 2000, 2001, Holm and Søholt 2005, Søholt 2007). The areas have become even more popular and the gentrification process has been reversed succeeded (exceeded expectations?) (Sæter and Ruud 2005, 2007). The implementation of the first urban renewal was based on a new

law on urban renewal. The action programme was founded on a partnership between the Municipality of Oslo and several ministries and was preceded by studies and analysis of living conditions, social problems that have been experienced and other needs. A budget of 100 million NOK (approximately 12 million Euros) was granted every year. How to use the money was to a large degree up to the city districts and other local actors. They had to propose and ask for projects to meet the social needs.

A third intervention programme has recently started in Groruddalen Valley in Oslo. The main part of the valley was build in the 1970s, 1980s and the 1990s and about 150 000 people are living there today. The share of ethnic minorities is increasing. The “Intervention programme in Groruddalen” (2007-2016) offers a holistic perspective, organized into four programmes focusing on both social conditions and the physical environment. The four programmes deal with: a) environmentally-friendly transport; b) strengthening the green belt, leisure and cultural environment; c) development of physical places, meeting places and local identity; d) improving the living conditions. The budget of the programme is 100 million NOK (approximately 12 million Euros) every year for ten years. At present there are some preliminary analyses going on for some of the chosen areas in the intervention (Ruud 2007). Main challenges are *broad* involvement and participation at the neighbourhood level. Another challenge is to find *methods to include and motivate the minority population*, and as a result, to get the most out of diverse and multicultural neighbourhoods. The third challenge is to provide social and cultural sustainability during and after the programme period.

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Appendix 3

Associations in Cova da Moura

Associação de Moradores do Bairro Alto da Cova da Moura

In 1978 'The Residents' Association of Bairro do Alto da Cova da Moura' was the first association to be created in the neighbourhood. Its direction was elected by a few neighbours to legally represent the residents and their interests to the Municipality. This allowed the neighbourhood to be endowed with basic infra-structures: water, electricity, telephones, asphalt streets and a primary school. At present, the Residents' Association numbers 600 members (family heads) and its activities are devoted to the struggle for legalization and re-qualification of the neighbourhood, as well as the support to the residents (counselling and help).

Associação de Solidariedade Social do alto Cova da Moura

'The Alto Cova da Moura Association for Social Solidarity' was founded on 13 February 1980 by a small residents' group, and promotes the union and conviviality among the inhabitants through sports, cultural activities and recreation. Its central goal is to promote stability in a clandestine neighbourhood with uncertain future. It has had a folklore group since the 1980s which performs around the country; its football and athletic teams are quite well-known. Since the 1990 there is a fitness club, with aerobics, weight training and step classes.

The club has 400 members and is registered with the Lisbon Football Association, INATEL and the Culture and Recreation Collectivities Federation. It is well known by the High

Commissariat for Immigration and Cultural Dialogue (ACIDI) as an association devoted to a migrant population with the status of “Instituição Particular de Solidariedade Social” (IPSS), “Private Institution for Social Solidarity”.

It develops activities in different areas such as distribution of clothing and food, psycho-social counselling, promotion of academics and professional workshops, leisure occupations, holiday camps, recycling workshops, plastic arts, and youth international exchanges with different countries; and roller skating (40 young practitioners).

Cultural activities include one theatre group and two dance groups; in partnership with the school it helps in sports classes and parent’s counselling.

Other activities are card games, chess, shooting (tiro ao alvo), domino, draughts, table football, snooker and *chinquilbo*, Carnaval, S. Martinho, Christmas and New Year’s Eve. The education programmes are informatics courses (with computers and the Internet).

It has partnerships with the Municipality and the boroughs, the Portuguese Youth Institute, Public Security Police (Policia de Seguranca Pública), the National Employment Centre, several universities, and the Food Bank, among others.

Associação Cultural ‘Moinho da Juventude’

The Cultural Association ‘Moinho da Juventude’ (‘The Youth Mill’) has been active in the neighbourhood since 1987. It has 970 members. It evolved from informal work with children, women, and the fight for basic sanitation. Today it is an integrated project of Alto da Cova da Moura.

The Moinho activity is based on 12 pillars, the first being *empowerment*. One of its priorities is professional education for youth and adults. Therefore, it stimulates the working capacities of the neighbours creating local services and encouraging local economy.

This association has an important role in the preservation and publishing of the residents’ cultural heritage, which is reflected in the dance groups “Ta Kai Ta Rábida” and the music groups

“Finka Pé“ and “Kola San Djon”, as well as in selling Cape Verdean books, through the support of the Cape Verdean Book Institute (ICL).

It has 65 employees, trainees and volunteers working in teaching, recreation activities, and prevention of delinquency in the following areas:

- The crèche “A Árvore” (the tree), created in 2003 which welcomes 60 children between four months and three years old, open between 6 A.M. and 8 P.M.;
- The kindergarten with 65 children; employment of 12 breast mothers (amas) inside the crèche with four children each;
- The recreation centre (ATL) with school support; technical and professional courses (Project for supported employment in the context of the communitarian initiative EQUAL);
- Teachers’ education; parents’ education project “O Pulo” - a course for strengthening the parent-children-community relationship where the “neighbourhood parents (“pais de bairro”) work with families;
- Help for adolescent mothers (early pregnancy is one of the big problems throughout the Amadora municipal area);
- Adult literacy courses;
- Actions for HIV and violence prevention;
- Documentation support
- Library/documentation centre;
- Sport groups
- An enormous panoply of proximity activities and services, specially the project *Sabura* (creole word meaning pleasure) willing to transmit a positive image of the neighbourhood through a one-day tourist tour (12.5 Euros, including a Cape Verdean lunch – *cachupa*), to visit the local African hairdressers and the pedagogic farm of Moinho da Juventude where we can see wall *graffiti*, the dances and can listen to African music. The tour ends with a couscous tea time and the promise to return on the 18th of June, the day of the *Kola San Djon* party (celebrated with debates, dances, music, sport activities and Cape Verdean food).

Moinho da Juventude has contacts with the National Employment Center, the City Council, the local boroughs, the Regional Social Security Center, ACIDI, the Ministry of Education, universities, among other institutions. Occasionally, there are also exchanges with foreign institutions in Spain, Brazil, France, Belgium, Italy, Germany, Slovenia, South Africa, Ghana and India. The Moinho has protocols/agreements with the Calouste Gulbenkian Nurse School, the SEF (border and foreigners' service), and social insertion institutions.

Centro Social e Paroquial de N^a Sr^a Mãe de Deus de Buraca

- Our Mother of God Social Parish Centre of Buraca, including St. Gerardo Children Centre belongs to the Catholic Church. It has an important role in Cova da Moura where most of the population is Catholic. Its role is religious, but also social. The parish owns the São Gerardo Children Centre, whose goals are to create adequate conditions for children and contribute to their psycho-social development in a healthy, safe and comfortable environment.

The parish has also installed a mobile container for the "Creche Sem Fronteiras", which welcomes very young children. This crèche was created by the Communitarian Initiative Programme (PIC) *Urban II* - Amadora (Damaia-Buraca), and is equipped with a room for 16 young children between the ages of 12 and 36 months, a baby room for 11 children between the ages of 3 and 12 months, an activities room, dining hall, nappy room, isolation room, WC for children and a playground. It is open from 7 A.M. to 7 P.M. This institution also has domiciliary services with a long waiting list of the elderly population in Cova da Moura.

All these institutions, as with others that are physically distant from the neighbourhood (such as the social security centre, the Municipality), provide considerable support to local families concerning very different problems including legalization, drugs, alcohol, teen-age girls' pregnancies.

Appendix 4

Terms of references

Terms of Reference

Formative dialogue research on the Critical Urban Areas programme in Portugal

**Norwegian Institute for Urban and Regional Research
(NIBR),**

March 2007

1. Background and scope

The Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), through the EEA Financial Mechanisms, supports projects and programmes that aim to reduce social and economic disparities within the European Economic Area (EEA), and to enable all EEA countries to participate fully in the Internal Market. One of these programmes is the Critical Urban Areas programme (CUA) in Portugal.

The CUA aims to promote an integrated and comprehensive territorial approach by piloting a new organizational model – one that does not solely focus on financial resources, but presents alternative ways of socio-territorial intervention among different actors (public and private sector, central and local administration). The following ministries are involved: Environment, Spatial Planning and Regional Development; Internal Administration, Social Security and Work; Health; Education; Culture; and the

Presidency of the Council of Ministers. The Housing National Institute (HNI) (Instituto Nacional de Habitação, INH) is the key organization responsible for the co-ordination of the programme.

The programme is a result of an innovative planning process based on strong participation methodologies and territorial approaches in 2005 and 2006. It is being implemented in three specific neighbourhoods -- two in the metropolitan area of Lisbon and one in the metropolitan area of Oporto. The goals of the programme are to: (i) contribute to the social, economic, educational and cultural development of disadvantaged neighbourhoods; and (ii) develop the organizational and methodological framework as part of a national learning process.

4. Objective and purpose

The objective of the research provided by NIBR is to contribute to organizational and policy learning and improvement of the CUA programme for the achievement of the programme's overall objectives

The purpose of the research is twofold:

- First, to obtain information about the measures that are being implemented to enable the researchers to give feedback to the stakeholders' MFA, the Portuguese authorities (INH) and the involved communities about why the measures are working or not working.
- Second, by providing feedback throughout the research process, the research-based information allows the stakeholders, the implementing authorities, to adjust the projects, taking into account problems that have been identified through the research process.

The particular focus for the first year of research is, in addition to evaluating the first measures that are implemented, to identify and compare the roles and resources attributed to the various stakeholders of the programmes in the three neighbourhoods mentioned below.

Special emphasis will be given to the components of the CUA programme that will be financed under the EEA financial mechanism

5. Methodology

Formative Dialogue Research will be the methodological framework for the research.

- A permanent research team will follow the programme over a longer period of time, collecting and analysing their own data;
- There will be a dialogue and feedback of results to the different stakeholders in the programme/reform process -- in particular the ministries and agencies responsible for the funding and the implementation of the programme, respectively;
- The quality and relevance of the research – in terms of methodology, accountability, documentation, publication, impartiality and ethical aspects – will be judged against academic, scientific standards.

Repeated dialogue meetings may allow the researchers to build up a relationship of trust with the stakeholders' implementing partners involved in implementing a particular project.

6. Geographical focus

The empirical focus of the research will be the three neighbourhoods that make up the CUA programme:

Cova da Moura (Lisbon Metropolitan Area): the most stigmatized area in the Lisbon region, an illegal neighbourhood (approximately 6 000 inhabitants, of which 70 percent are from Cabo Verde) where over half of the population is under 20 years old.

Vale da Amoreira (Lisbon Metropolitan Area): social housing area (224 hectares and 13 522 inhabitants) – benefited from significant investment in physical rehabilitation since 1995, in need of consolidation and the development of social and economic dynamics.

Lagarteiro (Oporto Metropolitan Area): social housing area (approximately 2000 inhabitants) – 40 percent of the total population is under 24 years old, and suffers from building and general environmental degradation, a low skills base, high levels of unemployment and drug addiction.

5. Organizational framework and reporting

Two studies will be undertaken and reported to the MFA, the Portuguese authorities and other stakeholders:

1. A political-organizational, or governance, baseline study – of the roles and resources attributed to the various stakeholders of the three neighbourhood programmes.
2. A more focused socio-cultural study of the dwellers' experiences of first measures implemented in one of the neighbourhoods.

Much of the feedback to local stakeholders will be done verbally through regular meetings, seminars and workshops, as well as by systematic annual reporting.

The project leader is Einar Braathen. The studies will be conducted by Einar Braathen in collaboration with Marit Ekne Ruud and Susanne Søholt in close cooperation with INH and its expert group.

INH, its expert group and recognized representatives of the CUA neighbourhoods, will take part in a Project Reference Group with whom the research team will have at least two meetings annually.

A final report – based on two studies, each not exceeding 40 pages – will be presented to MFA and INH.

The 2007 project involves 32 days of fieldwork and 367 work hours for NIBR researchers. Including assistance of NOK 88 000 from Portuguese partners, the total budget amounts to NOK 499 525.