WP7 – The spatial dimension of household's resilience

Portuguese National Report

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May 2016

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Introduction

The current report presents the results of the analysis of the interviews that were made by the Portuguese team within the RESCUE project. The goal of this report was to explore the data collected during fieldwork from a spatial perspective. We thus followed an essentially comparative method, focusing on phenomena which presented different aspects or configurations in the rural and urban areas of our sample.

The report is thought as feeding the WP7 International Report. Data will be presented in a way that facilitates international comparison. As such, we opted for selecting excerpts that either were representative of data for a large part of the sample, illustrated spatially contrasting dimensions of relevant phenomena or represented unexpected findings.

We followed closely the structure that was proposed by the WP coordinating team. The report is thus divided in two parts. The first part is dedicated to a short description of the urban and rural areas where our fieldwork took place. Maps of these areas can be also be found in the annexes.

The second part of the report has four chapters. Chapter 1 deals with the body and focuses on two major lines: firstly, the effects of the crisis on mental and physical health of the respondents; secondly, how they made use of their bodies in order to tackle hardship – through mobilization of accumulated competences and skills – and how differences in *habitus* and gender influenced their capacity to develop such responses.

Chapter 2 focuses on the respondents' home. It explores how the characteristics of the dwelling – for example, its size or the availability of vegetable gardens– can foster or hamper resilience processes. Special attention will be played to strategies of recomposition of the household as a means to deal with hardship brought on by the crisis. This chapter also delves into the symbolic meanings that respondents ascribed to their dwellings and how housing features in their aspirations and plans for the future.

Chapter 3 centers on community. The focus is here on two levels. The first is on how the geographical characteristics of the neighborhoods/villages where respondents live constitute foster or hamper resilience processes – particularly regarding mobility and relation to other points in space. The second level is how the local networks in which the respondents are included – including neighbor networks but also the institutional fabric of the community – are called upon to tackle the effects of the crisis.

Finally, Chapter 4 will deal with supra-local scale phenomena affecting – directly or indirectly – our respondents. We will take special interest in two of these phenomena. The first is the labor market transformations which have affected our sample. We focus on two long-standing trends in Portuguese economy – deindustrialization and the decreasing demand for lower qualifications –but also more immediate shocks directly related to the economic depression – such as the crisis of the construction sector. The second phenomenon of interest will be the financialization of the Portuguese economy and its impacts on the Portuguese housing policies – whose effects can also be discerned in our sample.

PART I. SPATIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF URBAN AND RURAL CASES

A. Urban Case

Lugarão is a town situated immediately to the northwest of Lisbon, with which it forms an urban continuum. With an area of just 23,8 km^2, the Lugarão municipality is the smallest in area of the 18 municipalities in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (AML). However, it also has the fifth higher total population in the AML, with 175 354 inhabitants and, consequently, the highest population density in the entire AML, standing at 7 373people per km^2.[1]

The Lugarão municipality was created in 1979, when its territory was detached from the larger municipalities of Figueirinha, to the South, and Pena, to the North. The town had by then grown from the rural hamlet of the late 19th century to an important Lisbon suburb.

The town began to develop an extension of adjacent working-class neighbourhoods of northwest Lisbon in the in the first half 20th century and, by 1950, its population totalled 19 700. From this point onwards Lugarão witnessed a surge in legal and illegal construction in the surrounding vacant lands. This came about as a response to the severe shortage of housing in the capital and owed to the closeness and easiness of transport to Lisbon provided by its location close to the 28-km-long railway line connecting Lisbon to Pena. Accordingly, the population of Lugarão grew twelvefold in just over 30 years, hitting 163 800 by 1981. Two major demographic phenomena would fuel this growth: the intensification of the migrations from rural to major urban areas during the industrialization period of the 1950s and 1960s in Portugal; and the arrival immigrants from the former Portuguese African colonies after independence in 1974-5. By 1991, the population of Lugarão reached its peak of 181 774 inhabitants. Since then, however, the 2001 and 2011 General Census have shown a trend of stabilization.

These historical and geographic features bear heavily in the current economic, social and demographic structure of the town. With population stabilized since the 1990s, Lugarão features an increasingly ageing population structure. At 140,7%, Lugarão has the second highest ageing rate in the AML (after Lisbon itself) and stands considerably above the national rate of 136,0% in this regard.[2] Also, the proportion of residents of foreign nationality is much higher than in the rest of the country, making up 10,0% of population the municipality (compared to a total 3,7% in the country), the majority of which are of Cape Verdean, Brazilian, Guinean-Bissau and Angolan nationalities. Lugarão also retains to this day a strong pendulum migration movement, with 53,7% of the residents who work or study doing so outside of the municipality (of which 68,5% in Lisbon alone).[3] It also still presented relatively high early school leaving levels in 2011, with 26,1% of 18-24 year olds not having finished secondary education – 2,4 p.p. above the general AML level.

Economically, Lugarão went through the deindustrialization and terciarization processes felt nationwide from the 1990s onwards. Heavy industrial units such as the Cabos d'Ávila electrical wiring factory or the SOREFAME railway rolling stock factory, which were the largest employers in the municipality from the 1950s to the early 1990s, closed around the turn of the

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[1] The average area of the municipalities of the AMLis 167,5 km^2 and its average population density is 1 994 people per km^2. Year of reference is 2013.
[2] The ageing rate is the ratio between population over 64 years old and the population under 15 years old.
[3] The proportion of residents studying or working outside the municipality of residence in Portugal is 28,1%.

century (Cabos d'Ávila in 1997 and SOREFAME in 2004). By contrast, the 1990s and 2000s saw the setting up in Lugarão of a large number of multinational retail outlets, such as IKEA, Decathlon, AKI, Leroy Merlin and hypermarkets such as Continente, targeting clients not only from Lugarão but also from the entire AML. Employment is nowadays overwhelmingly concentrated in the tertiary sector (encompassing 83,2% of the Lugarão employed residents). Restaurants, catering and commerce make up for the predominant economic activities in the municipality (45,0% of total businesses), followed by personal and community services (12,0%) and construction (12,0%).

The municipality suffered a considerable drop in economic activity as a consequence of the crisis, with the closure of 491 registered business (a drop of 12,0% between 2004 and 2010), with construction businesses suffering the heaviest decline. Unemployment rate in Lugarão rose accordingly, standing at 15,0% in 2011 – 2,0 p.p. above that of the Lisbon region and representing an increase of 7.2 p.p. from 2001.

Urban expansion strongly shaped Lugarão's cultural identity. One of the most characteristic images associated with Lugarão is their cultural diversity, due to their emigrant population. Firstly, in consequence of the first expansion phase during the 1950s of internal migrants moving to Lisbon in order to work on the developing industry recently established on Lugarão; later, after the revolution of 1974, in consequence of the surge of migrants from the former Portuguese colonies, moving to Lisbon in response to a strong growth in construction in housing and in infrastructures.

Lugarão has also been characterized as a dormitory town, where the value of housing is lower, composed of multicultural population with a high rate of poverty and perceived as a dangerous city due to the existence of some social (low rent) neighborhoods. On the other hand, the city's connection with the rest of the metropolitan area stems from the the presence of big department stores, thus assuming a functional and supply role to the rest of the metropolitan area.

The local cultural production in the city of Lugarão has little mainstream visibility. Instead, has more expression in youth subcultures of the margins, and to second and third generation of young African migrants. In short, we can speak of a city that is seeking for an identity that distinguishes Lugarão from the dormitories in the suburbs of Lisbon and breaks with the logic of functional dependence to the latter.

B. Rural Case

Gótica is a municipality located 80 km to the north of Lisbon, on the right bank of the river Tagus. The Gótica municipality covers an area of 552,5 km^2 and has a population of 62 200 inhabitants, with a corresponding population density of 111,0 people per km^2(just slightly below the national ratio of 113 people per km^2).[4] Of these, 29 184 lived in the three parishes of the town of Gótica itself, with the other 33 016 dispersed through the municipality's rural parishes. These include the parish of Vale de Oliveira, where part of the fieldwork took place.

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[4] Census data referring to 2011.

Vale de Oliveira boasted a population of 1 082 in 2011 and is located on a plain on the bank of the Tagus, 15 km to the northest of Gótica.

The settling of the hill where Gótica stands dates back to pre-Roman times and the town was one of considerable importance from the Middle Ages until the end of the 18th Century. This importance owed both to its strategic position overlooking the Tagus – the main trade lane of Central Portugal before the development of railroad in the second half of the 19th century - and the agricultural production of the rivers' fertile flood plains (known as the *Lezíria*). After a period of sharp demographic decline in the first half of the 19th Century – due to the devastation of the Napoleonic Wars and the intermittent civil wars between the 1820s and the 1840s – the following 100 years would see a gradual increase in population in the Gótica municipality. By 1960, it had attained a population of 63 700, a threshold where it would stay with small fluctuations until today. The stagnation of the population is also reflected in an ageing population structure, with the ageing ratio standing at 159,3%, a value considerably higher than the national ratio of 136,0%. Immigration fluxes to Gótica are a recent phenomenon – having been particularly strong in the late 1990s and early 2000s - and have Eastern Europe and Brazil as their main origins. Thus, foreign nationals made up 3,3% of the population – a slightly lower ratio than the national one of 3,7% - of which Romanian (26,3%), Ukrainian (22,2%) and Brazilian (20,3%) nationals are the more numerous contingents. The Gótica municipality is also home to a significant community of Gypsy Portuguese.

Gótica is part of a vaster region of Central and Southern Portugal that features a land structure based on large properties (the *herdades*) and a social history marked by exploitation and latent conflicts between landless peasants and the landlords. Several of the *herdades* in the Gótica district were occupied by peasants after the 1974 democratic revolution and turned into cooperatives and collective units. These however withered away during the late 1980s owing in some cases to management difficulties but also to general lack of political and economic support by the central government.

Agriculture and forestry still retain considerable importance in the economy of the Gótica municipality, either on its own or as part of agro-industrial clusters. Directly, 4,3% its active population works in the primary sector and farmland occupies 73,8% of the municipality's territory – with vegetables and bovine cattle being the main products. But even the secondary sector, which employed 22,3% of the active population, has close ties to these activites . Food industries – such as vegetable and meat processing – and furniture making – heavily wood-based – make up for the two largest industrial subsectors in the municipality, and were together responsible for 55,5% of its industrial employment in 2012. Still, the tertiary sector makes up for 73,3% of total employment in the municipality with major retailers such as Continente having established themselves on the outskirts of the town in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Like the rest of the country, the economy of Gótica suffered heavily from the crisis. The number of businesses operating in the municipality dropped by 1 200 (15,1% of the total) between 2008 and 2012. Commerce and construction account for 45,6% of this drop in the number of business, having lost respectively 384 and 157 business in this period. These drops resulted in a reduction of the Gross Value Added for the municipality by 22,0% in the same period, while unemployment rates in the Gótica municipality stood at 11,0% in 2011 – lower than the national total of 13,2% but still represented a growth of 6,1 p.p. when compared to 2001.

Gótica's cultural identity stems mainly from its geographical location and economic tradition. The city of Gótica constitutes itself as a symbol of the center region of Portugal, with strong social and cultural ties to the Tagus' river and agricultural production. Being located in the countryside of Portugal, the city is characterized by the large agricultural and land stock plantations.

This combination is in the basis of a strong popular culture that seeks to invoke the hardship and values of rural life. The typical identity figure in the region are the campinos, a word that literally means "men of the country", but also means, particularly in the region, "bulls keepers", due the its strong tradition in cattle stock. The hard work of the fields, as well as periodic floods in the Tagus river shape an image of toughness and resilience of *campinos*. Also celebrated in Gótica is the figure of *forcados*, who are amateur groups of several men that in the Bull Fight spectacle, form in front of the bull and take it by the head without any instruments, in a show of bravery and strength. In sum, being close to Lisbon, the city of Lugarão is characterized by the traditions of rural life and popular culture.

PART II. SOCIO-SPATIAL DYNAMICS OF CRISIS, POVERTY AND RESILIENCE

Scale 1. Body

1.1. Body as a resource and a locus of accumulation of capital and competences

The body, in the direct sense of the term, is a key resource for the families interviewed in their coping processes, given that the vast majority of paid work is of manual nature. This fact is true both in the urban and rural contexts, covering professions as: assistants in nursing homes, factory workers, cleaning workers, cooks, and waste collectors.

The high number of respondents with manual based jobs is linked to two tendencies that reinforce each other. On the one hand, the contraction of the labor market in Portugal, linked to record levels of unemployment, while most available opportunities are in low-skilled jobs; on the other hand, the low levels of education of most families interviewed, particularly between adults, of which only one holds higher qualifications and two complete secondary education.

We should highlight the cases of TE/G and FA/G, from Gótica. Both interviewees are administrative workers, the first as an accountant in the Municipal Council and the latter in the municipal library. They also share a similar profile to the rest of the interviewees regarding formal qualifications (basic education and secondary education, respectively) and professional history (manual based or service to the public jobs). However, contrary to the other interviewees they were employed by the municipality – TE/G worked in the cafeteria a school and FA/G worked as a street sweeper – and, through internal recruitment calls, they got assigned to other services. TE/G started to work in the administrative offices of the same school, while FA/G moved to the project offices of the Municipal Council. After a period, they both moved to other services – accounting and library – where they still work.

Although it has not represented a significant salary increase to any of them, the transition from a manual work based job for a back office job represented a qualitative rise in employment status. These opportunities should not be disassociated from the weight of public services in the dynamics of employment, particularly in rural and urban contexts of small and medium size.

Considering the weight of manual based work in employment among respondents, it's not surprising that alternative ways of generating income are associated with the exploration of skills or capabilities developed (mostly) informally throughout life. The types of (odd) jobs available are similar between spatial contexts, mainly centered on cleaning activities, cooking, catering, small constructions and home productions. The main difference is the purpose of these strategies. While in the urban context is to find and get a formal job, in the rural context is mainly to obtain extra-income or to substitute the loss of income.

AR/L constitutes a good illustration of these dynamics. Even though she's unable to find a job as a hairdresser in a salon, she continues to work informally, maintaining a list of clients, in order to give her a better chance to be re-employed.

"But the deal is; we must have one bill of clients. Now, since I have been all this time without working. I keep working. I'm going to be honest; I keep working at home… And I also go to their houses, to go; I do that to the old people. Disabled people, I even go to one or another retirement home to cut the hair to people who are there… I do it to those persons. One of them does colour. I put the dye, buy the products, and do the dying. But I made very low prices, right? Well, it's one help that it's just for me and is a favour that I do to the older people, because them, the poor ones, also are retired, isn't it right? At the retirement home, precisely the same thing. They give me two euros and a half or three euros and that's a help. But I just go to the retirement once on three months period." (AR/L/R1)

In turn, FA/G (from Gótica) tells how she has been accumulating informal work throughout her life to complete the necessary income for the family's needs.

"I acquired knowledge throughout life with work. But I still had the 9th year incomplete. I went to the RVCC [program] to complete Basic Education and … and then later go to Secondary education. It turns out that the salary I have is still not enough and I always had to have more than one activity. Or do cleaning, or serving costumers … I also serve… I worked for a long time in catering and … and that's it. I was having this accumulation of functions throughout life to make ends meet and to not lack anything to my son". (FA/L/R1)

Engaging in occasional and informal jobs is also a common response in the lack of a stable job. Thus, ML/L despite his age and tear on the body, continues to accept any odd construction work in the expectation of eventually getting a steady job.

"Sometimes, I get an odd job as a bricklayer. I get it through friends – Guinean, Portuguese, Cape Verdean. Sometimes I get them. But not always and I have to live like this… Financially, I am in great need. There's no work. And at this age… it's hard to get a stable job when you're 66 years old" (ML/L/R1)

Similarly the son of NO/G from Gótica tells how he has been accumulating odd jobs while he can't find a steady one. First, he talks about working in a slaughterhouse.

"I went during the weekends, when I had nothing to do, it was a job I had. It was what they needed… to kill cattle, chop wood ". (NO/G/R1)

Then, he talks about his future prospects working in a sawmill:

"In principle it's to re-sign, since they have work. They need people there. Since I know how to work with tractors, it's one of my advantages. Since the boss cannot always be there, and my colleague that knows how to work with the tractor is working with the saw. To not be to stop the machines, as he knew I could work with it, he put to me with the tractor near the saw to catch wood and assist other machines". (NO/G/R1)

1.2. Practices of resilience and its effects on the body

The body carries most of the weight of deprivation resulting from resilience practices. The most common and transversal coping practice is to change consumption patterns, particularly on food consumption. The reasoning for this strategy is: on the one hand, the burden it

represents in the monthly budget, and on the other hand, it is an area that allows changing both the quantity and the quality of consumption.

This coping practice is supported the development of a strategic approach to the grocery supply. AR/L and PE/L provide good examples of this type of practice:

"I receive the social income, right? Twenty, twenty two and that. It drops immediately to the home loan and to the insurances. The rest is left. Let's do the math (...) It is the water, the electricity and the gas. (...) And the condominium fee. (...) Groceries, I buy them as I receive. As I have twenty or thirty [euros], I buy. [I look at the brochures] of Pingo Doce. Usually is Pingo Doce due to the points, also for the gasoline to my son. It is also to help him. All that, that's it. And I seize the promotions when it's their time. I'm living on the basis of promotions. It's logical, there aren't steaks. But there is cheap pork meat, belly slices. Those good veal ribs that he liked, he already told me: "Ai, I miss them so much!" Let it be, son, one of these days we think about that. Look, it's better lose the saddle than the horse." (AR/L/R1)

"It's gymnastics! It's gymnastics! (...) It's like this: Usually - look, tomorrow the bag is working. Tomorrow, the 25th. Tomorrow evening, after four o'clock, when I leave work, I have to go to the butcher and if time permits still go to the supermarket. If not, then I'm buying (...) but go shopping [throughout the month] is not ideal, exactly. I have to go shopping once or twice or so. Because if it's all week ... [laughs]. (...) In previous times I didn't care of not having something right now, or not having in quantity. Because I knew that at any moment I could go shopping. Now this money now enters has to be like this. If not, then we have to be asking – "Hey, Do you lend me twenty? So ..."". (PE/L/R1)

In turn, these practices are backed up reducing the level of consumption, which is a cross-practice among most of households interviewed, having been signalled several situations of sub and malnutrition.

TE/G describes the cuts she made on expenses at the supermarket:

"Sometimes, even the basic things, I can't buy. And only... when I say basic, I could give you an example very... my son used to go with me to the supermarket and he had the habit of asking "mother, could I take a biscuit package?" I said "yes" and he always picked the cheapest. Or he started to do the calculation of the basket and said "look mom, you already have certain value" and sometimes we had to take goods out from the basket that weren't so important. It was important but we don't... instead of bringing two little packages of biscuits, maybe we drop one or any other good or chocolate milk. Then, at the level of clothing and everything else. Those things are... When it really is, there isn't, it's not enough for that. So I seize Christmas and I say '[Son] ask your father a pair of trainees because you need them.' There, I also felt, because sometimes one person likes to buy a new piece, a new shirt, shoes, and it can't be." (TE/G/R1)

While CL/L talks about the balance that she has to make, between being able to have food on the table and taking care of her health problems:

"Yes, he prescribed an antidepressant. I don't take it always, I only take it when I feel that I'm really falling, because I don't even have money to the medicines. I had to give up of my medicines to put food on the table. I have to make choices every month. Either I buy my medicines or I put food at the table [cries] for me and to my sons. I don't have many options, I have to make choices. There isn't much possibility." (CL/G/R1)

In both spatial contexts families already promote of parsimonious lifestyles. What changes according to the context is: while in Lugarão families rely mostly on promotions (due to the greater supply of services), in Gótica families tend to rely more on the family redistribution network, more specifically food obtained from relatives that have vegetable gardens or farms. It should be stated that in the cases that urban families have direct access to or family members with vegetable gardens, also rely on that kind of support and has an important weight in the family strategies.. The opposite is also true. Rural families also develop a strategic approach to groceries, but has a lesser weight in their overall coping practices.

CL/L referring the help that her parents in law provide to the household:

"My luck was my parents in law, who live in Castelo Branco, every month they bring us potatoes, vegetables, fruit, onions. The things that they grow on their kitchen garden – pumpkins and I don't know what – they send to us. Every month they come to Lisbon." (CL/L/R1)

On the other hand, RO/G describes how their vegetable garden became an indispensable source of food for the household:

"I have a little vegetable garden. It's only things for the house. It's for him [RO/G's husband] to entertain himself, it's some cabbages, some lettuces. I have there orange trees (...) If wasn't this, then the things would really be bad." (RO/G/R1)

Physical wear is also a consequence of the extreme vulnerability in working conditions. In terms of work-life balance the evidence point to a tendency of extreme vulnerability in the working conditions. Individuals have little space to negotiate their working conditions, subjecting themselves to long working hours and unstable schedules. In our sample this trend is particularly visible in the urban context, which is mostly related to the characteristics of the sample, since most respondents work in low status costumer service jobs with very precarious contracts. PE/L talking about the lack of working conditions:

"I've been doing community service here in the parish council of Mina. And so it was when I met this one here who is in charge of the parish council. And he told me: "Look, you're almost finishing the time that you came here to pay to the court. If anything happens, do you accept to come work here with a contract? Hey, you don't need to do nothing." But I never thought I could be exploited in the way as I am to be, right? But well. And it is a thing made by the parish council, which is a local authority, and the Job Centre, isn't it? They put us there, we do not have equipment. We don't have anything! (...) Neither boots! I had to be the one who bought the boots and they don't want to give me back the money. I have no right to holidays, I have no right to holiday pay, and I have no right to unemployment benefits, now I'm going to unemployment." (PE/L/R1)

The effects of hardship on mental health were very much conspicuous in our sample. We found several cases of people with psychological and/or psychiatric counselling due to depressions, as are the cases of MT/G, ML/L, CL/L, AS/L and TE/G. These situations tend to manifest more in women. They are associated with consumption deprivation – they are the ones that eat last and less, that postpone health consultation, to portion the medicines – and the burden of managing family's budget, trying to find ways to make the money last, causing extreme stress.

We also identified situations of continued medical care due to accidents or physical stress related to work, in most cases manual and unqualified, as in the cases of GE/L, LO/L, CL/L and AS/L, which in several cases lead to the withdrawal from the labour market. Again, in our sample this trend is more visible in the urban context, mostly due to the professional profile of the interviewees, most of them with trajectories in manual jobs (like construction or cleaning) or in customer service jobs (like hairdresser or waiter).

"[It does not work well in construction?] Now not work. It's boring. I osteoporosis problems. But I can still do something. It's just - if it is to make screed, I can no longer do. If so a wall can still put there the bricks, tow and all. On the ground, because of the knee, no longer with him. (...) [About baskets that manufactures home] Even making the baskets, I could be making baskets, too. But I have to make the background is on the floor. We [shows the position] has to stay that way. But you have to download everything. And when it comes to this position ... no longer has to download everything to make the background. If I had someone to make me the background, I could. Then is the reeds, is all work and so could already do. Then I have to do on the thigh. So I did ..." (GE/L/R1)

LOL/L talking about her work accident and how limited her ability to work:

"I made food for 480 people... In the beginning, I was working 14 to 16 hours a day. I used to enter at seven in the morning and left at nine in the evening. Actually, never at nine – more half past nine, ten hours. To leave everything done. I worked for two days and had two days off. Fast pace always. Always moving around, running down the stairs to open the door to a supplier, running up again to keep cooking. In one of those runs, instead of using all steps, I skipped one – and that was it. I fell... You can't even imagine how swollen my foot was... I was given discharge [from the hospital] in November 2013 with 20% incapacity to see if I could hold out. I couldn't. My foot bones didn't heal. The contusion was so big that there is no cure... They even made an infiltration with my own blood, but it didn't work." (LO/L/R1)

1.3. Body, stigma and strategies of self-presentation

Both the specific characteristics of the labour market in Portugal and recent transformations in the context of both the crisis and austerity and the Troika intervention in Portugal from 2011 onwards establish a political and economic context that brought to the fore and aggravated social inequalities.

Some of these are long-standing phenomena, such as *ageism*. José[5] (TJ/G) complained that although his skills in mechanics and logistics (owing to his stint at his family beverage distribution business) were recognized by prospective employers in job interviews, his age left him at disadvantage with other candidates.

More or less muted forms of *racism* are also another relevant phenomena. The subject of racism emerged often in the conversation with the couple PA/G, who are both Portuguese Gypsy from Gótica. In particular, Armando[6] described how he thought that the fact the he was Gypsy severely hampered his chances of getting a job. Indeed, he described job interviews

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[5] The name of the interviewee was changed in the anonymization process of the respondents. The code TJ/G corresponds to the household as a whole.

[6] The name of the interviewee was changed in the anonymization process of the respondents.

where, although not in an explicit way, his had been a factor for him not to be accepted. Pilar[7] emphasized that it was much more easier to her to find a job because how she was better able to hide the fact the she was Gypsy due to her blue eyes and paler skin – thus making more difficult for people to identify her as a Gypsy outright.

Gender roles and inequalities also came to feature heavily in resilience practices. As we have seen, getting extra jobs is one of the strategies put in place to compensate for low or dwindling wages. Now, women in our sample not only engage more frequently in informal paid work beyond their regular job but tended do so in a particular set of activities that such as cleaning private houses, cooking or child care. Thus, we find FA/G cooking by appointment in private parties, TE/G and NO/G cleaning houses on weekends and after work and MD/L takes care of children in off days.

Gender roles also come into play to justify women reducing their food intake in favor of other family members. When CL/L talks about her 4-year-old son, she claims that:

"If I and my [older] daughters don't have butter, we'll eat a simple toast, dripped in coffee and that's it. But I can't tell my son: "look, I made some toasts with coffee – eat them!". Not that he won't like them – he does! He once saw it and told me: "Mum, I want that!"… He tasted them, and now it's like there's nothing else [laughs]… [But] I must always think about having food for him. Because he is the younger and the most fragile and we all have to protect him. I can't let him become aware [of our difficulties]. We can't afford a nice steak with chips and an egg on top for us – but, for him, we cannot fail. It is important that he has an adequate feeding. The food bank helped me with cereals and cookies for him. They sent milk and instant cereal. I managed to balance it out. If I don't have milk, I'll drink coffee – but for him, there must be plenty. He drinks milk in the afternoon, drinks before going to bed, drinks with instant cereal. It's milk all the time [laughs]." (CL/L/R1)

In the same vein, AS/L told us how she skipped some meals:

"It's like a miracle, sometimes. We end up getting by with very little. In fact, my husband is one of those men who enters the kitchen and can make something out of nothing. Whatever is there, he'll work with it. Sometimes, I don't even eat [laughs]. Yes, I don't eat. As he is picky and my son goes along with him, they manage it. I don't join, sometimes because it won't fall well [on my stomach] or simply because I don't feel like eating. But they manage to do it. He just enters the kitchen [and says]: "What are we going to cook today?" And there isn't anything there…" (AS/L/R1)

Another element that we found to be strongly gender-biased was the rearing children in the event separations and divorces, with women often having to deal with reluctant fathers in this regard - as was the case with FA/G and LO/L:

"The father of my daughter? The first thing he did when I made the child maintenance request was resign from his job. He resigned and then went to live with another woman. And then he left for France… And there is nothing for his daughter, not even on her birthday or for Christmas…" (FA/G/R1)

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[7] Likewise, Pilar is not the real name of the interviewee. It was changed in the anonymization process.

"[On child maintenance]. Nothing until today! Can you imagine how many years I have been running around with this? [laughs]… If we were in another country, he would have to [pay]: else he would got to jail or something like that… When he got job in some firm, the court would caught up with him and send a letter to his boss – and he would resign…. I would like to at least get something for my two underage daughters – one is fourteen and the other still eleven. But, as I already have a business open, I doubt I will ever get anything" (LO/L/R1)

A cross practice between spatial contexts is the reduced investment in self-presentation as a coping strategy. Most households interviewed live under the poverty line, facing much hardship to produce the necessary income each month to face their consumption needs. This process, in turn, tends to reinforce the mechanisms of social reproduction, limiting the possible opportunities to explore. CL/L and AS/L comment the lack of investment on self-presentation:

"Clothing, I don't know how long [laughs]. Years ago. I cannot remember when I bought clothes. Sometimes I go to my daughter's closet, she has the same body as me. "Look, daughter, mother needs a blouse, she's not in the mood to wear these sweaters" "Go on, get." Sometimes: "Daughter, lend me one of your 'legs' [leggings]?". Her hip is thinner than mine, because I lost 6kg. I went from a 38 to a 36. Suddenly I found myself with no pants to wear. With nothing to wear. I am reduced to these black 'legs' nuts, one brown and one gray. I have to get clothes that matches [laughs] with what I wear." (CL/L/R1)

"I cannot remember the day I bought a piece. These things are not important to me. Since I'm clean and washed, yes, it's good. I have my two sisters, I have this friend that I say that we always talk, and they give me a few things too. I'm not weird. Now … "By the end of the month I'm going to buy a coat!" I do not remember the day I did it. And I see in the window and I don't even have much enthusiasm. The clothes that I usually wear I have for many years, 17 years or more. [Laughs]." (AS/L/R1)

Scale 2: Home/Household

2.1. Material features of home

Practices of household production/work for self-consumption are limited in our sample and are restricted to food production in gardens and small orchards. It's the case of GE/L, NA/G, RO/G, who grow vegetables and, in the latter two cases, fruit and smaller livestock – such as chicken and rabbits. In these cases, home grown food does play in important role in the household diet Engagement in this type of farming is found to have a double meaning. There It is undoubtedly a conscious strategy to compensate for declining purchasing ability.

Despite this fact, in no case did we find interviewees selling of self-produced food as a means to complement income. Even in the cases where this was mentioned as a conceivable, it tended to be dismissed as unfeasible on accounts. Interestingly enough, - basically, the cornering of the food market by major

"Now I'm getting Minimum Income (…). They pay me 180,15€ [a month]. As I have this little garden, I grow some potatoes [...] cabbages, onions, garlic [...]. I also grow these little beans, red beans [...] It's just for me. I can give away some cabbages or I can have a few more potatoes. But it's not for sale. People won't buy. They tell me they don't have money. And if you want to sell, they prefer to buy it at the market. One could try to sell it to grocery store. I never tried it, but some people have. But they [the grocers] prefer to buy it wholesale. Because there they get an invoice, with VAT and everything." (GE/L/R1)

"I have a little vegetable garden. Stuff just for us. It's for him [the husband] to keep himself busy. Some cabbage, some lettuce (…). I have the orange trees over there (…) and I. If it wasn't for this, then we would really be in a mess. (RO/G/R1)

"I have a little vineyard. I make about 1 000 liters of wine a year, which is nothing. If one would add up the costs, it's nothing. With all the treatments and all the work the grapevines require it's nothing. Because either you have a large vineyard or it is not even worth the bothering. It's very hard to place this wine [in the market]. And it's something more or less clandestine, because there are firms whose whole business is that. They have large vineyards, all the means and do it as a business. If someone he's taking away their business… So there's less and less people making wine. Just all the trouble with paperwork… I'd rather tend to my garden. I have a vegetable garden and I grow potatoes, green beans... Even today I rose about 5:30/6:00 in the morning because I knew you were coming. I was down there watering and doing other things. That's what my everyday life is resumed to There's always something to do (…)" (NA/G/R1)

Self-production of food in any meaningful quantity is evidently dependent on the access to arable land - which is far more likely to happen in rural areas - and the possession of farming skills – which in our cases was present in interviewees which had a rural upbringing. Thus NA/G may engage in the growing of food and smaller livestock because he disposes of land that he inherited from his parents, because of his strategy of leaving a major city and returning to his native village upon retirement and also because of the skills he had acquired in his youth. Likewise, RO/G and her husband gained the possibility of keeping a vegetable garden after

they moved from the urban area where they live to the village where they currently reside – a decision that had to do of owning their own house through participation in a housing cooperative.

GE/L's case is, however, considerably different from these two. Like, NA/G and RO/G, GE/L did have a rural upbringing. As a child and teenager he worked the land with his mother for a landowner back in his native country, Cape Verde. Yet similarities end there. For once, GE/L lives in an urban area, in a slum that was being partly demolished at the time of our interviews. As such, his access to land was achieved not through ownership but rather through the farming of land that lays unused and is currently abandoned by their owners or whose legal status is unclear. We will return to this case when discussing spatial consequences of state and municipal policy on chapter 4.

Access to food from self-production also comes by in a mediated way. This was the case of both CL/L and TJ/L and through in by the family. Indeed, two of our interviewed families benefitted from food gifts from one of the couple's parents, even if they did not engage in self-production themselves. We will discuss deal when discussing supra-local networks on chapter 4.

It is interesting to note that neither the availability of land nor the existence of a rural background necessarily result in the engagement in self-production of food. TJ/G is a good case in point. Her father was a land agent for a landowner and she was thus raised in a large farm. She also had ample knowledge about farming, which she demonstrated during the second round interviews – most of the photographs were about her parents' vegetable garden. She even lives in a house in the outskirts of Gótica with some arable land around.

Despite the presence of these conditions, TJ/G did not engage in the production of food in her land. This certainly owed to the fact that her parents provide with enough food gifts – thus discouraging the need - but also to her strongly framing of her identity as urban.

Likewise, JU/L had a rural upbringing, having been a farmer back in his native Romania. However, he showed his surprised when asked about the possibility of growing a garden in Lugarão:

"A vegetable garden, here?! No. Because there seems to be no land here [laughs]. Back in Romania, it was different. There we had land, land everywhere! (…) There is no space here. And then, it seems the land back there is better. I don't know. It's different. People back there are more used to live from agriculture." (JU/L/R1)

This case is interesting when compared to GE/L. Despite sharing a rural background and living rather close to each other, JU/L is unaware of the possibility of using of abandoned land for farming. This may be linked to different factors, such as belonging to different migrant networks – GE/L is Cape Verdean – the length of staying and moment of arrival- JU/L arrived in the late 1990s, while GE/L in the early 1980s - different cultural dispositions regarding the use of non-owned land but also to a reconfiguration of identity that accompanied migration and which precludes farming as part of it.

2.2. Home ownership and Housing-related practices

The lack of material assets and propriety of interviewees is one of the most salient findings in our sample. Ownership of housing is no exception to this trend. Of our 23 interviewees, only 5

(LU/G, NA/G, CA/G, CL/L and MT/G) were home-owners – and 3 of these were still paying mortgage. This is in itself a contrasting situation, in a country where home-owning – even if mortgage-based – is widespread, even among the lower-middle classes.[8] Indeed, owning one's own home has powerful symbolic resonance, often working as a sort of metonymy for autonomy and for the feel of controlling of one's own life. This can be grasped by the fact that that several of our interviewees place the owning their home at center of their long-term aspirations. This is particularly marked in the interviewees from our rural area:

"My dream would be to have a house that was really mine (...) I had one house in sight. But they [the bank] require us to have a long-term work contract. We [her and her son] wanted to apply [for a mortgage] together. But none of us has a long-term contract, so it's necessary to have a guarantor. But I am very honest and I don't want to get anyone into this sort of thing because I can be out of work just like that. So I gave up. I have to wait while, a few years, to see what is going to happen. If I had my own house, I wouldn't mind dying. (...) [But] we don't want to ask for favors. We are working on six-month contracts and we would only get other people in trouble. I don't even dare to ask. Who am I going to ask for something like that?! I just have to keep on waiting." (NO/G/R1)

"I don't know if I'll still be around by then [laughs]. But if I am, I'd like to fulfill a dream: having my own home. I don't know it it's possible. I have tried. But, as I had no guarantor, I didn't make it. But I have tried. I am a fighter. I may lose a battle, but I won't lose the war [laughs]. I keep on going. There was this house that was on [sale by] the bank. So I said 'this one is good, I need to find out more about it.' I don't want to overstretch myself and I would even be paying the same as I am paying [for rent] in this house. But it didn't turn out right. So, in 2020, I hope I will have my own house. If you ask me about dreams – of course, aside from a good life and health, which we all wish for – something material, it's a house. One I could call 'my house'." (TE/G/R1)

Lack of home ownership is even more general among our interviewees residing in Lugarão, where all but CL/L live in either shared or rented homes. Also, the diversity of lodging solutions that our interviews uncovered is also much higher, which can be partly explained also by the heavy proportion of immigrants in our sample there. In Gótica, non-homeowners lived in either private rented or council flats. By contrast, our interviewees from Lugarão showed a much wider range of practices. Indeed, sharing of flats and even shacks was a common place. EL/L, ML/L, DI/L and PE/L all lived in shared homes – and of these, only Dimar's co-dwellers were family members (in his case, a cousin). Interestingly, sharing a situation that gives rise to different feelings from our interviewees, ranging from awkwardness to solidarity.

"I share a house with a man who is a friend of my landlord. [He] is sixty-four years old already (...). It was really a case of necessity. But OK, we share it. It's a bit awkward sometimes, but well... He has his room and I have mine." (PE/L/R1)

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[8] According to Eurostat data from 2014, 74,9% of the Portuguese population lived in a dwelling they owned. This is a relatively recent but also very strong trend. Portuguese housing policies have, since the mid-1980s, relied on private, bank-backed provision of housing, relegating public and cooperative provision to a marginal role. We will discuss this subject further in chapter 4.

"I live here in Lugarão. I have a room in a house with four bedrooms and no living room. Each person pays 100€ (...) I pay my room, the others pay theirs. I collect the money and pay the landlord. There's four bedrooms and there's a person in each of them." (ML/L/R1)

"I lived in that flat for almost a year (...) I left because the landlord was going to raise the rent. I left and I met this friend through a Brazilian friend of mine. I explained [my situation] to her and she told me that, if I wanted, I could go and live with at her place – and since I was unemployed, I would just help in what I could. And I took it (...) "When I get food [from the food bank] I share. I think that, as I am living with them, I should help them. And when it's them who have and I don't, it's they who help me. We should help each other (...) As I am living with them, I don't have the nerve to distinguish 'This one is mine, this one is yours'! or 'Look, you are going to cook this for you and I will cook separately for me' [laughs]. There's people like that, you know? [laughs] But if we live together, we'll cook the same for everybody. When it is I that don't have [food] and they have, it's like that. Everybody cooks. I have this day where I cook and so do they. They have two children (...) and that's also good because it's like they are my children. I love them. It compensates for mine being far away. They're good people, I like them and I can see that they like me too. So I haven't got the nerve for not sharing . If I get this basket [of food], I put it in the table and we all eat. When it is I that don't have, they cook and tell me to eat with them." (EL/L/R1)

2.3. Spatial division of household organization and labour

Strategies of reorganization of the household as a response to shocks were very much present in our sample. These were of two main types: marrying or living together with someone; and the reorganization of family roles.

In the first type, we considered the cases in which the decision to marry or joining up with someone was described by interviewees as motivated by severe financial pressure, the loss of a job, a severe health problem or an unexpected pregnancy.

"It was many hours [of work]. A lot of stress. So what happened? I suffered a stroke. Then my doctor said: 'You know what this means? Stop! Change your life! You lead a a far too agitated life. You look like a robot! Stop! Stop!'. And my life did change from then on (...). This in 2009. I returned to this friend's place. She gave me shelter. She's actually my spouse now. I came back, with my mouth drooping and no salary. I didn't even have money – I mean, I had some money but no safety." (LO/L/R1)

"I live with my father-in-law. I don't pay rent. But I have other responsibilities. I worry about my son's school expenses, which I have to pay every month. If I don't pay he won't... And then there's the [transport] pass, which is also a concern. If don't buy it, there's no means of transportation. [I stay there] because we don't pay, you see? I don't pay, I don't pay! It's my father-in-law who pays. That's why I live there." (MR/L/R1)

"When I finished my course, in 2012, I went around, looking for a job. Those were some seven, eight, very tough months. I ended up without a home and at the time I had this girlfriend here in the neighborhood (...). She took me in. After a short time, I found some work in construction.

How much time did I work there, some six or seven months. Enough to give me some balance back." (PE/L/R1)

In the second type, we included cases where the reorganization of the household was a response to the degradation of living conditions. In most cases, this reorganization consists of a redistribution of tasks and responsibilities through a network of family members – such as grandparents taking wider responsibilities in the raising of children, either through the help. Two cases from our rural area of study are good illustrations of this later practice

After divorcing, CA/L returned to Gótica with her young daughter. Unable to find a steady job, she began working as a taxi driver – something she had already experienced with her father-in-law's taxi back when she was married – which implies an irregular work schedule. This is only possible because her parents stepped in to help her raise her child – something that leaves her with mixed feelings of gratitude and guilt.

"I rely a lot in my parents. I have to work long hours as business is not going so great (...) Me and my daughter eat at my parent's every day. They won't let us being in need. She is taking swimming lessons – and it's they who pay. If she needs clothing, they will buy. They are of great help (...) [But] my parents are now 72 years old. It's very tough and very worrying for them to see me in this situation. Because they are coming to an age when they start to think we won't be here much longer and what will be of me and their granddaughter [without them]." (CA/G/R1)

NA/G is an even more extreme case and gives us an account of the other side of this strategy, having sheltered their teenage grandchildren after the divorce of his son.

"They appeared on my doorstep, crying. They had been living with their mother, because she had won their custody. Their father was not here anymore [he had emigrated to Brazil to find a job] even if he send them some money when asked. Their mother left and abandoned them. Their other grandparents didn't care about the situation. What were we to do? We couldn't just send them away! Meanwhile my mother, who lived downstairs, had passed away. We cleaned things up as we could. We got a room for each of them and they started to live with us (...) They were dumped here. And we, at this age, all we wanted was some rest (...) But no. People don't dream of the difficulties we go thorough because of this. Me and my wife, we could just be living a normal life with our savings" (NA/G/R1)

Another noticeable trend in our sample is actually the reverse of the above, with adult members – all women – taking on more responsibilities in the care of elder ones. This sometimes done in exchange for a part of the elder's pension, although this is just a part of the motivations for engaging in this practices. For instance, NO/G projected her experience as worker on a nursing home as part of her decision of taking care of her mother with the help her sister, who also lives in the same village:

"My father gives us some money every month for us to take care of my mother (...) My mother suffered a stroke which caught her legs and hands. At first, we thought of putting her in a nursing home. But my mother is still very young. She's only 70 now. I started thinking 'I know what a nursing home is like'. There are some are some lucid people there but others are senile. Having lucid people seeing such sad things that happen there is not easy. I told [my mother]: 'If you prefer, and while we can, we'll go there [taking care]. It doesn't mean you won't have to go someday.". So far we have managed it. One goes in the morning, the other goes in the afternoon and we both go in the evening. We have been going on like this and she's better

now. There is this girl that goes there for physiotherapy. We have already got her . Had we put her in a nursing home, she would have been there for three years now." (NO/G/R1)

Finally, it is worth pointing out the cases where younger members of the household entered the labour market as a response to situations of sudden declining income. There were no instances of child labour in our sample. However, we did find some cases in which teenage sons and daughters began working without finishing secondary education.

Thus CL/L's daughters began working part-time after both she and her husband lost their jobs:

"I had to scrap by the way I could. My husband took several courses – car repairing and other things. He never found anything related to the courses. He got something now in the area of cooking. He's making an internship. If he stays there, the better; if not, he'll have to look somewhere else (...) My daughter began working. My other daughter is looking for a job. In the meantime she does fingernails [manicure]. She says to me "I always take 5€ for buying the materials'. The other 10€ she – the poor thing! – often gives me so that I can buy bread or milk. Because milk can't run out in my house. My son drinks over a liter per day [laughs]." (CL/L/R1)

Likewise, NO/G's son began working and contributing to the household budget – with further contribution in the future being envisioned by NO/G if their situation deteriorates.

"He helps to pay the rent. As soon as he started working, the rent was raised. I told him: "The rent was raised because you work, so you have to help me. As soon as he receives, he gives me the money straight away (...). I told him: 'When I can, I will feed you. But when I can't, you'll have. As I have this [extra job] cleaning and my father gives me money, I have managed to get by. But if not, he'll have to step in, because he's working now." (NO/G/R1)

Scale 3: Neighbourhood/Village

3.1. Characteristics of the neighbourhoods: availability of public space(s), meeting grounds, parks, cafes, etc.

In Gótica, fieldwork was conducted mostly in two strategic locations. The first in the urban centre of Gótica; the second in a rural parish of the county.

The city centre itself is composed by a large garden boulevard, with a North-South orientation. Around this boulevard one can find a considerable number of public building, such as the Military Quarters of the local cavalry regiment, the Municipal Library, an early 20th Century market and the city's main bus station and the police station. Two buildings dominate the roundabout at the end of the boulevard: the Church of Misericórdia – next to which the Santa Casa complex is located - and a large shopping mall, whose size feels a bit out of proportion with the surrounding area. The shopping mall is a convergent point for the movement of people in the boulevard. The city's historic centre lies immediately to the west of the boulevard, being almost unnoticed. Walking through it, it is possible to find a number of closed shops – something that might be an effect of the crisis but also of the opening of the shopping mall.

Fieldwork also took place in rural parishes of Gótica, namely Vale de Oliveira. It's a small village located a few miles from the city, actually only at the distance of one train station. However, local geography, the quality of road access and the lack of signs, added by the strong economic depression, make a small physical distance into a large social distance. The town is comprised of small houses, usually two-story, essential services (pharmacy, bank, grocery stores, post office, primary and lower secondary schools, etc.) and some small business (such as coffee shops and a couple of restaurants). The most active institutions in the locality are the Parish Council and the local Church. The movement in the town is very slow, not being easy to find many young people and even young adults. The town is mainly inhabited by elderly people, which however left the formal labour market or work in agriculture. The few younger families tend to work in the city of Gótica and most have lived all their lives in Vale de Oliveira or in parishes around.

In turn, fieldwork in Lugarão was concentrated in the neighbourhoods located in the historic center of the city, where are also located the main public services. Lugarão is a very densely urbanized city. The *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* (where most of the interviews were conducted) is located on the slope of a large hill that encompasses the northern part of the city. The blocks around the premises consist of 2-3 story buildings which are coated with a material composed of cement and peebles, something characteristic of much of the 1950s and 1960s construction in Portugal. The neighbourhoods around comprises a few small shops – a grocery, a pharmacy and a bakery – but most of the commerce that is found is comprised by cafés and small cheap restaurants. Despite the closeness of the neighbourhood to the train station, town hall and the main city park, the streets are quiet outside the rush hour.

3.2. Dynamics of neighbourhood/community life: the crisis and its effects on public participation

Community life is in a deep depression. This refers both to the urban and rural contexts. Small neighbourhood businesses are closing at a high rate, people are less and less involved in local associations and activities, even the relation with religious institutions are more random. The streets have less movement, which is a function of the time consumed by work, but the main factor involves the consumption incapacity. The effects of the economic depression in urban life and architecture are more visible in Gótica.

In the first quote LU/G, who owns a cafe in Abrantes[9], speaks of the economic depression in town:

"Abrantes has no money. Now it has some movement, but it's the summer. People go out to the street and drink a little coffee. But at business level, Abrantes died too. The Rossio ... Look, if you close the smelters of Abrantes; if you close the factory of Oil Gallo, if you close the olive oil of Vítor Guedes, Rossio becomes hollow. No one invests, so if you look around the streets is all old houses, all falling". (LU/G/R1)

In the same tone, NS/G describes the economic and social depression of the historic center:

"Now just half a dozen. Formerly we built, now there's nothing. You passed through the historic center; there was a historic center with cafe and grocery store where people went. Now, it seems that everything is gutted, it looks like there was a bombardment. The houses are in ruins. (...) In my childhood people went from here to there. Nowadays you don't see a person. Every time there are fewer people. With my age, I remember who's lived in this and that house. Today one house is closed, the other also, one died, such as another. That is sad. It is the same with the big cities. The city of Abrantes, who had trade and the army, but now there's nothing. There are big supermarkets. If not for the finance services, nobody went there. To do what? In S. Miguel is the same thing, people die. There is no movement there, you don't see people. There were 3,000 voters, is now around 1000. People disappear. It is a sad situation for those who remember. We are born and we live and now all is gone. It's too bad it here". (NS/G/R1)

Walking through the city every day, given her profession as a taxi driver, CA/G describes Gótica as a ghost town:

"Gótica is increasingly dead. Now you find movement around town because people are working. If you came at seven o'clock, everyone is running. It becomes completely empty. Gótica is a dorm of Lisbon". (CA/G/R1)

The main feature of these changes is a movement of retreat from public spaces and of re-centering leisure activities on the private space – and, particularly, home. Families don't have means to move around and to participate in activities outside of their home. Also, coping processes consume temporally and psychologically individuals. We identified several situations where people reveal unavailability for any leisure activity, being so consumed in work and household needs, and even embarrassment for not being able to satisfy the smallest daily

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[9] Some of the interviews in the rural setting were made in Abrantes, a small town near Gótica. The territorial characteristics of Abrantes are pretty similar to Gótica, thus we found many of the same dynamics and social phenomena. In view of that, we are going to include quotes and observation from Abrantes articulated with data collected in Gótica.

leisure consumptions, like going to the movies, eating out or drinking with friends. Even among the younger respondents, the trend is closing relations and replacing the traditional local life (at cafés, restaurants, bars, leisure associations) to each other's homes.

CL/L describes the changes of her leisure habits in recent years:

"To go out … to go drink a coffee with someone equals spending money [laughs], we do not have. To go to someone's home is equivalent to spending money, even if it's only gas and we don't have it [laughs]. Sometimes we go to the garden with him [her son]. Sometimes I picked up my son and I go to drink a cup of coffee with my mother, who is usually who pays. I pick my child and we go to the garden or the back to ride the tricycle, play ball or play catch." (CL/L/R1)

In turn, CA/G and MI/L tell how the lack of working conditions consumes and affects their leisure time with family:

"My life beyond job is to go get my daughter at night [she stays with her grandparents], have dinner and go home to sleep to, on the next day, go take her to the kindergarten again and is every day the same thing." (CA/G/R1)

"I like to go sightseeing just the three of us. Or make a lunch to get the three of us at home. The problem is that I cannot. (…) I work Saturday and Sunday. [Do you work seven days a week?] Yes [unintelligible content]. (…) It's complicated but I have to accept that at this point …" (MI/L/R1)

A similar scenario can be found in the description of AS/L about their preparations for Christmas:

"No, it's just us. Before, my mother also invited the cousins and aunts but not now, it's just us". (AS/L/R1)

When questioned why:

"Crisis. It is the crisis. Because to make more food … Now it's really just us. And I think they also took the same initiative. Before, I do not know if you know that Africans get together, but not now. Now I notice that every time is to reduce. Before there was a party at home with everyone. it was a great party, but not now". (AS/L/R1)

A second important evidence is the growing in isolation as a reaction to increasing levels of hardship. This isolation is often explained on actuarial as well as moral grounds and has as a consequence a growing withdrawal from the spheres of community life, social and political participation and empowerment.

CL/L describes the lack of community life and the increasing closure on the direct family network:

"It's complicated to define community because I only know my neighbors from the condominium meetings. If we talk of friends and family, I am with my mother, I see my mother once a month and my friends once a year [laughs]. We talk more on the phone. They have no money to go to my house and I do not have to go to their house." (CL/L/R1)

NS/G, after working for several years in Lisbon, returned to Lugarão to retire. Now he finds himself stuck at home, without being able to travel and visit his friend, due to the crisis and the lowering of his living conditions:

"I had an independent life and could go to a beach, could visit friends in Lisbon. Besides monetarily not having this possibility, I'm actually stuck. My life has changed. I have no chance to wander. At home my wife is who manages the money, what is needed for shopping and day to day. And she call me up: "You bought another register? Did we need it?". When we did not have these problems and had assistance - out of elders and all that - but had no problems, although I always thought something could happen, as it did. We lived a normal life, she still accustomed, and with good reason - women like to buy and all that ... we were having a normal life. Now it is not so "we have to eat this and that" because the money I earned through retirement ... I had the bad luck ... when the math for the allocation of the reform was the best 5 of the last 10. Now it is the best 10 of the last 15. If a person retires early has a penalty." (NS/G/R1)

Os dados apontam para dinâmicas sociais semelhantes nos dois contextos territoriais. O impacto dos fatores espaciais nestes processos é visível na forma e efeitos que estes fenómenos tendencialmente assumem em cada contexto. Assim, se no espaço urbano as pessoas continuam a frequentar o espaço público quotidianamente, alterando principalmente os seus estilos de vida para se ajustarem à redução da capacidade de consumo; no espaço rural a redução das condições de vida tem-se traduzido de forma mais visível em isolamento social.

Fieldwork findings point to similar social dynamics in both territorial contexts. The impact of spatial factors in these phenomena is visible in the shape and effects of these phenomena tend to assume in each context. Thus, in the urban areas people continue to circulate public space on a daily basis, mainly by changing their lifestyles to fit the reduced consumption capacity; while in rural areas the reduction of living conditions has resulted in a alarming tendency of social isolation.

On the opposite, relations of immediate vicinity are being reinforced through their practical component. The majority of families in their weekly management need occasional assistance from neighbors, especially in taking care of children, which is associated with the imbalance of work-life. This proximity also takes the form of shared home goods and occasional favors.

For MT/G this option was crucial in the housing choice. After living a few years in the center of Gótica, when she became pregnant for the last time she decided to return to her home village (Vale figueira) to live in the house of the grandmother of her companion. Even after experiencing family conflicts that led them to move, their choice was always to stay in the village emphasizing precisely the existing mutual support system in the neighborhood. Facing various difficulties in generating income (MT/G faces a situation of clinical depression and her companion has a precarious job as a cab driver), the neighbourhood network is fundamental to cover certain specific needs, in particular those relating to monitoring of their small children.

In turn, CR/G made the inverse path. After separating from her husband, CR/G sees herself alone, without a job and four daughters. Despite the material support existing in her home village, she felt suffocated by the surrounding community and moved to the city center, seeking anonymity to rebuild your life. Given that CR/G did the opposite direction of MT/G, the scenarios described by both are similar in every way, changing only the perspective and needs of each.

Therefore, availability and activation of neighbourhood networks have a more prominent presence in the rural context, which should be associated with the greatest concentration of

family network in the same territory and the least changes on the neighbours around. The rotation and urban mobility are less conducive to the development of networks of trust at the level of the neighbourhood, although both MI/L and MA/L refer resorting occasionally to the support of neighbours nearby to take care of the children. Although in this case, more than the neighbourhood community, the interviewees refer to establish trusting relationships with neighbouring or specific families who became part of their network of friends.

3.3. Community/Neighbourhood based solidarity networks: the role of social networks in resilience practices

The proximity of social networks play an important role in household resilience strategies. From the interviews, we identified two main types of social networks to which households resort: the family network and the institutional network.

If we set aside welfare provisions – which are key feature in resilience practices displayed in most interviews – we find that family redistribution and gift networks play an important role in resilience practices. However, it should be noted that it was not extended family that played such a role – with the possible exception of immigrants - but instead the nuclear family and its direct ascendency – that is, grand-fathers and grand-mothers. We already saw with the case of CL/A how this network played out in regard to self-production food supply. The case of CA/G shows other types of support, while also hinting at the awkwardness brought by a situation of dependence.

"I depend a lot on my parents' help. I have to work for many hours, as the [taxi] business is not that good… Me and my daughter eat at my parent's house everyday. The don't let that anything lacks, either to me or to her. She practices swimming and they pay for it. If she needs a pair of shoes, if she needs clothes, they buy them. It's an enormous help I have. [But] my parents are 72. It is very stressful for them to see me in this situation. At that age, they begin to think that they won't last much longer. And they begin to worry about what will happen to me and their grand-daughter." (CA/G/R1)

The case of NO/G shows more clearly how this support is entangled in a more complex gift network – while also offering a picture of tension and suspicion regarding care provider institutions.

"My father gives us [she and her sister] some money from their pensions so that we can take care for our mother. (…) Because she suffered a stroke that caught her legs and hands. At first, we thought about putting her into a nursing home. But my mother is still young. She's just turned 70. So I started to think: "I know what a nursing home is like". There are lucid people but also others who are senile. And lucid people have to watch their sorry state – it's not easy. So I said: "If you are willing, we can come over here so that you don't have to go [to the nursing home] right away". So far, we have managed it. One of us goes in the morning and the other in the afternoon. This is how we have been doing and she is better now." (NO/G/R1)

Friend and acquaintance networks seem to play a more peripheral role in this regard, with the exception of immigrants. Indeed the only extended networks of gift outside the nuclear family

that we came across in our sample was those of immigrants. Thus, this particular form of social network is a feature of the urban setting. This is very much the case of PE/L's maintenance work on the shack where he lives:

"I have taken the dirt away, I have added the gravel. Now it's just adding the sand. I make cement. I add a layer. Then a friend comes: a fellow countryman! He joins me, mixes the screed and clears some things up. Because there is little money and it almost isn't worth to spend a lot, as the neighborhood is going to be demolished soon." (G/L/R2)

So too PE/L mentions how he feels obliged to help friends with small sums of money, even if he has very little to spare for himself:

"Well, it's that thing that we Angolans have, right? Man, I don't have much but hey! Take 10. Look, take 20 something. Sometimes there are friends like this over here. For instance, I, with the little money I have… Last month, when I received, I remembered there was a friend up in [nearby neighborhood] who was going through a bad patch. So I said to him: "Look, I don't have much; but, here, have 2 euros. At least it's something"" (PE/L/R1)

Similarly, the institutional network mainly takes the form of food support. We found multiple cases of families being helped by food banks. It's not a situation limited only to cases of absolute poverty. In the majority of cases, access to the food bank runs via guaranteed minimum income. Benefiting on the knowledge that social assistants gain the reality of families, they signal and approach families in order to be awarded such help.

One of such cases is the one of AR/L. She lost her job as a hairdresser and in her fifties she's having many difficulties to find a new job. She has been living with the social integration income and with the support of her parents (whom she takes care) and her sons (both young adults). Also, the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* of Lugarão has been a good support to her, both through counselling (about training programs, job opportunities, benefits and other forms of support) and through material help, namely the food bank, clothes, toys (to her grandson), etc. In a life changing situation, *Santa Casa* has become one of the support pillars of AR/L.

The same can be said about GE/L. Like AR/L, he lost his job in construction in his fifties and couldn't find a regular a steady job since. Without family in Portugal and withdrawn from the regular labour market, GE/L has been living much in isolation, on account of the social integration income, small odd jobs and his urban vegetable garden, on a neighbourhood that is on a process of demolition. *Santa Casa*, on the other hand, has provided him with help and guidance regarding his social benefits and health needs, but also training (in gardening), counselling and other forms of inclusion, namely gardening. GE/L goes twice a week to *Santa Casa* to work on their vegetable garden with other beneficiaries (namely JU/L), producing all kinds of vegetables that afterwards are distributed in the institution. Besides getting GE/L involved in a social activity, his participation is also a way for social assistants to monitor his situation and fight the tendency to social isolation.

The dynamics of institutional network depends more on the organization of local actors than its territorial location. Thus, in the cases studied we found that this network takes a more prominent role in the urban case. This is due to the very dynamics of the city context - the trend towards substitution of responsibilities assigned to the family network by the institutional network - but also the fact that in the urban context pockets of poverty are both old and persistent. To fight that reality, it has been developed and consolidated many local

programs and institutional mechanisms to support the most disadvantaged, including the articulation in terms of communication and social action of local institutions.

There are also situations such as MT/G's, which food support began as a request from school for her children to eat lunch during holydays at school, but in the meantime has become a systematic weekly help directed to the household.

We also found some cases of money handouts. However they occur mainly among the immigrant communities and has a residual weight in the overall strategies, thus being a type of practice that we only found in the urban setting. PE/L and BA/L refer to participation in an informal network of gifts of small amounts of money, which are distributed in emergency situations by those who have some disposable income. People who give and receive change over time, according to their status of income and their immediate needs, involving at some point everyone in the community.

3.4. Connections and dynamics of mobility: citywide networks; relation between urban and rural areas; work mobility.

With regard to connections and dynamics of mobility, through fieldwork we have identified distinct patterns of behavior in the observed territories. While in Lugarão we found a high circulation dynamics in urban space, where the neighborhood is a reference point, but that does not cover all the daily practices of the subjects; in Gótica we found less circulation, where individuals tend to perform their daily journeys on where they live or nearby, with the movement out of the neighborhood to take an eminently functional character.

Thus Lugarão is characterized as a commuter's town, with inhabitants working in different places in the metropolitan area. Also, most inhabitants have some kind of practice or weekly routine in other places of the greater urban area. Incidentally, two indicators of this high mobility are the housing history of families and the strategic importance given to social pass. Most families interviewed from Lugarão moved house several times - for example, the LO / L, PE / L, the DI / L or AR / L - within the municipality or even the bordering councils. The need for circulation in a large urban area, coupled with the lack of resources and property, gives the social pass a key role. The importance is such that PE/L or MI/L list the social pass as a top priority in managing the monthly budget.

In turn, in Gótica the distance between the villages and the lack of transportation outside the city center contribute to dynamics of mobility more restricted to the place of living. Respondents that live outside of the city center usually only go to the city center to make use of some public service and to do the weekly grocery supply in the big supermarkets. Given the limitations on public transportation, having a car is a condition to mobility in Gótica. Thus, most people tend to work nearby where they live. Likewise, the families surveyed changed less often housing throughout its life paths, keeping preferably living in the same area.

Scale 4: Supra local state

4.1. Labour market

4.1.1. Main characteristics of urban and rural labour markets[10]

Lugarão is part of the large Lisbon metropolitan area. As such, the labor market for its active inhabitants far exceeds the town's limits. Despite having a relevant industrial past – including heavy metallurgical units – Lugarão went through a strong deindustrialization process between the late 1980s and the early 2000s. Between 1981 and 2011, the proportion of employed residents working on the industrial sector dropped from 37,3% to just 15,5%, with the raising from 62,2% to 84,3% in the same period. The percentage of workers employed in the primary sector remained residual (from 0,1% to 0,05%).

Lugarão was one of the first places in the Lisbon metropolitan area where major commercial retailers – particularly Spanish and French corporations – established themselves after Portugal's entrance in the European Union in 1986. Several of these retailers are still major employers in the area and continue to target a public from beyond the municipalities. Data from 2011 revealed that 45,0% of the firms working in Lugarão were from the "Commerce and hospitality sector", dwarfing in numbers the next major employer sectors - "Personal services" and "Construction and Public Work", with 12,0% apiece. This also accounts for the fact that Lugarão features a far greater proportion of large firms than is characteristic of Portugal, with 17,0% of its firms having more than 50 employees. Although official unemployment data at municipal level is lacking, own estimations from data from the 2011 General Census would place unemployment rates in the municipality close to 14,2%, slightly above the contemporary national rate of 12,7%.

For its part, the municipality of Gótica features a small town and several dispersed villages. Gótica was traditionally a major center of agricultural production - owing to the fertility of the land on the banks of the major river that crosses it. In 1960, nearly half (49.6%) of its employed residents worked in agriculture and forestry. Strong migratory fluxes of rural population to the Lisbon metropolitan area and also abroad meant that, by 1981, this proportion had already fallen to 18,8%. A fast trend of modernization of agricultural practices – and consequent drop in the demand of labor - after the Portuguese entry in the EU continued to feed this decline. By 2011, this proportion stood at just 4,4% - though still above the Portuguese global percentage of 3,0%.Industry retains some importance, representing 22,0% of employment in 2011 and is mostly connected to forestry - such as furniture building –cattle and vegetable production - such as food processing. According to Census data, unemployment rate in Gótica in 2011, stood at 11,0%, slightly below the national rate at the time.

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[10] This section is based on documents called Social Diagnostics produced by the local Social Networks of each of Gótica and Lugarão municipalities.

4.1.2. The position of interviewed households in overall labour market

Tables 1 and 2 list the occupations of our interviewees in both Lugarão and Gótica at the time of the interviews. One striking element in comparing both tables is that our subsample in Lugarão features a much larger number of unemployed – 8 of our 12 interviewees were without a job at the time of the interview. Significantly, half of these unemployed interviewees had their last job in construction, one of the economic sectors that was hit hardest by the crisis. Indeed, the crisis and the lack of formal qualifications pushed them to the edges of the labor market, leaving them relying in increasingly scarcer odd jobs in their sector. In the case of both GE/L and ML/L, problems related to ageing and health problems – both are in their 60s but not retired – have rendered even more difficult for them to find a job.

Table 1 – Occupations of the RESCuEinterviewees on the urban area (Lugarão) at the time of interview(s)

Occupation	*Men*	*Women*
Former small business owner	NV/L**	
Café owner		LO/L
Cook		CL/L*
Construction Worker	ML/L*, JU/L*, DI/L*, GE/L*	
Waitress		EL/L*
Cleaning worker		BA/L, MI/L
Supermarket cashier		AS/L*
Waste collector	PE/L	
Hairdresser		AU/L*

* - Unemployed
** - Retired

Another case in which the crisis compounded was that of AU/L. A hairdresser who was used to change jobs with ease, she has failed to find since resigned from in 2009. The decreasing demand for personal services stemming from the crisis coupled with a strong ageism in her profession – she's on her 50s – meant that she was no longer able to find a regular after losing her last one in 2009. This forced her to rely on social transfers and on the occasional odd job of manicure and hair cutting in nursing homes and at home for a few former regular costumers of her in the hairdresser saloons.

Our rural subsample features two low-ranked public servants and also three nursery home assistants. This is consistent with the structure of employment where public employment and third sector organizations – particularly those running services of child and elder car - play a very significant part in the employment structure. Gótica is also home to a significant Portuguese gypsy and indeed was our only case where an interviewee openly claimed having been target of racist discrimination. This was the case PA/G (P), a Portuguese gypsy, who complained and drawn with his wife.

Income from informal work did play an important part in the budgets of a few of our interviewed households in the rural area. In Gótica though, engagement in informal work was above all geared to complement low wages earned through formal activity. This contrasted with several of the cases of our urban subsample, where the main work activity was itself taking place in the realm the informal economy– though one should note that our urban

subsample had a much higher prevalence of unemployed interviewees. Thus, FA/G, earning close to minimum wage as public library clerk, is occasionally hired on weekends to cook food for private parties. In turn, NO/G, a former furniture factory worker who lost her job when her factory closed, partly compensates for the lost income by cleaning houses in her village also on weekends. CA/G also had a series of short-term stints in agricultural fairs, even if she was now concentrated fully in her job as a taxi driver. Being retired, RO/G used to complement her pension by working occasionally as cook and as a seamstress in her village. However, she ceased to do so when her aged mother moved into to the house and when her husband fell ill, as she became almost sole responsible for providing care for them.

Table 2 – Occupations of the RESCuE interviewees on the rural area (Gótica) at the time of interview(s)

Occupation	Men	Women
Nursery Home Assistant		TJ/G (T), PA/G (P), NO/G
Library Clerk		FA/G
Municipal Clerk		TE/G
Former small business owner	TJ/G (J)*, NA/G**	
Travelling salesman	PA/G (A)*	
Masseuse		CR/G
Factory worker		MT/G
Taxi Driver		CA/G
Café owner	LU/G	
Cook		RO/G**

* - Unemployed

** - Retired

4.2. Connections

4.2.1. Connections to other parts of the city and the rest of the country

Lugarão, our urban area, is a small municipality in area, although densely populated. It is adjacent to Lisbon and is thus served by a reasonable network of public transportation. The entire municipality is crossed by a main suburban train line, which features three stations in the municipality and is amply used by its population. The eastern part of the municipality also benefits from a subway station linking it to the center of Lisbon and from terminals. Are publicly operated while the – with exception – are private. One situation of note in this regard is the effect of raise considerably with the onset of austerity in 2011 – which, in the cases of monthly passes have nearly doubled.

Gótica, our rural area, is very much a two-tiered space regarding connections. The town itself has privileged situation. It is situated along two major transport infrastructures linking Lisbon and Oporto (Portugal's two biggest urban regions): a highway; and a railroad, served by multiple regional, inter-cities and fast trains a day. However, this situation changes drastically when we consider the villages of the municipality. As discussed in chapter 3, connection

between the hinterland villages and the town are poor. Owing to an incipient public transport network, village inhabitants are often forced to rely on personal cars – own or through rides – and taxis to move around or to reach the main town. As noted on chapter 3, one of the striking was the centrality of the car, making it for basic including supplying or looking for a job.

4.2.2. Connections to global networks

As discussed in section 4.1.1., the structure of employment in Lugarão suffered a considerable transformation after the Portugal joined the European Union in 1986.European integration meant the opening of the internal market to European products meant increased difficulties and eventual disappearance of the heavy industrial units which were important employers in the municipality – including large factories producing railway rolling stock, wiring and diverse industrial equipment. At the same time, Lugarão was also one of the first places in Portugal where major European retailers - particularly Spanish and French companies – installed their general public sale units after 1986. From those times, the eastern part of the municipality has featured a very large commercial zone, which includes generalist stores such as hypermarkets and also large specialized stores of sports gear and DIY. Indeed, the hypermarkets actually run free bus from and back to the center of Lugarão – something that was used by a few of our interviews

The financialization of the Portuguese economy – itself a part of a process whose reach extends into Europe and the world – is another process can also be indirectly discerned in many of our interviews, particularly regarding housing strategies. We will delve more into this subject when discussing the long and short-term impacts of housing policies in Portugal on resilience processes in the next section.

An example of a translocal phenomenon relevant to our work is the operation of migrant networks. Our urban subsample distinguished itself by the large presence of immigrants. In several cases, this meant that interviewees were part of family and solidarity networks that far exceeded the local place. Such integration had different modalities .A very common one was the immigrant as a *provider* for its family back in the home country. An extreme example of this is ML/L. He reported to us how his family in Guinea-Bissau expected him to provide for needed goods - such as medicines – even if he himself was – thus forcing him to recur to gift networks and thus further indebting him regarding his friends. A second modality is *home as reference*. In this case, the family network plays the role of an emotional bond which help giving meaning to the current hardship and suffering. This is very much the case of EL/L, who is constantly in contact with her mother back in Brazil via Facebook and for whom her current predicaments were a way of providing a better future to her children and to one day being able purchase a house in his hometown and return home. The third modality is the *translation of the network*. This is the case of immigrants that have no intention of returning but instead want to establish themselves in the host country and whose actions are – at least partially – oriented towards creating the conditions for bringing their. This is the case of PE/L, who had the long term goal of bringing his children from Angola to Portugal.

Emigration networks were also at work during our fieldwork. This is not surprising, given that the crisis and the austerity policies set in place to address it triggered an emigration flux of a

dimension not seen since in Portugal the 1960s.[11]Between our first and second interviews, CL/L's husband left for the UK and CL/L was strongly inclined to join him. The decision to emigrate was not an individual one but something that was taken inside a network, with his cousins – who were already established there - facilitating the obtainment of a job in a factory and providing him with housing on arrival. NA/G's case gives us the other side of the operation of these networks. In his case, he was supporting his son move to Brazil through money transfers, stepping in while he was engaging in training and acquired a local Brazilian certification – something that was putting a heavy burden in a budget that was already strained by the need to house his grandchildren.

4.3. Public services, state policies and resilience practices

Access and coverage of public services provide a good observation point on the role that processes of socialization or individualization of risks – a key element in resilience processes - play out in interviewees' lives. This is very much the case of health services, which are a key element in guaranteeing general access to physical and mental health services. It was through the National Health Service (SNS) that CL/L (at the time unemployed) and TE/G (at the time on minimum wage) were able take prolonged treatments for their respective serious illnesses. Public schools and job centers also played important roles in the strategies of some our interviews deployed to tackle with hardship. For instance, PE/L or BA/L were able to engage in vocational courses either provided by a secondary school (in the case of BA/L) or sponsored by the job center (in the case of PE/L, who also benefitted from a public scholarship during the course).

4.3.1. Coordination of public and third sector interventions

Given the importance of public services in resilience processes, it is worth to emphasize how Portuguese territorialized state policies influenced the shape and efficacy of their operations in the two regions we studied. The most important of these policies is likely the *Rede Social* (RS - literally "Social Network" in Portuguese). An *RS* is a structure that integrates public and third sector institutions in each Portuguese municipality. It works as forum for identifying and monitoring social problems and for planning interventions, avoiding overlapping of actions and fostering collaboration between participating institutions. RS were also given competences regarding the approval of applications for State and European funds.

RSs were set up through a pilot programme set up by the Ministry of Employment and Social Solidarity in the late 1990s and were extended to the entire country in the early 2000s. Participation is mandatory for local public services. Although participation in the leading body of an RS is formally open to any institution, in practice it is the municipalities that have assumed a leading role in the RS's workings in every RS. This owes to the political legitimacy that they enjoy, enabling them to bring the different partners to the table more easily.

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[11]According to the Portuguese National Statistics Institute, 485 128 people – roughly 5% of the total Portuguese population –left the country between 2011 and 2014, at an average of just over 121 000 per year. As comparison, the yearly average of individuals leaving the country between 1992 and 2003 was close to 25 000.*

Participation on RSs has in general greatly increased the ability of local state services – such as Social Security, Job Centers or Health centers – to identify and monitor situations of poverty. They have also been key in improving the efficacy and efficiency in the interventions of third sector institutions and allowed for the creation of partnerships between themselves.

However, differences in the characteristics of territories as well dependence on the initiative and ability levels demonstrated by the municipalities gave rise to considerable asymmetries within the country regarding the efficacy of RS' works. Our two study areas give us a glimpse of this problem. Lugarão –a small, densely populated area – and where the local RS has long been a priority for the municipality, features a very high level of integration in intervention between public services and third sector institutions, effectively working as highly integrated network sharing, information and rerouting users between them. Gótica is slightly different in this regard, due to the two-tiered nature of its territory –a small central town and scattered villages –made for an asymmetrical capacity, with more difficult access to the hinterland – and thus reduced capacity to track and monitor critical situations in these locations.

4.3.2. Housing policies

State housing policies are major elements in the configuration of urban space and are of special interest when considering resilience processes. Among most of our interviews housing was a major need whose satisfaction consumes a large chunk of their income. Also, and as we saw on chapter 2, owning a home was described as both a central aspiration and a symbol of autonomy for many of our interviewees. But housing policies and their effects also provide an example of the linkage between local and global economic and social processes, some of whose effects can be grasped in our interviewees.

Unlike what happens in education, health and pensions, housing in Portugal depends massively on private for-profit provision. Furthermore, Portugal features an almost completely liberalized housing market, with state regulation on housing prices being minimal to non-existent. Access to housing is thus heavily dependent on the capacity of families to contract mortgages.

This situation had its roots in the early 1990s. The two major Portuguese urban centers – Lisbon and Oporto – had long suffered from severe housing shortages, owing to a combination of strong demographic pressure from rural exodus and incipient public housing policies until 1974. Satisfaction of housing needs by the working class was largely met through self-building, leading to the appearance of large slums in and around these cities. The first years after the democratic revolution of 1974 saw a more tentative to sort through – at first through direct provision and then through support for cooperatives to build and provide for their members at housing at controlled prices.

These instruments would, however, decline quickly in importance in the early 1990s. The 1990 European fixed exchange rate mechanism to which Portugal adhered generated a sharp drop in interest rates. Coupled with the removal of capital movement restrictions in the EU this quickly generated an afflux of European capital to Portugal – of which the construction sector was one of the main beneficiaries. Moreover, lower interests provided the necessary

prerequisite for a significant turn housing policy. The stat would now concentrate in subsidizing families' acquisition of their own house through fiscal benefits and direct subsidization of bank mortgages, while transferring to the municipalities the responsibility for providing housing to the poorer segments of the population – something that would also be mostly financed thorough debt.

This would become one of the main ways through which the process of financialisation of the Portuguese economy accelerated.[12] Aside from generating a housing boom during the 1990s, it vastly increased the debt levels of the Portuguese banking system towards their central European counterparts and the financial markets. More to the point, it vastly increased the involvement of households with the financial system, raising exponentially the general debt levels of Portuguese families[13] - a situation that would also play key role in the debt crisis of the late 2000s. It also created a segmented from the housing markets, excluding those who fail to access to credit – a problem that was further aggravated as banks both severely tightened mortgage conditions after the crisis.

This problem is being compounded by the deregulation of the housing rental market that took place first in the mid-2000s and was deepened the context of the Troika intervention of 2011-2014. This lead to a hike in rent prices in all but the oldest contracts. As consequence, a considerable segment of the population is trapped between lack of access to house ownership and difficulties in meeting surging rents – a problem that grew considerably a context of high unemployment and lowering wages.

The effects of these supra-local processes is very much visible on our sample, with proliferation of ad-hoc solutions by our interviews. The only ones amongst our interviewees who own their houses without mortgage were NA/G, who inherited on his parents' death, LU/L, who bought a flat above his café with his savings as an emigrant, and RO/G, who acquired it as members of housing cooperative in the late 1980s. GE/L also owns his house, but this a shack that he himself built in the late 1980s. MR/L also moved in to her father-in-law's shack in order to cut expenses. TJ/G, CL/L and AS/L had their own mortgaged houses – the former two having acquired theirs when they had stable jobs before the crisis and the latter as part of her separation deal.

The vast majority of our interviewees are tenets. Of these, only PA/G and NO/G lived on public housing. Practices of house sharing, with rent being collectively paid, were also found in our urban area sample, as in the case of ML/L, EL/L and PE/L.
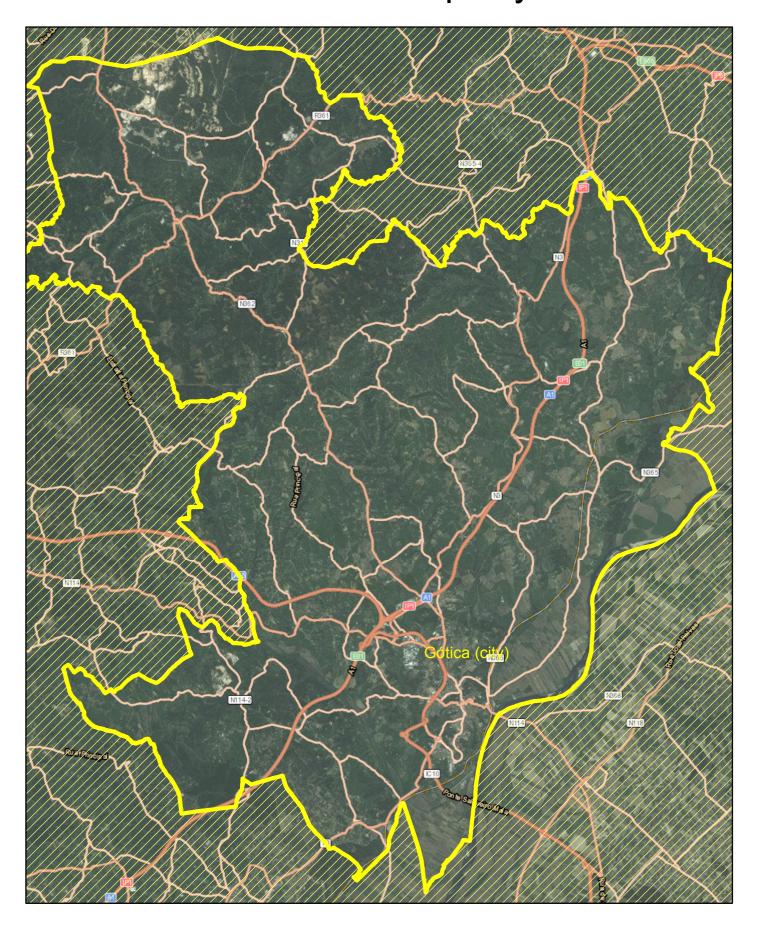
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[12]We understand here financialisation as "the process by which... economic activity in general has become subject to the logic and imperatives of interest-bearing [financial] capital". See Fine, B. (2010). *Locating Financialisation. Historical Materialism,* 18, 97-116). For an account of the Portuguese case, see Rodrigues, João, Ana C. Santos & Nuno Teles (2016). Semi-peripheral financialisation: the case of Portugal. *Review of International Political Economy*, 1-31.

[13] According to Eurostat, the gross debt-to-income rate of Portuguese households in 1995 was just 38.4%. By 2009, it had swelled to 127,6%.According to Santos, mortgages represented in 2013 close to 80% of Portuguese families' debt – one of the highest proportions in Europe. (See Santos, A.C. (2015). "O Endividamento das Famílias Portuguesas: um Fenómeno Sistémico.". In "As Famílias Endividadas". Coimbra: Almedina.)

Annexes

Maps

Gótica Municipality

Gótica (city)

Kilometers

0 1 2   4   6   8   10   12   14

N

Lugarão Municipality

Kilometers
0   0,5   1

N