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## INTERIM EVALUATION REPORT ON THE PROGRAMME TO COMBAT POVERTY

(Report from the Commission to the Council)

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I. GENERAL REMARKS

The present report replaces neither the evaluation report prepared by ESPOIR - which will consist of a global evaluation of the programme of pilot schemes and studies - nor the final reports prepared by each of the pilot schemes nor does it replace the definitive results of the studies. These various documents should reach the Commission at the end of November 1980.

This report represents an intermediate stage in the continuous evaluation process of the programme to combat poverty after the Commission's two reports - which were both transmitted to the Council - and before the Commission's final report which will be delivered to the Council between now and the end of June 1981. In its final appreciation of the programme and its context which will constitute this final report, the Commission will also consider the national reports dealing with the different policies implemented in the Member States to combat poverty (\*).

This interim report will not concern itself no more than will the final evaluation report, with these national reports which have a different set of objectives to the rest of the programme to combat poverty. The importance of these reports is evident given that the lessons to be learnt from the schemes will need to be exploited at the political level and to be inserted into the policies to combat poverty at national and Community levels.

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(\*) The final texts will be available at the end of November 1980 and they will form the subject of a comparative analysis at a later date outside the framework of the interim programme.

The limits to the evaluation having thus been defined, it is useful to highlight a few of the important aspects which give the programme to combat poverty, and in particular the pilot schemes, a certain unity and coherence which transcends the diversity of the different situations to which the pilot schemes are directed, before proceeding to a general synthesis of the lessons to be learnt first from the pilot schemes and then from the studies.

The first of these aspects concerns the handicaps which affect the poor, handicaps which constitute many of the factors of pauperisation and of the poverty indicators.

Material handicaps :

- of an economic nature :  
(very high rates of unemployment, persons in receipt of social assistance, low salaries resulting from insufficient or non-existent qualifications, jobs at the lower end of the scale, high levels of indebtedness) ;
- in housing :  
(few or no sanitary amenities, old and often very dilapidated, too small, situated in fringe areas often with little or no socio-educational infrastructures) ;
- in health :  
(high levels of somatic, psycho-somatic and psychological illnesses, high rates of alcoholism) ;
- in social situation :  
(very little contact with surroundings, resignation, isolation, discrimination coming from others : at school, at work and in general) ;
- in the family :  
(a very high level of one-parent families, debasement of the image of those "men" who are unable to assure the provision of basic necessities, a great number of old persons living alone, the heavy

burden placed on women due to the number of children and to financial problems  
conflicts between generations aggravated by marginalisation, high crime rates -  
in particular amongst children and young persons - ) ;

- in training and behaviour :

(high rate of illiteracy, high level of scholastic failures, lack of educational  
and professional qualifications, lack of knowledge, a great deal of socially  
unacceptable behaviour, resignation, loss of individuality)

Handicaps thus endured cannot be considered in isolation, often an  
interaction exists between them which serve to reinforce them on a reciprocal  
basis. They can be found in varying degrees, in all of the pilot schemes.

A second aspect, important because of its multiple consequences, is the  
change which has occurred in the economic situation during the period in which  
the programme to combat poverty was implemented. The socio-economic climate of  
the past five years has been marked by fluctuations in the economy, which have  
affected rates of inflation and unemployment and which, generally, have led to  
curbs on public expenditure. Such a climate has not been very favourable for  
the progress, without hitch, of the different pilot schemes which were launched  
or developed at a time - 1974 - to 1975 - which was considered prosperous. This  
will have to be taken into consideration in the final judgement of the programme.

For the least favoured (the Fourth World) the repercussions have been  
even worse. In fact, in many countries the tendency is to maintain the existing  
situation by helping those most recently caught up in the crisis rather than  
those already enmeshed for a long time.

There is a hardening of public opinion and of the attitudes of the mass  
media towards this part of the population which seems to profit disproportionately  
from public expenditure and social assistance, whilst industrial recession is  
setting in and the perception of poverty in developed countries is increasing.

Various surveys carried out in the Member States reveal that beside the "traditional" poor, there is emerging a new kind of poor about whom sociologists are talking more and more, viz. those living a precarious existence as a consequence of the crisis, inflation and unemployment. The "new" poor differ from the traditional "excluded" poor in that they come from the fringe of the middle-class where people have the least qualifications from an occupational point of view. If these poor are not yet subject to the majority of the above-mentioned handicaps they too are experiencing exclusion. For poverty is primarily an accumulation of exclusions.

Finally, information collected on various occasions, in particular from the leaders of the pilot schemes, raises some questions as to the effectiveness of social policies - particularly those of social protection - and their adaptability to new circumstances such as, for example, a high level of unemployment. It would seem that some social assistance schemes designed for such eventualities prove to be insufficient but this needs to be studied in greater depth. An error of judgement at this juncture could have far-reaching consequences at a time when the economic crisis is threatening to worsen and to increase the number of new poor, and could lead to a more or less violent challenge to our society, following the destruction or the tearing of the social fabric.

In the final appreciation of the programme to combat poverty it will be difficult to ignore the phenomena and changes outlined above. Nor can one ignore the time that has been needed for the different schemes to reach the point of working smoothly, as it is obvious that the time required to produce results is not necessarily the same in the social and economic sectors.

In the same way it will be necessary to retain the fact that the programme is by its very nature an experimental one and the lessons drawn from it need to be tested and gone into in greater depth so that they can eventually be generalised and applied.

Despite this experimental character, the programme with its diversity of pilot schemes and its Community-wide area of coverage, nevertheless constitute an unequalled source of information which will be highly instructive for all future action taken to combat poverty.

The following sections of the report proceed to give a provisional evaluation of the programme. The first part of the evaluation will deal with the pilot schemes whilst the second with the studies. This will be followed by a few conclusions which are also of a provisional nature.

## II. EVALUATION OF THE PILOT SCHEMES (\*)

For these purposes an outline comparison is made between all the schemes according to certain number of aspects which characterise and define them :

- (a) Origins and context of the schemes
- (b) Target populations and groups
- (c) Objectives
- (d) Structure and organisation
- (e) Types and spheres of activity
- (f) Research
- (g) European dimension.

For these various aspects the comparison will be a very general one without quoting the projects (part A) (\*\*).

Three other aspects will be treated differently, aspects which fit the objectives of the programme as they are given in the 1st Article of the Council Decision of 22 July 1975 or which give the first indicators as

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(\*) For additional detail it would be useful to consult the second report on the European programme which was presented by the Commission to the Council in October 1979.

(\*\*) With the exception of item (e).

to the main results of the pilot schemes (Part B).

The following will be treated successively :

- the participation of the poor,
- innovations,
- results.

## A. A GLOBAL EVALUATION

### (a) Origins and context of the pilot schemes

Certain of the schemes existed before the European programme.

The programme enabled them either to expand or undertake new activities. Other schemes only saw the light of day thanks to the European programme as without it they would probably never have been launched.

The geographical location of these schemes is very varied : a group of houses, a neighbourhood, a town (often the city centre) or, in the case of the Irish national programme, a number of areas.

On the other hand all the schemes are located in places affected by economic (an exodus of industry, and a decline in cottage industries and commerce) and social blight (a low-income population, often with high proportions of immigrants).

### (b) Target populations and groups

The number of people directly involved in a project varies, of course, as a fonction of the geographical area covered and the objectives of the schemes. It can vary from a couple of dozen people to tens of thousands.

As a general rule, the target population for the schemes is that which suffers the abovementioned heavy handicaps. But in this context most of the schemes have a particular group from the population at large as their target population : the children of deprived families, the

inhabitants of certain (economically and socially) marginal, built-up areas, the inhabitants of housing which is old and decaying (families, the aged), the unemployed, small farmers, small-time fishermen, battered women, children deprived of education, immigrants, persons who fall outside the social protection system, the sub-proletariat (or Fourth World). If one constructed a grid showing the target populations and the handicaps, as has been tried by several of the project leaders working together, one can tell at a glance that looking beyond the apparent differences there is an accumulation of handicaps. Mention must also be made of those schemes which are dealing with the problem by acting on the population as a whole - the poor and the non-poor.

(c) Objectives

Here also, diversity is the rule.

Amongst the objectives one finds the struggle against the growing dehumanisation of our present urban structures and the effort to promote a way of life which develops collective creativity. One also finds the struggle for the recognition of rights, the establishment of awareness and the development of the means of action of the deprived by removing the barriers of exclusion. Included also is the reduction of the levels of suffering and marginalisation which specifically affect children, women, old people in poverty and those who are unemployed. One also finds efforts to reduce the general level of passivity, of dependence, of desintegration, of withholding information and of exposure to harmful influences in the living and working environment. A further aim is to increase, amongst the public at large, the awareness of the problem of poverty. A final objective is to contribute to the development of more effective long-term policies for combatting poverty.

(d) Structures and organisation

These are a function of the various parameters involved and mainly of the target populations and objectives pursued. There is a very



light-weight structure where the scheme is limited in space and field of action : a few persons - salaried or voluntary (sometimes both) from outside the target population, or sometimes coming from within it, generally assisted by advisors and/or researchers.

At another level, social workers appear on the scene and sociologists, administrators and a decision-making structure such as a Committee, a general meeting, a Management Committee and often a Central Team who assure the day to day leadership and running of the scheme. Finally, where there are several schemes of a similar nature in a particular country one finds a central organisation with more or less complete decentralisation at the regional or local levels. It should also be noted that in general organisations which are more developed have at their disposal greater numbers of personnel (for action, organising and research).

(e) Types and spheres of activity

The variety and richness of social experimentation and the activities of the pilot schemes mean that greater attention must be given to this aspect, especially if the results of the schemes are to be judged in Part B.

1. The pilot scheme in the Marolles (Brussels)

Through the Marolles Development Association this scheme aims to further economic development mainly by obtaining employment which the least favoured are qualified and able to hold, and by renovating housing for the poorest residents. The same Association is involved in various activities (office-cleaning, sewing, renovation, gardeners who also have a leadership role, a craftsmen's cooperative, the repair and sale of scrapped televisions which come from a variety sources).

Other activities involve the immigrant population, activities which in the case of the Arab population are mainly of a cultural nature whilst with the Spanish population they include social, cultural and health programmes. Particular attention is paid to second generation immigrants. Other spheres of activity include the distribution of

information in the neighbourhood, assisting the inhabitants to identify with their neighbourhood (by organising social evenings, fêtes, celebrations, amateur theatre groups, a choir for adults, etc). Other activities include health (a medical centre has been set up - direct copy of the Italian Naples-Guigliano project), the law (legal information and advice is provided to inform inhabitants of their rights and how to use them) and education (a vocational training school for the building industry for young people at a loose end and adaptation classes).

## 2. The development of need-related models of social service (Cologne)

To this end three types of activity have been engaged in. The first consists of a structural analysis of poverty and a description of the living conditions of the poor (mainly using a standardised questionnaire for some 600 persons either in receipt of social assistance or entitled to it).

The second consists of an analysis <sup>of</sup> the administrative allocation of assistance (highlighting the problems) using an intensive interview technique conducted by social workers and meetings with experts.

The third activity consists of the development of strategies to combat poverty (in particular with the elaboration of recommendations relating to social assistance and social work).

## 3. Working with the homeless (Duisburg-Essen)

Given the specific nature of and the problems relating to the homeless, particular areas for intervention were retained :

- community work and social work in the neighbourhoods affected,
- work with children and young people, the on-going training of field-workers,
- individual assistance, family counselling.

4. The social integration of refugees and immigrants (Amberg)

Various forms of activity have taken place involving children of low scholastic attainment, young people, the aged and using community work.

5. Action for deprived children (14th arrondissement, Paris)

The outcome of all action depends upon prevention. For this reason all decisions relating to intervention in a family are studied on a concerted basis and taken in function of new possibilities (for example, maintaining children in the same geographical area). Concrete action is taken to foster awareness (films on young children), to train (foster parents (\*) and the teams who back them up) or to inform (the members of those services directly affected by the project : social services, infant schools).

6. Comprehensive attack on poverty (A.T.D. Rheims)

To attain the general objective of the project which consists of a comprehensive attack on exclusion in Rheims it was necessary to create a Fourth World Movement (providing somewhere for people to express themselves, for training and for the representation of the sub-proletariat as a social group) and to question and mobilize public authorities and institutions (in particular education, vocational training, housing, social security). It was also necessary to stimulate public opinion in order to set up a network of solidarity as well as to launch a research programme which would be able to enlighten the action side of things on a medium and long-term basis.

7. Community development centred upon young children (Noisy-le-Grand, Herblay, Toulon)

Activities here have taken on different but convergent shapes. Action focussed first of all upon children and their family, social and educational environments (for example pre-schools, holiday camps and classes in the countryside, expansion of a child's awareness with outings, musical sessions and the discussion of books - but always with the participation of parents). Action has also centred on awakening and regrouping

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(\*) These foster parents are known in France as "assistantes maternelles" (maternal assistants).

families in the poorest homes (using the presence of a paediatric nurse or family assistant working in the family itself, taking medical action, dialoguing with those teachers who are concerned with these particular children). Part of the activity has also involved getting to know the children and their environment, as well as their development (observing participants in their environment, at school, in outside activities ; testing participants on a regular basis, etc.). Finally, action has been taken to develop educational methods suited to this type of environment.

8. The improvement of housing and living conditions (Roubaix, Guémené-sur-Scorff and Orange

In Guémené-sur-Scorff three types of activity have been implemented focussing on the restoration of housing for people who are retired, the creation of sheltered housing using old hotels which have communal facilities (clubs, medical care) and thirdly restoring housing on a programmed basis.

In Orange the pilot scheme has taken shape in two directions :

- a diffused and limited programme replying to the most urgent need to improve housing for the aged, families and immigrants ;
- as in Guémené, taking on a programmed scheme to improve living conditions treating unhealthy buildings.

In Roubaix the focus is not on housing but rather on taking initiatives in favour of the leisure-time activities of children and families, and vocational training for young people and adults (specially adapted vocational training, baby clinics, a social worker always on duty, better schooling for young children).

9. The Irish national programme

This programme consists of 17 locally based projects and 4 group projects with a national interest.

A large number of projects provide assistance, consultation and information services of different types : housing, social protection, social assistance, health care or the development of vocational training and special educational skills for specific sectors of the population : old people, travellers, the handicapped, young persons, women, families, persons living alone, children, the unemployed.

There are also projects concerned with particular socio-professional groups in difficulty : small farmers and small fisherman where the objective is to achieve economic viability with specially adapted training and the development of marketing outlets, etc. Certain projects provide consultation, information and assistance services with regard to access to social security and social assistance.

Other projects focus on obtaining group and local community participation in the physical planning of their neighbourhood.

Some projects have objectives which are specifically economic and they aim to set up small industries (based on local craftsmanship) or small cooperatives (handling the produce of small farmers and small fishermen).

One must not forget those projects aiming to set up information and resource centres (generic and specialised).

#### 10. Centre for social medicine (Naples-Giugliano)

The range of intervention here is extensive : health, education, employment, housing and urban structures, information, community life, underdevelopment and emigration.

#### 11. Commune of Padua

Here also there are many kinds and sectors of intervention :

- . for minors (action with regard to the health and well-being of the population up to 18 years of age and assistance and integration in the social fabric of those who are handicapped);
- . for the working population (coming to grips with problems of employment and leisure time, in close co-operation with the appropriate social organisations);

- . for elderly people (reducing their social isolation) ;
- . for the poor (guaranteeing to persons in straitened circumstances - whether long- or short-term - the means of overcoming their state of need).

12. Community Development ATD - Breda)

The action is directed primarily towards :

- grouping the adults around common themes and problems with a view to seeking out common rather than individual solutions ;
- establishing a dialogue between the poorest families and individuals on the one side and other persons or groups, public authorities and private institutions on the other side ;
- improving the understanding of the life-styles and thought-process of the poorest of the poor, of the causes and consequences of their poverty, their exclusion and their history.

13. The joint family day centres project (United Kingdom)

Whilst these projects have a common theme each project (ATD-London, Downton Family Centre Rotherhithe, Camden Family Service Unit, Croydon Gingerbread, Defoe Day Care Centre, London Voluntary Service Council and Liverpool Personal Services Society) has its own characteristics and method of working.

The ATD-London project shares many similarities with the ATD-Paris projects and especially with Rheims.

Downtown Rotherhithe

The centre consists of a meeting place and focal point for social life breaking through the isolation of young women and their children. It also provides a source of practical assistance when needed. Access to advice, information and counselling is provided as well as a wide range of educational activities for the mothers.

Camden Drop-In Centre

This also consists of a social meeting place where different kinds of activities have developed : cookery lessons, housekeeping, arts and crafts, outings, outside visits and discussion groups.

Gingerbread (Croydon)

The main activity is one of caring for the children of single parent families-whose ages are between 5 and 11 years. This care is assured daily after school hours and during school holidays. In addition a certain amount of information and practical counselling work takes place relative to the numerous problems faced by one-parent families.

Defoe Day Care Centre

Activities are focussed on various spheres : employment, housing, welfare rights, health and education in favour of parents (a large number of whom are lone parents, students and night-workers) through the care and socio-educative stimulation of children (for the youngest there is a nursery whilst for those from 2-5 years there is a nursery school, etc.).

London Voluntary Service Council

The action undertaken by the Council differs from the abovementioned which are more localised and limited, as it aims to create and animate family groups using personnel, salaried or voluntary, provided for this purpose by the Council.

Liverpool Personal Services Society

Activities in this project are focussed on housing renovation and on a social education programme which provides those following it with the opportunity to learn basic housekeeping and budgetary skills. For this purpose the Newby Street Family Clubhouse was set up.

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During their lifespan all this group of schemes have received advice from the Institute of Community Studies. The Institute has ensured the exchange of information between schemes and has created permanent links between them. It has also been responsible for the evaluation of these different schemes which are considered as a global one.

14. Area Resource Centres (South Wales and London)

These centres provide numerous local groups, with whom they have established contact with a wide range of services in the fields of employment (job-hunting and the creation of employment for young people), housing (house maintenance and renovation), and health (by facilitating access to health services).

Welfare rights and economic information is also given, these being considered an integral part of community education, as well as legal advice to local groups.

15. Craigmillar Festival Society (Edinburgh)

The priority action areas chosen by this project were employment, housing, education, social welfare and transport. Implementation is through a series of workshops. But the arts - the starting point for this project - continue to act as a catalyst infusing each sector with an enthusiasm to create.

16. Social and community development programme (Edinburgh)

In order to stimulate, assist and help the local population to increase their options for actions and choice a series of actions were launched concerning information (with local newspapers, discussions, and



debates), housing, improvement of the environment, the employment of women and young adults, communal facilities for the young (play areas), for the aged (help and information) and the promotion of community organisations (associations, festivals, support of campaigns in favour of schools).

17. Tribunal representation unit (Wolverhampton)

Starting with the assistance and advice given to persons encountering problems with social security and supplementary benefits, the scope of this project has been extended to include housing and employment. The project has enabled those least favoured by social protection schemes to be identified : the recently unemployed, the aged, persons who are sick or invalided, one-parent families.

18. Welfare Rights project (Belfast)

Action here is concentrated on poverty in a very narrow sense relating to lack of financial resources and housing problems.

(f) Research

All the schemes have, to varying degrees, undertaken research. Here the distinction must be made between research in the field - within the framework of and relative to the project - and that which is undertaken at a theoretical level, most often by institutes and universities.

Research undertaken in this way - and, therefore, its results - depends greatly upon the field covered by the scheme and the isolated or interdependent nature of the project. Some research therefore has very limited results or effects and is difficult to generalise. Other research has an exemplary value and merits being tested in other situations which are of a similar nature, at national or community level.

(g) The European Dimension

The basic idea underlying the programme was to make project leaders conscious of their interdependence on a national or Community-wide basis and on a sectorial or global basis. The leaders therefore needed to be aware of the need to establish contacts in order to exchange information and the results of different experiences. In the first phase contacts were established thanks to two seminars (one held in Brussels the other in Chantilly) without there being any visible and sustained evidence of reciprocal interest or consciousness of a common fate.

In the second phase, during which most projects had overcome their starting problems and were now operating fairly smoothly, a greater interest in the various projects began to appear. Meetings between leaders in a given country, or several countries, increased often associating projects of a similar type, or even of different types. Certain initiatives were taken to give these meetings a certain permanence and to enhance their utility (\*). ESPOIR, charged with the global evaluation of the pilot schemes and studies had, for its part, created a number of indirect links between the projects through its visits to project workers. It would be unwise to ignore the influence of the regular working sessions organised by the Commission on the European dimension. These sessions brought together study and project leaders and the ESPOIR team as well as the national reporters engaged to analyse the policies to combat poverty in their own countries. In the quest for this European dimension one must not forget the working group who assisted the Commission in an advisory capacity in order to launch and implement the programme successfully.

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(\*) The establishment in 1979 of ESCAP (European Social and Community Action Programme), a spontaneous voluntary organisation which brought together at European level a good number of the original projects.

Mention must also be made of the important part played, both directly and indirectly, by the Commission in originating, developing, inspiring and supervising the programme. Despite the small number of staff at its disposal for the purpose, the Commission has been an essential element in this European dimension, as has been the European Parliament which has also given its full support on numerous occasions.

In this context the last seminar held in April 1980, which assembled for a period of three days many of those who had worked on the programme, revealed by its very atmosphere the richness to be gained from exchanging experiences, the value of the ideas put forward and the truth that everyone had realised that there really was an European dimension.

#### B. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE PROGRAMME'S OBJECTIVES

In Article 1 (a) of the Council Decision of 22 July 1975 (\*) three objectives were set for the pilot schemes :

- test and develop new methods of helping persons beset by or threatened with poverty in the Community ;
- (to be ) ... planned and carried out so far as possible with the participation of those concerned and
- (to be) ... of interest to the Community as a whole in that they deal with problems common to more than one Member State.

To these three aspects : innovation, participation and Community interest, must be added a fourth which is indispensable in order to complete the evaluation of the pilot schemes and that is the results obtained by each scheme.

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(\*) Decision 75/458/EEC - Official Journal of 30/7.1975.

(a) Innovations

A number of pilot schemes, whose origins antedate the launching of the programme marry traditional means and methods of social work with newer methods which are better suited to the target population and the handicaps which they suffer ; handicaps which must be alleviated or made to disappear. Innovation, however, is predominant in those schemes which began in 1975 or later. Here are a few illustrative examples drawn from different schemes.

1. Marolles (Brussels)

The originality of this project rests mainly in its methods. Considering urban poverty as one of the types of relationship (exclusion) which the neighbourhood's inhabitants have with urban institutions, its battle plan consists of modifying urban practises in such a way as to reduce the part played by institutionalised society and to increase the autonomy of the poorest inhabitants.

The means used consist of creating or reinforcing integrated local groups, especially those who aim to implement action programmes which meet the wishes expressed by the inhabitants themselves concerning their habitat, the local economy and culture.

2. Cologne

The scheme used a particular definition of persons living in poverty for its survey. Poverty was defined as being when the net income of a household fell below the poverty line determined by level of need as contained in the Federal Laws relating to social assistance. Taking this as a starting point, two target groups emerge : those in receipt of social assistance benefits and those who do not claim social assistance although they are entitled to it. The survey covered a relatively restricted area : two neighbourhoods in Cologne, of different structural types.

3. Amberg

The socio-pedagogical and social political methods which need to be taken must aim to combat poverty and unequal chances on a preventive basis if not on a compensatory one. The transmitted social cycle of poverty and other handicaps must be broken by a multiple package of social measures. Wherever possible in this project such measures have been conceived with a novatory nature and as being able to serve as models.

4. Rheims

The principal innovation found here is the attempt, on a city-wide basis, at creating a dialogue which encompasses the sub-proletariat, social institutions and the public authorities as well as public opinion in order to obtain policies which include the poorest and which are based on their needs and aspirations.

5. Ireland

The national programme is innovatory in several ways : firstly, with the creation of a National Committee consisting of volunteers and civil servants where everyone has equal say and secondly with the launching of a national programme which combines numerous projects with a wide strategy against poverty. Besides this at the local level teams had to take into account local needs and resources and they discovered new forms of action to help and assist the projects. Finally working methods which include a cooperative approach and the use of creative arts within the framework of a more general type of action were also innovatory.

6. Naples-Giugliano

The innovations centre on :

- (a) the methodology used to analyse needs and planning from grass-roots level based on "homogenous groups" in the population ;
- (b) demonstrating that it is possible to combat against the general level of poverty found in the whole of a previously defined population (rather than that found only in particular groups of poor). This is done using the poorest as <sup>the</sup> starting point and they thus become the vehicles for a generalised action to combat poverty as well as direct beneficiaries.
- (c) the identification of pockets in the population useful in the fight against poverty, connected with space, the inhabitants and resources ;
- (d) the elaboration of operational guidelines which can be used immediately by different population groups.

7. Downtown Rotherhithe

The centre is operated solely by personnel drawn from the target population. It is also unusual in its provision for mothers and children simultaneously.

8. Camden

This "drop-in" centre was the first of its kind in the Family Service Unit organisation and it has served as a model which has been replicated elsewhere. Another innovation has been the institution of more egalitarian relations between "clients" and social workers than is normally found with traditional social work.

9. London Voluntary Service Council Area Resource Centre

In 1976 the whole concept of area resource centres was in itself an innovation. The creation of a community work network linking 33 London boroughs, across interest sectors and even across professions (education, health, etc.) is also unique and a useful example at the regional level.

10. Social and community development programme, Edinburgh

From amongst a variety of innovations one can quote the tangible assistance given for community development in each of the areas concerned with the programme. The community workshops provided meeting rooms, information, advice and secretarial services. Another innovation : the creation of a joint committee to enable the local viewpoint to be promoted amongst other committees. Contrary to the norm, local government adapted its plan to local opinion.

11. Wolverhampton

Prior to the creation of this support unit, advocacy services for the poor, and in particular their representation before social security tribunals was unknown to Citizens Advice Bureaux. Today this is a recognised part of the advice bureaux's work. The quality and quantity of services offered to the poor has also improved and increased and information and advisory services have also been provided for other community and statutory agencies outside the NACAB network, (such as Community Relations Councils, community groups and Local Authority Social Services Departments).

(b) Participation of the poor

Participation in the planning, implementation and day to day running of the projects as well as in their evaluation is lesser or greater and of greater or lesser significance in function of the projects themselves and their original objectives. Participation does nonetheless exist in all the projects and here are a few examples :

1. The ATD-Fourth World Movement (Paris, Rheims, Breda, London)

Given that one of the golden rules of the Movement is participation it is of course found in all their projects but one must not make light of the difficulties encountered when seeking the participation of sub-proletarian families who have always suffered exclusion and especially exclusion from decisions which affect their very lives (education, housing, etc.). Moreover those who are most dynamic tend to dissociate themselves from their origins in order "to get on" to the detriment of those who remain and are left leaderless. It is for these reasons that several of the projects have specifically developed cultural aspects so that the poorest may have access to cultural activities which will enable them to commit themselves freely later.

2. Marolles, Brussels

Here there is evidence of participation at all levels and in different forms so as to be compatible with what each person can offer. At its lowest level it can be found in the survey to discover what the opinion is in the neighbourhood ; it is found at meetings, in the different grass-roots organisations catering for special interests (for example : the action group against the rents which are too dear, the local fêtes, in the folk groups, in sport, etc.). Participation exists too at the institutional level with the constant quest to ensure that the General Assembly is extended to all the inhabitants. Pushed to extremes the question is pointless as action is instigated by the poorest inhabitants of the neighbourhood as much as by any groups. It is the principle of the "dialectic integration" practised here (that is to say reciprocal and successive modification of what is being integrated and what has already been integrated).



3. Duisburg-Essen

The attainment of the objectives in this project necessarily implies that the target population criticise their situation whilst seeking to bring about change. They must therefore recognise that for them the possibility of action exists.

4. Paris (14th arrondissement)

The services involved with this project first of all admitted their clients and their children on a progressive basis and then welcomed them. Some families have even moved into the 14th arrondissement so that they can benefit from the types of activity taking place here (a sign of consumer satisfaction).

5. Guémené-sur-Scorff, Orange, Roubaix

In each of the three project locations there was a desire to use methods which, all things being equal, would encourage the target population to participate in solving its problems. This desire was transformed into a reality with the creation of clubs for old people where in one capacity or another every member played an active role at some stage in their development.

There is also participation from those families who are socially handicapped and they are slowly emerging from the supervision to which they are subject. It also emerges with the permanent worry that needs must be well formulated if satisfactory suitable solutions are to be found.

6. Ireland (National programme)

The participation of the poor has been one of the basic principles of the programme and it has been remarkably strong. This is probably due to the fact that the project leaders have been working with very flexible instructions. It was not necessary to encourage the target population to participate in project activities as it was the project staff who were participating in the populations activities. From its smallest project to the most complex one the programme committed the population to play an active part.

7. Naples-Giugliano

The methodology adopted is based on an analysis of needs (this analysis being made by teams and population groups together) and the active participation of groups which are "homogeneous or have similar needs in order to elaborate and implement solutions for the different problems tackled. But the main characteristic has been to create pressure groups and to make the population active in the direct preparation and implementation of measures which need to be taken to meet its needs.

8. Defoe Day Centre, Hackney, London

From its very beginnings this project sought the participation of the users and project workers in the running of the nursery. The results here have been excellent. The fact that the management team come from the area where the project is located plays an important role.

9. London Voluntary Service Council Family Groups

The family groups project has created forms of participation.

The group leaders and workers in this project come from the target population and were selected for their vitality, human warmth, good sense and complete commitment to their local communities. They have no particular qualifications, they have known poverty and they continue to live in the same conditions as their clients (with the same housing and lack services) and in the midst of them. This greatly facilitates contacts and confidences on a reciprocal basis.

10. London Voluntary Service Council Area Resource Centre

The community work project does not benefit from such favourable circumstances as the other LVSC project. In fact given the regional nature of the work it is impossible to establish daily contacts and be flexible, as would be the case at the local level. The community work service had to use its imagination to find methods which would obtain commitment of responsibility from disadvantaged groups.

## 11. Edinburgh (Craigmillar)

Here the poor define what their problems are and what remedies and changes are needed. The proposals that are drawn up are taken into consideration by the Regional Council who then submits them to the appropriate committee.

### (c) Results

The results obtained by the projects represent a wide range of achievements : innovation, participation by the poor (both these aspects have already been dealt with) achievements which are not always tangible ones. It is with regard to this last point that we would like to give some information :

#### 1. Marolles, Brussels

Progressively, the attention of the general public has been drawn to the new dimensions of poverty. It is no longer considered as simply a lack of income but as an active progression of progressive exclusion.

Different grass-roots groups were set up : a production unit, the "Atelier Marollien" (Marolles' workshop), "Radio Marolles", the fêtes, etc. The thoughts, and therefore the actions, of the Committee have turned towards a new conception of social poverty and of ways of combatting it. In particular there is a consciousness of the European dimension of poverty.

#### 2. Cologne

This project has produced considerable information which enables the likely situations and forms of poverty to be measured. Above all it has contributed to the improvement of the actual situation which the poor find themselves in by promoting and supporting their political participation.

This objective was met by creating "personal assistance" groups and interest groups in the field of social assistance. This initiative taken in Cologne has in the meantime been replicated throughout the Federal Republic. It is however too soon to say if the creation of these groups has brought about any favourable and real modifications in social assistance.

### 3. Duisburg-Essen

From amongst the series of results obtained by this project we would like to note those relating to children and young persons. Thanks to the work of the intensive groups it is possible to observe today that all the children have developed strong feelings of belonging to a group and that they participate in the work in a much more autonomous and conscious way than they did at first. Their motivation to look outwards has visibly increased and new poles of interest have developed. On the other hand, at school results have not been as positive.

Regarding the young there have been changes in their behaviour. They have developed greater awareness of their worth and do not depend on "leaders" as much. Their attitudes of passivity and resignation are slowly disappearing (for example they are more active in job-hunting).

There has been a noticeable decrease in the tension existing in the relationship with their parents. Likewise there has been a decrease in aggressiveness both in the group meetings and elsewhere.

### 4. Paris (14th arrondissement)

All the activities have contributed to :

- lowering the age when the first intervention takes place with children from 7 years to 3 years so that it is possible to take preventive measures rather than try to repair damage that has already occurred ;
- maintaining family links and the interest of parents for their children as well as their participation ;
- avoiding the trauma of separation ;
- scrapping certain antagonisms which existed between services.

5. ATD (Noisy-le-Grand, Herblay, Toulon)

Many significant results have been obtained which prove that "irretrievable families" do not exist.

Accordingly, in the view of psychologists it would appear that the Fourth World children develop psychologically according to a pattern that is statistically compatible with that of the general "unselected" child population and that there is no statistical difference in the distribution of intelligence between the two groups. Educators dealing with young children have noted that their collaboration with parents and nursery workers has been an important factor in visible progress achieved in the target groups of children as a whole. Better school attendance is apparent, although families still do not feel at ease where school is concerned or when they are in it.

Elsewhere the general trend to send children to infant school from the age of 4 has also affected those of the sub-proletariat.

Finally, it has been noted that teachers in the infant schools concerned have shown increased interest and have made a genuine attempt to achieve a better understanding.

6. Ireland (the national programme)

It is difficult to reveal all the results of such an extensive programme. The principal result is that there are little pockets of disadvantaged persons to be found throughout Ireland who have acquired new confidence in themselves as well as a capacity for coping with the problems with  
which

they are faced. The programme has also served to awaken public consciousness to the fact that poverty exists in Ireland. At the local level many activities which were born from the programme have today acquired autonomy. Amongst others these include cooperative enterprises and credit unions. In addition, through its working methods the programme has influenced social workers and others who help the poor.

Finally, the programme as a whole has had effects in many directions. In particular, in the economic sector it has supported a great number of projects and activities which produced economic advantages for different groups and communities (from the acquisition of welfare rights to the development of small-scale industries).

#### 7. Naples-Giugliano

To quote amongst others :

- approval by the Regional Parliament of a law combatting infant mortality financed with 10 000 million lira for 1980 ; the text of the law was elaborated with the participation of the project in a participatory way ;
- the regional movement for the application of the abovementioned law ;
- the Commune of Naples' adoption of the versatile model proposed by the project for neighbourhood socio-medical centres ;
- the launching of several local and national information/initiative campaigns concerning several of the project's themes ;
- the integration in normal local schools of some 200 children with problems of physical or psychological development and a decrease in the numbers of local children and adults with psychological problems being shut up in institutions ;

- the setting up of cooperatives for young people ;
- the achievement of many initiatives concerning literacy, vocational training, schooling, hygiene, leisure, cultural activities, health, community life, urban spaces, information, socio-cultural stimulation, musical culture and drug addiction.

8. ATD (Breda)

The most principal results were to be found in the way in which people had become involved. A great number of the families concerned emerged from their habitual apathy and showed spectacularly their capacity for action in the social and cultural domains.

9. ATD (London)

The most important and fundamental result was that as a group families progressed from recounting their personal experiences and needs to expressing their common history and collective identity. A number of adults developed their capacity to speak in a coherent way in public which helped dispell the myth that the poor population is either isensitive to its poverty and exclusion or in any case totally incapable of expressing itself with any coherence.

10. Downtown Rotherhithe (London)

Without assistance from professionals this project has succeeded way beyond the **exp**ectations which were set down at the beginning, with the management and day to day running of the Centre in the hands of the target population. A large number of the families concerned had children below the age of 3. The sense of belonging to a community fostered by the Centre

has extended into the lives of users outside the Centre and has enabled them to overcome the long-standing tensions which exist between people who have lived in the area for a long time and newcomers. Attendance at the Centre has also helped to reduce the isolation and poverty of the attendors enabling them to express themselves freely and to acquire new knowledge. Attendance has also contributed positively to the development of their children.

11. Gingerbread (Croydon)

The criteria laid down at the beginning of the project with which to judge success were the demand for places.

In 1980, 256 children and 184 adults attended the playschool, of whom 97 children and 78 parents attended on a regular basis (in the main they are from one-parent families : and in the majority of cases it is the lone mother who heads the family).

Amongst the parents some attended for a year or less, but the majority attend for a period of 2 to 4 years. It seems at the same time that the financial situation of many of the parents has improved progressively (they have obtained better jobs, or a promotion or they have undertaken further studies).

Finally, the children seem to have acquired greater emotional stability.

12. Craigmillar (Edinburgh)

The publication of the "Gentle Giant who shares and cares : Craigmillar's Comprehensive Plan for Action" which was written and printed by the target population itself and which has been circulated around the world, has provoked visitors to come from all over the world. In addition, using government job creation schemes Craigmillar has been able to give a chance to dozens of persons thanks to the setting up of various workshops and clubs, a hostel, etc.



Mention must also be made of the Annual Festival - which lasts a fortnight - of participation in the annual International Edinburgh Festival and tours with the theatre group and children's circus.

The principal result must be the support brought to the morale and initiative of the Craigmillar community in a worsening economic climate.

13. London Voluntary Service Council Area Resource Centre

The project has enabled regional resources to be created. The communication system exists as does the health network.

A number of local schemes supported and advised by the project - as much as it was able - have not provided the favourable results one would have expected at the outset in particular those centred on public housing and employment because of the current economic climate.

14. Social and Community Development Programme Edinburgh

One of the significant results of the social and community development programme is that it is still in operation. Many sympathetic onlookers have been pessimistic throughout.

On three occasions the continuation of this programme was threatened because of the pressure put on local authorities to cut back on their expenditure. Elsewhere, greater experience has been acquired in the following areas : housing, employment, education, community news and cohesion, etc.

15. Belfast

One achievement was that the objectives defined for the project were attained in the time limits that had been set. In addition hundreds of families have benefitted from the project. The project has also collected data of considerable importance to promote understanding into the nature of poverty in Northern Ireland. The project has also provided a clear analysis of the problems of poverty in this part of the United Kingdom and made a number of proposals and recommendations for its alleviation.

### III. THE PILOT STUDIES

Whilst we do not yet have the results of the studies it is possible to give information relating to them which is additional to that which can be found in the Commission's second report on the programme.

By studies we mean those which were financed entirely by the Community and not those carried out within the framework of pilot schemes which are also of interest but of a more limited nature.

#### (a) Unemployment and measures to combat poverty

This study which is being carried out in three countries aims to compare the efficacy of policies designed to combat poverty for the unemployed, in particular, as well as other vulnerable groups in the population. The study focuses on unemployment as even if numerically this is not the principal cause of poverty there is reason to believe that it plays an important role. In fact, the increase in unemployment is accompanied by new forms of poverty (hundreds of thousands of ordinary families are today experiencing poverty for the first time). In addition, the continuous introduction of new technologies in the Community give rise to the belief that the unemployment problem will play a major role during the next two or three decades.

In each of the countries studied a city was chosen (Saarbrücken, Rheims and Bristol) using a statistical analysis carried out on the basis of common criteria. These cities, which are reasonably typical of their countries, have some common characteristics. They are cities which do not have a history of chronic unemployment but which have experienced an increase in unemployment during the past five years. Inside each city an area was selected which contains a high percentage of persons with few or no qualifications, people who are the most vulnerable to unemployment.

The survey was carried out by interview which was in turn completed by a general head of household survey done on a sample basis (2926 in Bristol, 3637 in Saarbrücken and 3171 in Rheims). The general sample survey aimed in particular to reach those persons who whilst not being officially registered at unemployment or employment offices were nonetheless unemployed or seeking employment. It also aimed to compare the situation of the unemployed with that of other persons who are potentially vulnerable to poverty. Besides information on income, the survey sought other information on various aspects of employment (job placement and vocational training) and other dimensions of poverty (housing, ill health, restricted leisure and social isolation). A more limited number of additional interviews took place with the unemployed (both with heads of household and members of their families).

(b) Persistent poverty

The final objective of this study was to gain more information on the exterior forms of poverty which risk being persistent as well as being transmitted from one generation to the next in the context of the population in general and of social institutions. The point of departure for the study was a population that had been entirely classified, in this case all families and households having a child born in 1970.

The geographical catchment area for the study covered seven regions in five countries. For each of the seven regions a random sample was constituted which contained families and households ranging from the richest to the poorest. This sample was used to construct no risk and risk of poverty typologies. Taking this as a starting point a second sample was made of "high risk of poverty" persons.

The study consisted of three phases; some results from the second phase, both descriptive and evaluative, are already available. In the first instance the analysis of the random sample of families revealed three typical groups of families (no risk of poverty; risk of poverty - large families, often of immigrant origin; and a high risk of poverty - where one parent families are overrepresented). It also enabled an evaluation of the volume and levels of poverty in relation to the reference population.

The study confirms the hypothesis that poverty is multi-dimensional. It also provides an instrument to measure the level of deprivation in families which can be transposed to other contexts or populations, in addition to a method for detecting families with a high risk of poverty in the grand region (the region covered by the study).

Finally, it delivers a whole collection of information likely to be useful to social policy connected with poverty, but this will have to be confirmed in the final phase of the study.

(c) Research on the size, aspects and causes of poverty

This study is based on a sample of 3000 families per country. It is the first European survey of such magnitude on social policy problems. Having been undertaken at the end of 1977 the survey gives much detailed information as to living conditions on the threshold of the 1980s. The objectives of this study are multiple:

- to establish a poverty line in the Member States which would take certain sociological and economic aspects into account;
- the distribution of income (after tax) in families together with a differentiation according to special sub-groups: education, region, working hours, age, number of income earners, etc. ....

The purpose of this is to compare income differences in the Member States and at the same time to estimate the percentage of persons below the poverty line ;

- The extent of different types of poverty ;
- The part played by modifications in social security schemes which reduce or increase poverty.

(d) Studies on gypsies and other "nomads"

They consist of a comparative analysis of the main problems which face different nomadic populations (and those of nomadic origin) in the varied national contexts of the Federal Republic of Germany, Belgium and in the Netherlands. The populations concerned consist in Belgium of some  $\pm$  10 000 travellers and gypsies of whom between 20 and 25 % are gypsies, in Germany there are the "Landfahrer" (travellers) (about 10 000) and the gypsies (30 000) ; in France, 150 000 persons of whom 1/3 are itinerants, whilst in the Netherlands there are approximately 20 000 "woonwagenbewoners" (caravan dwellers) and gypsies of whom about 5 % are gypsies.

The main problems facing these people arise from their way of life and work which is characterised, to a greater or lesser extent, by a will to reproduce a structure of social relations which during a relatively long time conditioned the material and cultural survival of these groups in an environment that was more often than not a hostile one. Furthermore the policies of different Member States involved in the study have for very different reasons led to situations of great material instability, cultural instability and, in general, conflict situations with the dominant social order.

In every case the lifestyle of "nomads" (and the values which are linked with it) are threatened directly, either it becomes materially impossible to continue, or it is hampered by rules and regulations or it is absorbed socially. In fact some

of the forms of social insertion for "nomads" begin a whole process of material and moral pauperisation that contemporary living conditions can only accelerate.

#### IV. CONCLUSIONS (\*)

The conclusions that may be drawn at this stage from a broad survey of the pilot schemes which are now coming to an end, must be of a very provisional nature for the reasons given at the beginning of this report. However, thanks to the information and data already available, one may expect that these conclusions will not be challenged in the final evaluation report even if, as will probably be the case, they will have to be clarified, completed, enlarged and studied more thoroughly.

This experimental programme is characterised by its diversity and at the same time by the richness of variety in the activities undertaken by the schemes as well as the variety of experiences and information which it has provided. It demonstrates that a number of schemes have points in common either in their target populations or the types of activity or fields of interests they tackle. Thus there is some kind of unity in the programme.

Moreover, when due allowance is made for the individual character of each scheme, the group of projects as a whole conforms in the main to the objectives set by the Council regarding the participation of the poor and the testing and developing of new methods to help persons beset by or threatened with poverty in the Community.

Finally over the years the programme has acquired its European dimension. As such it provides a common heritage for all the Member States and it would be difficult to find its equivalent elsewhere at the present time at an international level.

It appears that with very few exceptions each project encountered numerous obstacles during implementation due to the behaviour and reactions of the target population, the general public and of the official institutions confronted with the schemes or with people working in the field of social work. The programme,

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(\*) Whilst awaiting significant results from the pilot studies these conclusions will only relate to the pilot schemes.

and hence the individual pilot schemes, suffered from a further serious handicap as a result of the time restriction imposed at the beginning, viz., a limit of two years later extended by three extra years. For many projects this gave rise to great difficulties in planning their objectives and means of achieving them. If time can be regarded as a conditioning factor in the carrying out of individual projects, how much more so must be the changing economic climate in which the programme as a whole evolved.

Despite these areas of shadow, a provisional assessment of the entire venture should be rather favourable. It remains to be seen what is the best use for the positive and negative lessons that are to be drawn from it. It would in fact be highly prejudicial for all : politicians, social administrators, public and private institutions, citizens and for disadvantaged persons in particular if one were to cast aside and forget the accumulation of results produced by the European programme to combat poverty, or to ignore them when making political decisions.

#### V. THE COMMISSION'S PROPOSALS FOR THE INTERIM PROGRAMME

On the basis of the provisional conclusions mentioned in Part IV of the present report and taking into account that the time available is shorter and the financial means are reduced for an interim programme as opposed to what was envisaged originally, the Commission, while retaining the same approach, is now led to propose an interim programme of more limited content than that outlined in the proposals already submitted to the Council and made more explicit on various occasions.

Utilising to a great extent the experience derived from the first programme to combat poverty, this interim programme should comprise such items as :



1. An analysis in depth of the major obstacles encountered in the course of the progression of the pilot schemes and the attainment of their objectives. This analysis should include proposals as to ways and means of reducing or overcoming the obstacles encountered.
2. An analysis of the different strategies adopted by the action groups from the view-point of community development or social reconstruction.

This has not been made clear so far.

What lessons may be drawn as regards subsequent choices ?

The work of gathering information relevant to this point is by no means complete.

3. An inventory of the problems which more and more immigrants and their children face (in particular the second and third generations) and of the solutions adopted or planned by the Member States to cope with them.

A number of pilot schemes and studies have highlighted the more acute nature of poverty experienced by this sector of the population.

4. A first inventory of poverty problems which arise from the movement of populations to or away from the centre of cities and which upset traditional population structures. This represents one of the elements of a broader study as to the conditions necessary for the establishment and maintenance of a way of life which would be suitable for populations which lack social cohesion within the spatio-social structure (built-up area, town, quarter).

5. The analysis and possible application of important studies made within the framework of the pilot projects on similar population groups or problems.
6. Research to define a framework and criteria for collaboration between action-research and scientific-research, using seminars as a possible means towards this end.

The implementation of the interim programme would be greatly enhanced by the maintenance of the action centres where they were established under the first programme and where their continued existence would provide some pressure towards stimulating change and innovation in national policies. Apart from this immediate consideration, the disappearance of such a potential - laboriously built up over several years - would add considerably to the cost if it were found necessary to start over again at a later date.

Consequently, having regard to the limited expenditure envisaged for the interim programme, it would be desirable that the Member States for their part should make an effort at the national level to maintain the instrument created on the occasion of the first programme.