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Second report of the European programme of pilot schemes and studies to combat poverty

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E U R O P E

A G A I N S T

P O V E R T Y

The Second report of the European Programme
of Pilot Schemes and Studies to Combat Poverty

1979

EUROPE AGAINST POVERTY

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EUROPE AGAINST POVERTY

Foreword

This is the second report on the European Programme of Pilot Schemes and Studies to Combat Poverty, usually known as the European Anti-Poverty Programme. The first report was published in January 1977. The origins of the programme are outlined in the opening chapter of the present report, which also describes the work of the Commission in co-ordinating and evaluating the different projects. Most of the remainder of the report is devoted to a brief review of each project and an account of progress based on the latest information available to the Commission. Most of this material is of a comparatively recent date. However it has proved difficult to hold such a diverse range of projects to a standard reporting date each year and the Commission has had to accept that at any point in time its information on some projects will be more up to date than on others.

In its first report the Commission deliberately rejected a classification of projects country by country and instead grouped them by type of scheme. In this second report the country by country classification is used in recognition of the fact that readers who are not professionals in this field will be interested in the first instance to learn what is happening in their own nations. The typology set out in the first report is, more the less, still in use, for instance for determining the membership of group meetings between project leaders.

In its concluding remarks entitled "A Developing Programme" the report considers the shape of activities over the remaining two years of the present 5 year programme, if this enterprise so well started is to achieve its full potential and make an enduring contribution at both the national and European levels.

At its best this report can only give an over-view of the range and variety of activities in the programme.

Most of the reports on which this review is based are, however, available from the project leaders whose addresses are contained at the end. Readers who wish to have more information should write to the projects rather than to the European Commission.

In the first instance this report was elaborated by the ESPOIR independent research unit (see p. 6-7). The text was then submitted to the members of the advisory group for the anti-poverty programme for approval, and these members sent their amendments to the Commission after consultation with project leaders.

THE EUROPEAN DIMENSION

The avowed aim of the European Community is to raise the standard of living of its peoples. For the first 15 years of its history it was remarkably successful - continuous economic growth, low unemployment and fast rising real standards of living. And everywhere the social security system, social assistance and the personal social services expanded even more rapidly than the national income.

Yet poverty has persisted. Society came to learn that poverty is a relative condition and that people feel poor and are seen as poor, whatever their absolute standards, when their lack of resources cuts them off from the living patterns of the mass of society. By this criterion poverty is a continuing reality for substantial sectors of the population and the general progress of economic growth may merely serve to reinforce their exclusion. In short the problem of poverty is a problem of inequality and social injustice.

The experience of the last 5 years has taught us a further lesson, that we cannot take economic growth for granted. It will not solve our problems painlessly and effortlessly in years to come. If we want to see poverty eliminated we must do something about it and do it now.

The Social Action Programme

In October 1972 at the summit conference in Paris the leaders of the European Community affirmed that economic expansion should not be an end in itself, but rather a means towards an improvement in the quality of life.

Social policy which had formerly been regarded as a responsibility of the Community only as a method of "oiling the economic wheels", thus achieved a higher priority as an instrument to improve the quality of life. The result was the decision to draw up a Social Action Programme.

The Council of Ministers adopted a resolution concerning the Social Action Programme on 21 January 1974. Among the priority actions listed was the implementation, in co-operation with the Member States, of specific measures to combat poverty by a series of pilot schemes. The Commission subsequently consulted with a wide range of government and independent experts and drew up a document setting out the objectives of the programme, the criteria for

the selection of schemes and the types of financial aid to be granted by the Community. The proposals in this document, after discussion by the European Parliament and the Economic and Social Committee, were approved by the Council in its Decision of 22 July 1975. The programme was allocated a budget of 2.5 million Units of Account in 1975 and 2.875 million in 1976. In November 1975 the Commission approved a total of 21 projects proposed by the governments of the Member States and 2 cross-national studies proposed by the Commission and agreed by the Member States concerned. Two of the pilot schemes were subsequently withdrawn, but the rest, together with the cross-national studies, have been developed and implemented.

The cross-national studies were initially funded for only one year and final reports on both were submitted to the Commission. The national schemes were initially funded for a period of two years but on 13 December 1977 the Council of Ministers agreed to renew the programme for a further three years. At the same time the programme budget was increased to allow six new schemes and studies to be adopted as well as a second phase for each of the two earlier studies. The amounts allocated for 1977, 1978 and 1979 were respectively 3.5 million, 5 million and 5.75 million Units of Account.

The European dimension of the programme was emphasised from the beginning by the setting up of an Advisory Group at Community level. This consists of nine government experts (one from each Member State), seven independent experts and one representative from each side of industry. The group was first convened in March 1976, and has continued to meet at least every two months subsequently. During 1977 each of the individual projects was visited and reported upon by at least one member of the advisory group.

Contact between the projects is also encouraged by annual meetings of project leaders and managers. A preparatory seminar was held in Brussels from 28-30 June 1976 and a full residential seminar was held near Chantilly from 18-22 September 1977, at the invitation of the French government. For 1978 it was decided to arrange the meetings differently, with a series of three two-day meetings for different groups of leaders in Brussels in April, July and October. These were informal with no predetermined structure, giving those involved complete freedom to discuss their experiences, progress and difficulties.

The Pilot Projects and Poverty

The purpose of the programme in the words of the Council of Ministers' decision of July 1975 is :

"... to test and develop new methods of helping persons beset by or threatened by poverty in the Community."

The definition of poverty is a relative one :

"... individuals or families may be considered in general to be in poverty when they have a command of resources so deficient that they are excluded from ordinary living patterns, customs and activities of the Member State in which they live."

The Working Paper published by the Commission in June 1974 set down various criteria for the selection of the pilot schemes. The schemes should be original; in other words designed to "test new methods". They should have the potential to be extended into wider programmes in the future. They should include systematic programming, reporting and analysis of the projects' impact. And lastly they should involve the participation of the poor themselves. There was also, running through the early discussions of the poverty programme, concern to encourage schemes which would deal with problems common to more than one Member State, so that the experience gained might be relevant to the formation of policy at Community as well as at national level.

The European Programme is an attempt to lift action and research above the national level, so that hopefully the Member States can learn from each other's experience and pool ideas on what is, despite the very different national contexts, a common problem.

Nor was the Commission unfamiliar with the use of pilot projects in several related areas, e.g. agriculture, regional development, vocational training and education. The poverty programme is distinctive in that it is primarily concerned with the poor as people rather than as producers or consumers, but the existence of pilot projects in these other fields has shaped the content of the programme to avoid obvious overlaps.

It has been emphasised right from the start that the Community role does not detract from the individual responsibilities of Member States. Although the cross-national studies are financed totally by the Commission, the other projects usually receive half their money from the Commission and half from national sources - governmental and private. Most of the expertise to run the projects is of course provided locally. Finally it is above all for the individual Member States to apply the lessons that have been learned.

Pilot projects are only temporary and small scale. They cannot by themselves solve the problem of poverty, although they may offer guidelines for the most effective types of policy and use of resources. Their usefulness will depend on the willingness of governments and the European Community to act on their results and to commit much more substantial resources in the long term than is involved in the pilot projects themselves. Otherwise the project can rightly be criticised as a stalling measure, an excuse for failing to embark on programmes on a larger scale.

Research, Evaluation and Reporting

An essential element within individual projects and in the programme as a whole must be a systematic process of research and evaluation. At the very least monitoring makes project activities more visible and thus more open to examination and criticism of the methods involved and their ethical implications. On a more positive level research and evaluation can provide those responsible for the projects with important operational information and encourage them to think more carefully and rationally about their modes of intervention.

Given the experimental nature of the projects a final evaluation at the end of their five year term is vital. The quality of research at this stage could well determine whether the programme has any lasting impact.

Since this is also a European programme it needs to be evaluated at the European level, drawing together experiences relevant to more than one Member State and informing the Community of the usefulness of this type of activity as part of its social policy. The advisory group has performed this function up to the end of 1978, drawing on its members' considerable expertise in many fields. However in 1978 it was decided to supplement this with the services of an independent research unit. On 1st December 1978 a contract

was signed with ESPOIR (European Special Programme - Observation, Information and Research) based at Canterbury in the UK to prepare an overall evaluation of the programme for the Commission by November 1980.

The Commission is in turn required by the Council of Ministers to present a report on the programme by June 1981.

The Commission plans to include in this report not only an evaluation of the programme itself but also the results of a wide ranging study of the nature and extent of poverty in the different Member States and the policies in use to combat it. This study is to be carried out in parallel with the ESPOIR evaluation study by a small team of researchers in each country co-ordinated from Brussels. The combination of this work, the programme evaluation and the studies on poverty included in the programme itself will carry the discussion of the programme beyond an analysis of its technical performance to a consideration of poverty as a Community issue in its widest political and social context.

The Individual Projects

For convenience, particularly with regard to arranging small, informal seminars and discussions, the projects have been classified into three groups.

One group consists of those whose principal mode of work is through community action, that is action involving the whole of a particular community, usually defined in geographical terms. A second group of projects has as its principal aim the improvement of the situation of the poor through action to improve the operation of certain existing systems of social service. The third group concentrate on action to help particular categories of the population who are especially likely to be poor, or to be threatened by poverty. It must be emphasised, however, that this is by no means a watertight division. Many of the projects could easily be included in more than one group.

These categories broadly speaking reflect different styles of action. Some have chosen to concentrate on administrative reforms, while others prefer to work from the other end, by mobilising the poor so that they can become a more effective pressure group. The projects also vary in their ultimate policy objectives, ranging from the most ambitious aim of nothing less than a radical redistribution of income towards the poor, to the more limited objectives of enabling the poor to have more access to professional advice

on their welfare and legal rights, or improving the standard of social services for particular groups of the population.

The projects vary, too, in their interpretation of what "participation by the poor" should involve. For example, participation can mean the gathering of information from the poor on their living conditions and requirements by means of a survey. Or it can involve something more active: that the poor should have a say in the management and administration of the project. Or, at a more general political level, participation can be interpreted to mean the mobilisation of the poor so that they may be more effectively represented in the power struggle which determines the distribution of resources within society.

In the relationship between research and action, individual projects have very different views as to where the balance lies. On the one hand, the demands of research could act as an obstacle to effective action; and on the other the neglect of research could lead to the danger of unplanned and thus again ineffective action. The type of research considered relevant and important also varies. Some projects concentrate on observation and reporting of a qualitative nature, while others consider the collection of quantitative data, such as changes in employment and income levels, to be of vital importance. On the whole the smaller the project the less easy it is to embark on substantial research programmes.

Projects also differ greatly with regard to their setting, scale and organisational structure. For instance, some projects are situated in large conurbations and others in predominantly rural areas. Some are closely linked to the existing social services provided by public authorities, others are run by independent voluntary agencies. Some involve only a very few paid staff, others employ hundreds of workers.

Some of these variations were clear from the start, others have developed during the operation of the pilot projects. They all serve to make any direct comparisons of the projects a difficult and hazardous exercise. At the same time, they increase the richness of the experience and illuminate the differences in national contexts, as well as differences in approaches to the understanding and tackling of poverty in the Member States.

THE CROSS-NATIONAL STUDIES

Poverty and Social Policy and the Perception of Poverty

As mentioned in the previous chapter two of the 21 pilot projects in the first stage of the European poverty programme were cross-national studies. These differed from the other projects in several ways. For example, they involved a comparative approach across several countries, rather than being on a national level. They were funded 100% by the Commission, with no direct contribution from the Member States involved and following on from this, they were proposed by the Commission rather than by national governments. Also they were both wholly research studies and thus did not involve the same blending of research and action which was an important element in the other pilot projects. Finally, both studies were initially funded for one year only, so that both have submitted completed reports to the Commission. However in both cases it was decided to launch a follow-on study in 1978 and these second-phase activities are now in progress.

Poverty and Social Policy in Europe (Phase I) - a Pilot Study in the United Kingdom, Germany and France

This study involved three institutes : the Institute of Community Studies (ICS) in the United Kingdom; the Institut für Angewandte Sozialwissenschaft (INFAS) in West Germany; and the Centre de Recherche pour l'Etude et l'Observation des Conditions de Vie (CREDOC) in France. ICS under the direction of Professor Peter WILLMOTT had the main responsibility for co-ordinating the study and for analysing and interpreting the data. Each institute was responsible for carrying out the research in its own country. All three had previously specialised in research on poverty and had been involved in some comparative studies.

The purpose of this study was two-fold. Firstly, to identify the poor through sample surveys in each of the three surveys. Secondly, to use the findings of these surveys as a starting point for the comparative study of social policies and the institutional arrangements to combat poverty in these countries.

The method used on a pilot scale in this project differed from other approaches to the comparative study of poverty (for examples of other studies, see the ICS report "Poverty and Social Policy in Europe", page 9, footnotes). The distinctive feature was that the study examined differences in anti-poverty policy on the basis of peoples' circumstances and their experience as identified in sample surveys. This is very different from the more usual approach of using statistical data to compare policies, which often proves difficult because of incomplete information or data which is only partly comparable. A study which starts from the experience of samples of the general population in different countries at a particular point in time can examine how policies actually operate and how effective they are in practice in reaching and helping those in need.

The survey involved about 500 households in each country drawn from two different areas, one urban and one predominantly rural. The areas were Waltham Forest (London) and Fenland in the United Kingdom; Kalk (Cologne) and Dierdorf in Germany; and Montreuil (Paris) and Montpazier in France. About four households were interviewed in the urban areas for every one in the predominantly rural areas. In all the areas 80% or more of the initial sample were successfully interviewed.

Two important methodological problems were present at the outset. The first was how to reach sufficient numbers of poor people without having a very large total sample and interviewing an unnecessarily large number of those who were not poor. The study attempted to overcome this problem by over-sampling local sub-areas likely, according to chosen social indicators, to contain a higher than average proportion of poor people. This was done in the United Kingdom and German urban areas, but unfortunately, due to a misunderstanding, not in France.

The second major methodological problem was how to define poverty. What was to be the study's conceptual approach? There was agreement from the outset that poverty should be seen as a condition relative to the average standard of living in a particular country in accordance with the Council of Ministers' first decision on the anti-poverty programme.

There was also agreement that poverty is multi-dimensional and thus the individual resources taken into account should include not just cash income

or even material resources as a whole but also educational and employment opportunities and cultural, social and environmental factors. It was considered most appropriate for this type of study to concentrate on the material aspects of poverty - particularly low income and bad housing. However, other dimensions - including physical and mental handicap, job instability and social isolation - were not ignored.

Following on from this, it then becomes necessary to define at what point resources are so small as to exclude people from a "minimum acceptable way of life". After discussion of the merits of various approaches the study eventually opted for a definition of poverty as being less than two-thirds of the national net median income. This definition was used to compare the incidence of poverty in the 3 countries, but the main work concentrates on a study of the bottom 20% of the income range in each country so as to have comparable numbers in each of the different sub-categories of poor.

The Survey Results

The results can be divided into two sections. Firstly, there is the assessment of the method itself. How far, in this respect, could the study be judged successful?

The three sets of pilot interviews were successfully co-ordinated in the three countries, using essentially the same questionnaire. There were some difficulties in ensuring comparability, given problems of language and of variations in provision, but on the whole comparative analyses did prove possible. Various indices of poverty suitable for cross-national comparisons have been devised and it also proved possible to draw tentative conclusions about the relative effectiveness of alternative policies. In these respects, the pilot study could be judged successful.

The most important methodological weakness proved to be the attempt to "over-sample" the poor. This was crucial to the research design, because it offered a means of securing a large enough sample of the poor, without interviewing huge numbers of non-poor and having a very large total sample. It was apparently entirely successful in Germany, but not fully successful in the UK. However this may well have been due to the fact that the choice

of districts to over-sample was made on the basis of out of date census data. The researchers are confident that this weakness would be less crucial in a national sample and believe that the method deserves further testing.

The second aspect of the results is the analysis of the data collected. In looking at this data, it must of course be remembered that this was a pilot study. Thus it was designed to test new methods of investigating poverty and social policies and involved very small numbers of families in some categories. The areas sampled were also not necessarily representative of the countries as a whole. All of these factors place limitations on the data. Nevertheless, some tentative conclusions can be drawn.

The main findings can be summarised as follows :

A. There are some broad national differences in income poverty :

1. There is more income poverty, relative to average living standards, in France than in Germany or the UK.
2. Among the poorest fifth, poverty is more evenly shared between broad categories of families in France than in the UK or Germany, i.e. in the latter 2 countries "social casualties", such as the disabled, single parent families and the unemployed are more strongly represented among the poor.
3. The dispersion of incomes among those in the poorest fifth is least in the UK. Thus, although in general income maintenance services provide relatively low levels of support in the UK fewer people are very poor.

B. As regards variations in the characteristics of the poor and the effectiveness of social policies :

4. In France family allowances and other forms of family support, as a total policy, are more effective than in the UK or Germany, in compensating for the financial disadvantages incurred in having children. However, larger families (those with three or more children) are at a financial disadvantage in all three countries.
5. Single-parent families are more often poor than two-parent families in the UK and Germany and possibly to a lesser extent in France.
6. The unemployed are a particularly disadvantaged minority and large proportions are poor in all three countries. However, the French

unemployment benefit schemes may be more effective in helping the most vulnerable than the schemes in the UK and Germany.

7. In general, heads of households who are sick or disabled are helped more effectively under the French schemes. In particular, help to the lower paid is more effective in France.
8. Retired couples are helped more effectively by the pension schemes in Germany than in France or the UK.
9. Single elderly people more often receive effective financial support in France and Germany than in the UK.
10. Elderly people in general are more equally treated in the UK, thus they are less likely to be very poor than are the worst-off among the elderly in Germany and France.

C. Considering housing and household durables :

11. Housing policies are more effective in helping the poor in the UK than in Germany or France.
12. Immigrants in the UK are not markedly worse-housed than native-born residents, mainly because of the role of public housing. Immigrants in France (and perhaps Germany) are, however, more overcrowded and deprived of amenities than are native-born families.
13. Most of the poor are not markedly deprived of the basic consumer durables. Poor families in France in particular are relatively well endowed, because of the longstanding contribution of family allowances to family budgets in that country.

D. Lastly, there were some conclusions about other dimensions of deprivation :

14. The almost wholly free UK National Health Service, including free family planning services, is generally more effective in helping the poor than are the health services in Germany and France.
15. The disabled poor, in all three countries, probably receive less help in kind than do the disabled non-poor.
16. In all three countries many disabled and other disadvantaged people do not receive all the help to which they would be entitled. Methods of communicating information about services and "delivering" them need to be improved.

17. Because of French travel concessions and other help with holidays the poor in France are less often deprived of holidays than are their counterparts in the UK and Germany.
18. In all three countries there may well be a useful role for new forms of social centres which could help to reduce social isolation.

Of course, none of these "conclusions" can be firm, based as they are on limited pilot surveys. However, they do suggest that particular policies in each of the three countries have had some success in combating some forms of poverty among some categories of family. Thus they show that government policies can help the poor, despite the fact that there are many other factors within and external to countries which determine the extent and nature of poverty.

Poverty and Social Policy in Europe (Phase II) - Unemployment and Anti-Poverty Policies

Following completion of the pilot study on Poverty and Social Policy in Europe the Commission was in consultation with the Advisory Group and the three survey institutes concerned on the possibilities for follow-up work. Finally in March 1978 it was decided to launch a comparative survey of three areas suffering from relatively high unemployment.

Unemployment has only recently threatened to become a major cause of poverty, and relatively little is known about the comparative effectiveness of social policies designed to help the unemployed. A cross-national study of this subject is thus particularly relevant. The central idea is to interview samples of the population and then use the findings from these interviews as the basis for an examination of social security and other policies as they work in practice. The sample interviews and the study of policies will be supplemented by an examination of the services and institutional arrangements intended to help unemployed people in the selected areas. By comparing these various sets of data from the three areas, the study will suggest conclusions about the relative effectiveness of different national policies.

The towns selected are Reims (France), Saarbrücken (Germany) and Bristol (UK). They are mainly industrial towns yet not dominated by any single industry. They are reasonably typical of their respective countries and at the same time they bear some resemblance to each other. None of the three towns are in areas of long-term structural decline; in all cases unemployment has arisen as a serious problem only in recent years. In each case the study is designed to look at the entire community, not just the registered unemployed, to examine the impact of unemployment in the community as a whole as well as to identify the "hidden unemployed" who do not register with the employment services.

Once the agreed questionnaire has been drawn up each institute will then conduct a pilot survey in the selected study area, interviewing about 250 adults. Interviews will be conducted with heads of households and with other household members who are unemployed. Each stage of the survey procedure will be thoroughly pre-tested before the main field-work is undertaken in 1979. In the main surveys about 3000 people will be interviewed in each study area.

The Perception of Poverty in Europe (Phase I)

This study consisted of a special survey carried out in May-June 1976 by eight specialist institutions in all the Member States, within the framework of the bi-annual public opinion surveys which the Commission has conducted since 1973. The "Eurobarometer" surveys are based on representative national samples of adults aged 15 years and over and consists in total of 8,600 interviews. About 30 extra questions were inserted into the surveys. The co-ordination of the special survey and the analysis of the data were carried out by the Institut Français d'Opinion Publique (IFOP). The report on the survey was published by the European Commission in June 1977.

The objective of this study was to identify the psychological context in which a public opinion campaign and a programme to combat poverty could be launched. Thus the survey was essentially concerned with opinions about and attitudes towards poverty and the poor.

The central core of the research consisted of an effort to assess the extent to which the general public perceives around it the existence of poverty and

to describe the prevalent image that the public has of the poor. In addition, two other areas were explored. Firstly, the interviewees were asked about their own income level, the way in which they perceive this income in relation to the cost of a satisfactory level of subsistence and the idea they have of their position on a seven-point rich-poor scale. Secondly, they were asked about their degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with various aspects of life. These additional areas allowed an analysis of how the perception and image of poverty varies in relation to the viewpoint of the beholder, although in fact they proved also to be of great intrinsic interest.

Although many studies of poverty have already been carried out (usually descriptive rather than explicative), little has been done on the public's attitude towards it (for examples of previous research, see "The Perception of Poverty in Europe", pp. 2-3, footnotes). Thus, in the same way as the research co-ordinated by the ICS, this was an exploratory, pilot study and the results are subject to similar limitations. They are, however, of considerable intrinsic interest and show some quite marked differences between Member States which aroused considerable press comment at the time the report was published.

Some of the most interesting results were as follows :

A. Opinions about the poverty of others :

1. On average, 47% of interviewees said that they knew that there exists in their area some people living in extreme poverty. There was considerable variation between countries, ranging from 16% in Denmark to 68% in Italy.
2. Only 10%, however, said that they had often seen people in poverty and the conditions in which they live.
3. Within each country, "value-systems" seem to constitute a powerful filter which affect the perception of poverty and its connotations, notably the attribution of poverty to individual fault or social injustice. For example, in the UK blame is more often laid on individual laziness and unwillingness to work. On the other hand, the French and Italians more often blame the injustices of society

(this may link up with the ICS finding that "normal" families figure more prominently among the poor in France compared with the prevalence of "social casualties" among Britain's poor).

4. An overall 54% of those interviewed (75% of Italians) thought that the public authorities were not doing all that they should for the poor; but 20% of British respondents considered they were doing too much.
 5. 60% said that they would be willing to give a "little time" and 48% "a little money" to help the poor.
 6. A large number of those who acknowledged that extreme poverty exists tended to have passive attitudes or to think that the phenomenon is disappearing. However, there was a small minority (10%) who perceived poverty, saw it as a state out of which it is almost impossible to climb at present and who ardently wished to see something change.
- B. Opinions about own income :
7. 28% of respondents estimated that their income was less than that which seemed absolutely necessary for people in their situation. However, again, there was considerable inter-country variation, ranging from 40% in France, Italy and Ireland to 16% in Germany and the Netherlands.
 8. 52% said that they regularly had to cut down on spending, and 11% that they had to economise on food.
 9. 8% of Europeans (11% in Italy, 2% in Luxembourg) classified themselves as poor, that is on the two lowest rungs of a seven rung ladder going from very poor to very rich.
 10. 5% of Europeans (but 16% of Italians) seemed to experience great feelings of frustration and dissatisfaction with their lives.
 11. On the whole, however, the respondents were optimistic. The dominant opinion was that living conditions have improved over the last five years and will continue to improve and that the next generation will enjoy better standards of living than the present.

It is also worth mentioning that the not-so-well-off seemed to feel no nearer than the better-off to people living in real poverty. They presumably have more opportunity to come into contact with the very poor, but tended to criticise them and blame them for their situation. At the moment, the general lack of information seems to mean that the perception and image of

poverty are primarily based on the individual's philosophical and political ideas.

In conclusion it appears that any programme to combat poverty must aim at the same time to remove its objective causes and to enlighten those who are not poor, or less poor, about the situations which exist and which their own culture and position in society prevent them from seeing.

Research project on the size, aspects and causes of poverty in the European Community

Following the success of the IFOP survey the Commission and the Advisory Group considered possible sequels. In December 1978, it was decided to entrust a "research project on the size, aspects and causes of poverty in the European Community" to the Centre for Research in Public Economics at Leyden (Netherlands).

On the basis of the IFOP-survey "The Perception of poverty in Europe" "poverty-lines" have been estimated for the European Member states, according to a newly developed method. The advantage of this method was its relative cheapness and the possibility of differentiation according to all kinds of family type and social characteristics. It is intended to be a supplementary method to the already well-established methods, mainly based on fairly extensive budget analyses, which due to cost considerations can be carried out only rather infrequently and on a scale which does not permit a differentiation with respect to a large variety of social characteristics.

The objectives of the research project are:

- A. The first objective is to assess the income level to be called the poverty line, differentiated with respect to such things as:
 - a. differences in size and age composition of the family
 - b. different countries and regions
 - c. differences in education and types of job
 - d. differences in income stability (employed, self-employed, social assistance)
 - e. job security
 - f. length of the working week.
- B. Secondly the survey will yield estimates of the net-income distributions in the different countries differentiated with respect to the aspects listed above. From this it is possible to calculate how many families are below the poverty line which is relevant to their family type and characteristics. The second objective is to assess the size of the poor populations.
- C. Moreover, poverty may also be differentiated according to whether one is hardly or greatly below the poverty line. This yields estimates of the degree of poverty, i.e. the poverty gap. Thirdly a quantitative estimate of the poverty gap can be calculated.

- D. The fourth objective is to discover the specific sectors in society where poverty is frequently found and to study their joint characteristics, those which make people in them poverty-prone. This yields insight into the distribution of poverty in society and the causes of poverty.
- E. As a fifth objective the impact and size of social assistance in the various countries will be investigated.

The survey procedure

a. Technical structure

In the original proposal it was assumed that the data would be collected by means of a trailer-questionnaire, left behind with the respondents of the European Consumer Survey (C.S.).

On this basis contacts have been made with the statistical bureaux that undertake the Consumer Survey. Following these contacts it has been decided to investigate whether the German bureau "Gesellschaft für Konsumforschung" at Nürnberg, which has undertaken the Consumer Survey in Germany for the European Community since its conception, could undertake the survey for several European countries via its partner-bureaux.

In this way the German GfK will have final responsibility for the surveys not only in the German Federal Republic, but also in Belgium, Denmark, France, Italy and the United Kingdom. For Ireland and The Netherlands the survey will be carried out in conjunction with the Consumer Survey by the usual bureaux used for the Consumer Survey. Luxembourg will be left out. For the countries where the survey will not be combined with the Consumer Survey, the same demographic characteristics will be ascertained by the trailer-questionnaire.

The number of net-observations will be about 3.000 in each country. In two countries i.e. Ireland and Italy, the bureaux and the organisers felt that they could not rely on a written questionnaire but that face-to-face interviews were needed. In the other countries only a limited number of face-to-face interviews will be carried out, in order to improve the representativity of the sample.

b. The legal structure

The GfK (Germany), the Agricultural Institute (Ireland), the Central Bureau of Statistics (the Netherlands) and the Centre for Research in Public Economics at Leyden University will be the contractors with the European Community. It will be their responsibility to provide the data as specified.

The analysis will be carried out by the Centre for Research in Public Economics at Leyden University. The Centre will do this for that data which is presented before 4 January 1980 and will present a preliminary draft report before 1 October 1980.

Conclusion

The two sets of studies described in this chapter are both examples of a supranational approach to the study of poverty which is relatively new, particularly at the European level. They demonstrate, as is the purpose of the projects, both the limitations and the potential usefulness of this kind of approach. They also both make a contribution to understanding some of the factors, political and psychological, which must be taken into account in determining what kind of anti-poverty campaign may be successful.

The projects, as can be seen from their description, are very different in their aims and in their methodology. One difference particularly important in any anti-poverty campaign is in their definitions of poverty, leading to very different estimates of the number of poor families. The ICS co-ordinated study examined a standard proportion (20%) in all countries and defined this worst-off 20% as "poor". This links poverty inextricably with inequality and also with the national average standard of living. The investigation is into the composition and circumstances of the poorest fifth in each country.

The IFOP survey on the other hand took as its starting-point what the people themselves consider as "extreme poverty". As regards the poverty of other people, nearly half of the sample denied any knowledge of poverty in their area at all. As regards their own situation, only 8% classified

themselves as poor, although just over a quarter considered that their income was less than that which was absolutely necessary for people like them.

The IFOP survey also enabled some inter-country variations to appear. Thus 68% of Italians but only 16% of Danes knew of poverty in their area. 11% of Italians but only 2% of Luxembourgers considered themselves poor; while 70% of French, Italian and Irish had less income than they considered the minimum necessary, compared with 16% of Germans and Dutch.

The Leyden survey will directly concern the conceptualisation of poverty, combining the elements of relativity and subjectivity to gain some idea of the point at which people cease to feel poor in different countries and in different circumstances. In this way the Commission is fulfilling its brief to look into the nature and extent of poverty as well as testing out actions to combat it.

PERSISTENT POVERTY AND POVERTY AMONG GYPSIES AND OTHER NOMADS

Among the second wave of projects approved by the Commission in March 1978 were two further cross-national studies. These concern firstly the transmission of poverty between generations and secondly the problems of gypsies and others who although not of Romany origin follow the gypsy life-style.

Persistent Poverty

This project is based in Luxembourg under the direction of Professor Schaber and covers a geographical area stretching from Maastricht in the Netherlands to Saarbrücken in Germany, 250 km away. The study region reaches into the Netherlands, Germany, France, Belgium and Luxembourg and yet it remains relatively small in extent and economically and socially homogeneous. The accidents of history have created a unique natural laboratory for cross-national comparative research.

Within this region Professor Schaber and his researchers are studying poor families and the degree to which their poverty appears to have been transmitted across several generations. The tangle of international frontiers also enables them to compare the social provisions available to poor families in five nations, not only as they exist on paper but also in operation.

The project operates through seven localised research teams, each based on a research or educational institute. Co-ordinating the project is a central team drawn from the Luxembourg and Liège teams plus a rotating membership drawn from the other teams. Aide à Toute Détresse also contributes to the central team.

The first phase of the project consisted of drawing up a base list enumerating every family in the study region which has a child born during 1970. This list was complete by November 1978 except for the Maastricht area. The next phase consists of collecting a variety of data on each family to enable the researchers to categorise them on a scale from high to low risk of poverty. The sources of the data will vary between localities (e.g. school or public assistance records) and may involve a preliminary survey of the entire base population using a restricted questionnaire. This exercise in itself will be of value in the development of "social indicators" and techniques for tracing the extreme poor.

After this it should become possible to build up a weighted sample which will give sufficient numbers of poor people to provide useful research material without losing sight of their relationship with the mass of society. This same problem was raised in the first phase of the Willmott study described in the previous chapter although Professor Willmott adopted a different system for weighting his sample.

The weighted sample will then be the subject of the intensive study, making a detailed analysis of the situation of each family and their use of the social, educational and income maintenance provisions available to them.

Poverty among Gypsies and other nomads

Originally this was a study which could have involved every nation in the European Community. It had four basic components, one under the direction of Etudes Tsiganes, a French organisation, and the other three coordinated by the Romano Kongreso, an international Federation of gypsy organisations based in Geneva.

The Etudes Tsiganes study is confined to France where it is estimated that there are 120.000 persons of nomadic origin, of whom about a third are now sedentary although their living conditions remain the same as those on the move.

The study will be carried out by three research teams based at the universities of Paris, Strasbourg and Toulouse in conjunction with Etudes Tsiganes' own specialised documentation centre.

The University of Paris team study will focus on the nomads' perception of the persons and institutions with whom they are in contact and, reciprocally, with society's perception of them.

The action-research being undertaken by the University of Strasbourg concentrates on the changes in aspirations, behaviour and the situation of people during the implementation of different types of social intervention.

The University of Toulouse's study concentrates on demographic, anthropological, bio-medical and epidemiologic factors which are particular to these members of the population.

In March 1978 the Commission decided to launch a programme of cross national studies relating to nomadic populations under the responsibility of Romano Kongreso.

Given certain facts as well as a number of other reasons the Commission has been forced to revoke the contract entered into with Romano Kongreso on the grounds of non-performance.

During a meeting of the action against poverty advisory group a report was made on the unfavourable progress of this programme of studies. In the course of the discussion which followed the members of the advisory group thought that strenuous efforts should be made to find an alternative solution given the extent of the problems experienced by nomads in all the Member States and the importance of the project as a means of focusing attention on the necessity of taking remedial action. In view of this the group thought it useful to examine the possibility of relaunching the project under the supervision of the Catholic University of Louvain in close collaboration with representatives of relevant national gypsy organisations. This examination proved to be fruitful and the Commission intends to conclude a new contract shortly.

COMMUNITY ACTION IN THE MAROLLES - BRUSSELS

The Marolles is an area of old housing in the shadow of the gigantic Palais de Justice in the historic centre of Brussels. The buildings and their inhabitants have a reputation as being picturesque, but commercially it is a backwater of the city seldom visited by tourists or shoppers. The fabric of the houses is dilapidated, many of the inhabitants have a precarious economic existence and the area is under constant threat of large scale redevelopment by outside interests (the Palais de Justice is itself a 19th century example of this trend). For centuries the area has been a reception zone for immigrants and other groups marginal to the wider society and it continues to fulfil this role.

The community action project in the Marolles is run by a voluntary organisation, the General Marolles Action Committee, which has been established in the district for nearly 10 years. In addition to the European Commission it draws financial support from the Belgian government and private funds.

Its declared aim is to develop ways of humanising the urban environment which will be of universal relevance. In particular it tries to stimulate the local residents into an awareness of their common interests and mobilise them into a partnership which can give them the economic and political power to influence the future of their district.

The action programmes of the Committee are organised by eight autonomous groups whose objectives are respectively :

- 1) to promote the economic development of the district;
- 2) to develop social and cultural activities for the Islamic population;
- 3) to develop similar activities for the Spanish population; ;
- 4) to spread information on the life of the district and developments likely to change it;
- 5) to promote group activities for improving the environment and helping residents identify with the district;
- 6) to provide a legal advice service;
- 7) to adapt the education system by working closely with the local schools and by creating a new school for a group of adolescents excluded from existing schools;
- 8) to develop local awareness of the project and stimulate the formation of local groups with a particular emphasis on the participation of the poorest residents.

These basic groups work under the aegis of the General Marolles Action Committee but organise their own activities.

The General Committee's Board of Trustees has responsibility for safeguarding and defining the overall objectives of the project, for examining and drawing up the budget and hiring staff. There are also weekly meetings of a co-ordination group to which the Committee delegates responsibility for day to day administration. This co-ordination group consists of those in charge of the different activities, members of the central project team and members of the General Committee. Each separate group also, of course, has its own meetings and at all these different levels the participation of the residents is encouraged to the maximum.

The central team consists of a Co-ordinator, his deputy, a secretary, a research group from the University of Louvain and an accounting service. Their role is to organise common services, including training and public relations and monitor the action programmes.

The Action Programmes

(i) The Marolles Development Association

This group aims to further the economic development of the Marolles. So far most of the work has been in the provision of an office cleaning service (S.D.M.-Clean), which can make use of the type of labour typical of this district and the development of small scale craft activities such as making puppets and dolls. The group has also launched a number of small service enterprises including a TV repair shop, a clothing repair shop and a house renovation team.

These services have done valuable work and provided employment which is badly needed. However they are all on a very small scale. This is not through lack of demand or lack of available labour, but chiefly because expansion is hindered by the difficulties of obtaining sufficient finance. Thus, for example, S.D.M.-Renovation has only completed the renovation of 3 houses and its work is mainly confined to minor, though important, jobs, using artisan building methods.

Studies have now been completed on the feasibility of developing other kinds of employment; for example, furniture repair and in providing an administrative infrastructure for small commercial and craft enterprises in the locality.

(ii) The Arab-Islamic Information and Reception Centre

This is a meeting place for the Arabs of the Marolles, with the aim of making integration easier and softening cultural shock. The centre runs a wide range of courses in topics such as hygiene, family planning, French and Arabic, organises festivities, runs a football team. It is particularly concerned with helping Arab women and young people. It is now effectively controlled by the Arab population themselves.

(iii) The Belgian-Spanish Mutual Aid Association

This was originally set up as a sort of reception service for Spanish immigrants, but now has a rather different function in providing, for example, language courses, a youth club and advice on social, educational and legal matters to a more settled Spanish population.

(iv) The Information Group

This group is concerned to ensure that the maximum amount of information reaches the residents of the Marolles; for example about the activities of the various grass roots groups and about decisions of various public authorities which are likely to affect their lives. Conversely, the group aims to maximise the amount of information about life in the Marolles and about the work of the committee which reaches the outside world. Thus, for example, it publishes "le Marollien Renové", a monthly newsletter, as well as brochures, leaflets and so on, and holds press conferences.

(v) The Local Identity Group ("Symbol")

This aims to enhance the Marollians' sense of identity with their neighbourhood. Its activities are centred around two aspects - an environmental group, which is concerned with the physical development of the area, acting as a kind of 'watchdog' over changes planned by public authorities and private enterprises and initiating various improvements, such as the development of playgrounds and open spaces. Secondly there is the spare time group, which runs various creative centres, organises theatres and festivals, and, in general, aims to encourage the socio-cultural development of the district.

(vi) Legal Service

This aims both to make the residents aware of their rights and to exercise them and also to examine more general legal problems. Thus there is a legal

advisory service, with a "surgery" every Saturday morning, plus some visits to the homes of people with legal problems. There is also a legal service which looks at, for example, the application of building regulations, legislation on public housing and renovation, and relationships between immigrants and the police. The number of industrial cases dealt with by the Service has grown so rapidly in the last 2 years that it threatens to swamp the centre's public education role.

(vii) Educational Problems

The problems are essentially those of adapting an existing educational system to the needs of deprived children and adolescents in urban society. This group works closely with existing schools - for example, in providing remedial teachers - and also runs the Marolles Workshop. This is intended for children who have hardly experienced normal schooling, and aims to develop a type of training based on group participation and group production. Two-thirds of the time of the 38 pupils is spent on "production activities" and the rest is taken up by general courses which have the objective of both developing basic skills and encouraging group participation and expression. During 1978 there were 5 full-time teachers at the school, 4 part-timers and 4 other staff.

(viii) The District Preservation Group

This is a relatively new group, initiated in 1976, closely allied to many of the other activities and having as its main task to make the residents and the various grass roots groups aware of the pilot project and what it means for the Marolles. It conducts surveys, holds assemblies and continually attempts to foster new groups within the community. These have proliferated in recent years and the 1978 annual report of the project listed 28 local groups relevant to the project's concerns.

Research and Evaluation

The Committee has shown a growing interest in research. As well as the continuous review and evaluation carried out by the co-ordination group in its weekly meetings, a research worker (a doctor of Sociology at Louvain University) was recruited for ten months to undertake a critical analysis of the work being carried out.

The research group in the central project team is currently developing a self-evaluation schema for the action groups, a study of mobility in the local population and an analysis of techniques used in other EEC projects.

Difficulties encountered by the project

It is inevitable that experimental pilot projects of the type being carried out in the Marolles will come up against some problems, both in their relationship with other agencies, and in the work itself.

Some difficulties have been posed by the nature and complexity of bureaucratic procedures in Belgium. For example, the Marolles Festival required a total of more than 80 administrative approvals. Another example is the system of subsidies from the Belgian Government, which all take the form of the reimbursement of expenses after invoices are presented. This means that a fairly large open cash balance is required, particularly if there are delays in reimbursement, necessitating expensive loans and the employment of an accountant.

There are also some other obstacles to effective action. For instance, the Committee has noticed the lack of any permanent body at national or regional level with an overall, co-ordinated policy towards the underprivileged. Also, in its concern with the renovation of housing and environmental improvement the technical issues are so complex that the sustained participation of residents becomes very difficult.

NEW APPROACHES TO SOCIAL WORK WITH THE EXTREME POOR - COPENHAGEN

The Danish project has the unfortunate distinction of being the only project which has had to be closed prematurely, although to be sure some projects in other countries have had similar difficulties in getting launched. Nonetheless during the years that the project had operated in Copenhagen it has accumulated some very useful experience in developing ways of helping marginal groups who continue to be in extreme need even in one of the world's most advanced welfare states.

The project was sponsored by the Kofoeds Skole, a private venture set up about 50 years ago and now largely financed by the Danish government. Throughout its history Kofoeds Skole has served the extreme poor in Copenhagen and despite the great improvement in living conditions during this period it still finds work to do among the homeless, alcoholics, the chronically unemployed and people with a multiplicity of other problems. The 4 social workers running the project which formed part of the European programme were all on detachment from Kofoeds Skole which has a total of about 80 staff. The Danish share of the finance for the project came partly from a private bequest to the Kofoeds Skole and partly from the Danish Ministry of Social Affairs and the Danish National Institute for Social Research.

The essence of the project was to develop methods of intensive group work with people with a long record of social inadequacy, commonly characterised by chronic alcoholism, homelessness and very long term unemployment (e.g. 15 years without a regular job). All such persons qualify for social assistance payments in Denmark which are high by international standards but a minority of the recipients remain in persistent material need and seem unable to move on to a more satisfactory life style. The Kofoeds Skole project set out to find ways of breaking this cycle.

The plan was to work with three successive groups of clients. In the event only one group was recruited consisting of nine men aged from 28 to 55. It was envisaged that the experiment would begin with a residential phase of 3 months during which the participants would share accommodation with the 4 social workers who were divided into two teams working alternate weeks. After this "stabilisation" phase the participants would move into an open environment in Copenhagen where they would continue to receive intensive social work support until they appeared to have developed the ability to

manage their own affairs in a satisfactory and responsible manner.

From the start the project was beset with difficulties in finding suitable accommodation. Eventually the project workers decided to start with their first group of participants in a property owned by Kofoeds Skole in the countryside some distance north of Copenhagen. Since the participants were entirely from Copenhagen and the objective was to help them function satisfactorily in the metropolitan environment with all its attendant temptations the project workers were reluctant to develop their first stabilisation phase in the false security of a rural setting. They continued to search for residential accommodation in the city right until it became evident that there was to be no second group of participants.

The "living together" experience ran from April to June 1977, followed by the establishment of a workshop and social centre in Copenhagen to which 8 of the 9 participants continued to adhere until the project's closure in June 1978. During the residential phase the skills which the group developed in renovating their accommodation had been applied to the creation of a small-scale business in restoring old furniture. Back in Copenhagen the business was re-established in a derelict workshop with a small van for collections and deliveries. The closure of the project was brought about by the exhaustion of the private bequest from which Kofoeds Skole had funded its share of the scheme. Attempts at finding alternative finance failed. At one time the participants considered trying to finance the Danish share from the profits of an expanded furniture renovation business but this brave venture in direct collaboration between the poor and the European Commission was dropped after 3 participants backed out and found permanent accommodation in other parts of the city.

The history of the project was thus very different from that foreseen in the research design. Only 13 people, including the 4 social workers participated in the scheme throughout its existence although the workers also interviewed a large number of people in similar categories to their eventual 9 "clients" while drawing up their action programme for the group-living experience. The group-living experience took place in a comparatively isolated and unfamiliar rural environment which may in fact have intensified the strong esprit de corps which developed among the participants (to which

the social workers were not themselves immune) on which was founded a vigorous co-operative commercial activity when they were translated back to Copenhagen. Unfortunately this infant enterprise did not survive the premature withdrawal of outside funds. Whether the furniture business could have survived had the participants been given longer to build up a sufficient volume of work we cannot tell. Indeed it may have been essentially a transitional activity around which the participants could relate while establishing themselves in a new life style and thus perhaps inappropriate as the major focus of their energies. Nevertheless the mere existence of this short lived commerce demonstrated resources of skill and enterprise among a group of people hitherto distinguished by the apparent absence of these qualities.

The premature closure of the project presents an unexpected opportunity to the Commission and the ESPOIR evaluation unit to test out its techniques in advance of the overall evaluation of the programme. The immediate physical and social improvement in the few people who were able to benefit from the scheme has been dramatic; we have the chance to see whether it can be sustained over the next two years.

The project achieved considerable success in attracting press, radio and TV coverage and attempted to follow this up by making a film of its experience. Unfortunately it did not succeed in getting a grant from the Danish Film Board. Such publicity can go some way to promoting a new public image of this particular client group which - even if the techniques pioneered by the 4 Kæfoeds Skole workers cannot be replicated on a major scale - may yet have important consequences for future social welfare policies.

DEVELOPMENT OF NEED RELATED MODELS OF SOCIAL SERVICE - COLOGNE

The European Anti-Poverty Programme contains several examples of fruitful collaboration between independent organisations and public authorities to which the Commission adds its own European dimension. Cologne is the setting for one such collaborative enterprise, in this case between an independent research organisation, the Institute for Social Research and Social Policy (ISG) and the municipal authorities to improve the operation of the social services in the city. The Institute also runs three other projects in Cologne and neighbouring towns.

The director of the Institute is in charge of the project team which includes 15 other workers, three of whom are social workers seconded to the project by the city council. Their task is first of all to conduct research into the structure of poverty in two contrasting districts in the city, using both traditional survey methods and operating advice bureaux and group work ventures, and secondly to develop models for social service systems more closely related to the needs of the poor. This latter involves an analysis of the existing social assistance and social service agencies operated by the city including interviews with agency staff.

The two areas chosen for the project are Zollstock, an area of older housing (1920s) close to the city centre with a high proportion of elderly residents and Chorweiler, a housing project from the earlier part of the present decade on the periphery of Cologne. This latter area has a relatively high standard of accommodation but is isolated and has few community facilities. The population structure is heavily biased in favour of households with young children, with a high proportion of single parent families. Nearly all the accommodation in Chorweiler is "social housing" (i.e. subsidised housing for lower income groups managed by non-profit associations or public authorities) in medium or high-rise apartment blocks. About 13% of the population lives on social assistance payments, about four times the city average.

The Survey

603 low income families were surveyed by the project team. This sample was almost evenly divided between households receiving social assistance payments

and households at or below the social assistance income level who were not receiving them for one reason or another. The detailed analysis of the results was published at the end of 1977. In brief, the poor were, as would be expected, largely lacking in occupational qualifications and concentrated in unskilled jobs. On the other hand most of them had an average level of general education and many of them had been brought up in families above the poverty line. This may reflect the findings of the European Programme's three-nation comparative study on Poverty and Social Policy, whose German respondents were also drawn largely from Cologne, that the German poor have a high proportion of "social casualties" compared with the situation in France, indicating perhaps a more mobile and competitive society. The problems facing unsupported mothers were particularly evident in the sample. The researchers also noted evidence of bad planning of accommodation in relation to the household types which used it - notably the problem of young children in high-rise flats - and a high incidence of mental stress and social isolation.

The majority of the sample had drawn social assistance at some time in their lives. Most of them had negative attitudes towards the service, a feature more marked among the elderly.

The family survey was complemented by a survey of personnel in the social assistance and social work services in the two districts. The project workers drew unfavourable conclusions on the training and qualifications of social assistance staff and their stereotyped attitudes to the poor. They also commented on the lack of knowledge of the system among its clients and the difficulties in operating the appeals procedure.

Action Research

During the course of the survey over a third of the respondents in Chorweiler said that they would welcome personal advice from a psychologist, social worker or household management expert if such persons were available in the district. On the basis of this an advisory centre was set up in Chorweiler which, however, did not enjoy a very active life. Eventually most of those who had requested advice during the survey were contacted by home visits.

The activity in Chorweiler has now shifted to support for a Social Assistance Action Group which emerged shortly before the project was launched. This

involves about 200 people, most of the active members being mothers of young children, acts^{as} a pressure group for higher social assistance benefits, the presence of specialist advisors in dealings with the social assistance office and so on. The project team has helped this group stabilise and consolidate and hopes to use it to help generate new ideas for research. Indeed the group has been so successful (it published its own information brochure for social assistance claimants without any outside help) that the project workers are anxious that it is becoming dominated by a closed circle of knowledgeable "insiders". One of the team has for this reason started up parallel activities outside the group.

The elderly residents of Zollstock proved more difficult to contact and to involve in group activities. Of about 80 selected people invited to a meeting in the district only 8 attended. While contact with a small number of inhabitants is still maintained the main effort has now been put into support group activities in Chorweiler. However, the work in Zollstock has resulted in a detailed report on the situation of the elderly in the district and their use of the social services, involving a critical assessment of the old peoples clubs and the domiciliary services they organise. This report was submitted to the Commission in August 1978.

The project has thus already been of direct service to a limited number of citizens in Cologne. However, the workers wish to be judged primarily by the quality of their research (inspired as far as possible by the direct participation of the target population through group activities) and its impact on the operation of the local social services and the social assistance system. They have been successful in gaining some publicity in the mass media including a live radio transmission on the work of the Social Assistance Action Group. The team plans to give more emphasis to publicity in the remainder of the project's life, spreading an awareness of their work outside Cologne both among general and specialist audiences.

AID TO VAGRANTS - TUBINGEN-STUTTGART

The Stuttgart project is directed towards new ways of helping a group of poor people who have been a constant pre-occupation of public authorities throughout Europe for centuries - vagrants. This particular venture is a response to the increasing numbers of vagrants - a function of the present economic crisis and the mounting level of unemployment - and what is seen as the continued failure of the classical remedy of the residential institution. In the view of the project leaders such institutions are shunned by many vagrants with due cause, since they often serve to institutionalise their residents and stigmatise them in the eyes of society. This anti-institutional bias is typical of several other projects particularly the child care project in the 14th arrondissement of Paris and in many aspects of the Padua project in Italy.

The structure of the project is also similar to the Paris project as well as the other German projects in that the project team acts basically as consultants to a range of social welfare organisations serving a particular client group in a particular area - in this case vagrants in the Stuttgart region. The project group is based on the Department of Psychology at Tubingen University and is directed by the Professor. It consists of the project leader, 5 full-time and 2 part-time colleagues. Over 200 other workers in a variety of different organisations and settings collaborate with this team in putting its ideas and research into practical application.

The task of the University group is first of all to conduct research into the situation of vagrants in the region and the services available to them. It then sets itself to work with the existing services (mainly residential institutions) to structure their provision more in line with the needs of vagrants as revealed by its research and to develop alternative non-residential forms of service.

The group naturally sees itself as being closely involved with the co-ordination of pre-existing and newly introduced forms of provision for vagrants but it did not originally envisage itself as being involved in direct service. However, since February 1978 it has been drawn into an experiment in communal living for a group of town tramps (vagrants who rarely leave a particular neighbourhood in the city).

Institutional Care

The Research team works with the staff of 6 residential institutions in the Baden-Wurtemberg region to develop more appropriate and effective forms of care. These six institutions together provide accommodation for about 700 homeless people and employ about 150 staff. The smallest institution has about 40 beds and the largest now has over 250. This last, the Nordbahnhofstrasse Hotel in Stuttgart, is one of the most interesting institutions from the point of view of the developments taking place there. The institution is financed by the city authorities and at one time catered for 400 inmates organised as a single tightly regulated group. It has now been run down to about 250 beds. There are about six beds to a room but it is hoped to reduce this to four. The significant feature is that the institution is no longer organised as a single massive community but is divided into seven groups on different floors. Each group has its own carefully fostered individual identity (for instance it has its own community room with a distinctive style of design and accommodation) and its members have a high degree of collective and personal autonomy. The group has its own budget to spend as it wishes and residents are free to move around at will, make coffee and use the institution's bar as well as keeping their own drink in their possession if they wish.

The institution's staff are also being organised to match the group organisation of the residents. The social workers and assistants are already deployed 2 to each residential group and the technical staff are following suit. Already each group has its own cook.

This is not simply a move to make the institution more attractive and humane but follows on a carefully elaborated theory pioneered in the U.S.A. Basically the aim is to structure the institution so as to give its residents a progressive series of experiences in learning to become responsible members of a self-regulating group, respecting each other's individuality and co-operating for their common advantage. This the project group terms the "equitable community approach". The traditional style of institutional care often re-socialises its inmates in the opposite direction, progressively infantilising them.

Work over the last year has concentrated on a large labour colony (as it was originally termed in the 19th century) in a remote rural area not far

from Lake Constance and two small town institutions. The work at the rural establishment centres around the progressive rebuilding of the institution, working with staff and residents to develop a pattern of democratically organised communal living arrangements in the new units.

Alternative Care

The principal objective of the research project is to develop a network of different forms of provision which can ideally help homeless individuals before they become stigmatised as vagrants and propelled towards the vagrant lifestyle. One of the organisations with which the project works is Ambulante Hilfe (which may be loosely translated as outside aid in the sense that it provides aid outside the usual institutional setting) which is run by a group of about 15 volunteers mostly undertaking professional work training. They operate an information and advice centre and provide living accommodation in a house in the city for a mixed group of homeless. The project assisted in the establishment of this group, which stemmed from a municipal initiative, and acts as consultants to it as with the 6 residential institutions. Since April 1978 the group has been a separate registered association and currently cares for about 120 clients, about twice the 1977 level.

The project workers' concept of non-residential aid goes much wider than this, however, to cover the provision of individual housing, help in household management, employment services and a variety of forms of social work support. Such an approach involves the co-ordination of a wide range of services. Stuttgart now possesses such a co-ordination service, the Central Information Advisory Centre, set up in May 1977 with the support of the project. This is claimed as the only agency in the city with full information on the structure of the target population and the aid provided by all the various services and institutions. Basically, it is a central referral agency for homeless people which interviews callers and refers them either to one of the residential institutions, AH or the social help team in the building which deals with financial aid. But the agencies which co-operate with the centre are equally its clients. They have co-operated to appoint a Social Planner whose task is to advise the agencies and their parent organisations, voluntary and municipal, on the development of new organisational models to meet the needs of vagrants. The centre deals with about 150 people daily and employs 15 staff.

Co-ordination and Research

Mention should be made of the workers' co-ordination group composed of one social worker from each institution involved in the project and AH which meets regularly with the project team at the University to study the concept of the equitable community with a view to carrying it into practical application in their institutions. Much of the early work of the group has been devoted to developing a common language and evaluation criteria for present and future work.

The proposed communal establishment for town tramps is an attempt to create a model "equitable community" to test out the concept in a purpose-built setting. The group has also developed a questionnaire, designed to test the social climate as an institution, which has been used in a pilot survey in one small institution. It provided useful information for the planning group in the institution and could be useful in other settings.

In the course of the project the team has generated an impressive volume of research reports. The project has already made a substantial contribution to academic debate and the development of both theory and policy regarding vagrants and their treatment by the rest of society.

WORKING WITH THE HOMELESS POOR - DUISBURG AND ESSEN

Europe's largest industrial conurbation, the Ruhr, is represented in the European programme by a project to help the homeless. It operates in eight locations, six in Duisburg and two in Essen. Overall sponsorship is by two non-government organisations: the Workers' Welfare Organisation (WWA), which had already been working in some areas before the European project developed, and the Institute for Social Work and Education (ISS). Together they provide the 50% of the finance necessary from national sources.

The ISS employ a central research team of three who have interests and experience in psychology and social, community and youth work. Besides being concerned with the overall monitoring and evaluation of the field work they also participate directly in some of it, for example in pre-school groups. In addition, ISS provides two social workers who give individual support to families involved in the project, particularly those who are moving out of temporary accommodation into new housing, and a part-time secretary.

The WWA employs the field workers, a total of 54 in the eight locations. They include full-time, part-time and hourly paid staff, students on placement and non-military national servicemen. Each team has a leader, one of whom is the senior team leader. The workers have a wide variety of backgrounds including teaching, social work, youth work, skilled craft trades, nursing and legal work. Nevertheless, the teams emphasise repeatedly the undermanning of their activities and the obstacles this poses to achievement of the project's goals.

Homelessness

About 1000 people living in temporary accommodation are covered by the project in Duisburg and about 400 in Essen. "Homelessness" is defined as the lack of permanent or adequate accommodation, rather than the lack of any shelter at all. It is estimated that in mid-1976 about 750,000 to a million people in West Germany were homeless.

Homeless people are generally in a poor and often precarious economic situation. The accommodation they do have is generally of a low standard in isolated "ghetto" districts, sometimes taking the form of hostels rather than independent housing units. Large single parent families are common and elderly people are also over-represented. The children often have a low level of educational

achievement, a disproportionate number go to special schools and they are frequently seen as a "problem" by their teachers.

The project is founded on the belief that homelessness is not a failure on the part of an individual (although the individual's behaviour can exacerbate the problem) but rather is society's failure - brought about by poor social provision, lack of adequately paid employment and high rents. Thus the project seeks to prevent new homelessness and eliminate that which exists not through a concentration on individual social work support but through community work methods. These aim at improving the educational and occupational situation of homeless adults and children, their standard of accommodation and their legal rights by creating solidarity among the homeless so that they can fight discrimination and exert influence on the authorities. The participation of the homeless is of fundamental importance to avoid labelling them as the passive "objects" of research and action. The community workers are to lend aid and support to redress the unequal balance of power between the homeless and the authorities with whom they deal. The projects have moved since their inception to an emphasis on neighbourhood work, that is work with all the residents in a particular area, not just those who are most deprived.

The eight locations in which the project operates differ considerably. Gleisdreieck (Duisburg) probably has the worst housing. The temporary accommodation provided for homeless families is due to be demolished within the next few years. There are no indoor toilets or bathrooms and the houses are damp and overcrowded. Hagenshof (also in Duisburg) on the other hand is a newly built "concrete jungle" of houses and skyscraper flats, cut off from the surrounding area by motorways and industrial developments and with a shortage of community facilities. The major problems are the cramped conditions under which many of the larger families live and the relatively high rents which lead to the constant threat of eviction. Gleisdreieck also has the worst record as far as education is concerned: in 1976 more than 70% of the children were in special schools. Unemployment is another dimension along which the projects differ, although the vast majority of those who are in work have unskilled and often insecure employment.

The scale of activity of the project also varies between locations. At Hagenshof 18 workers are employed at three separate sites, while at Reckhammerweg, in Essen, there are only three workers plus the project leader.

Co-ordination of Field Work

Co-ordination between field workers is given high priority. A community work team consisting of workers from all the locations meets regularly to exchange experiences and information, settle staffing and financial matters, supervise developments in individual locations and discuss issues of general interest and concern such as education and employment policy.

The project also aims to encourage co-operation and co-ordination of effort between the homeless themselves. There are meetings organised for all those who live in emergency accommodation centres in the area (not just those involved in the European project), designed to lessen the sense of isolation and encourage solidarity. However, these have not been entirely successful as apart from a few activists the great majority only participate when a particular issue arises which affects them personally. When this issue is resolved (or fails to be resolved) interest flags. This means that it is very difficult to develop any long-term strategy for improving the situation.

A third area where co-operation is necessary is between the field workers and the range of institutions and authorities concerned with homelessness. A working party called "Help for the Deprived" has been set up at local authority level in an attempt to develop and realise an overall policy in this field. Its members are drawn from local welfare and housing offices, voluntary welfare associations and (in an advisory capacity) from the ISS and WWA. This group has met for half a day each month since August 1977.

The Work of the Projects

Much of the day to day work which goes on in the field work locations relates to children and young people. Education is one of the main areas in which the homeless find themselves deprived and discriminated against. Many of the locations have pre-school groups and the ISS research team actively participates in these, for example developing instruction units which aim to help young children to distinguish shapes and colours, count, tell the time, handle money and so on. They have also succeeded in increasing the children's desire to attend and their group consciousness, with a corresponding reduction in aggressive and destructive behaviour. There remain, however, continuing speech problems and in consequence, the services of a speech therapist will be enlisted from January 1979.

Work with school age children takes place at several locations. The aim is to enable the children to make the most of their abilities and prevent the drop-out into special schools. There is close co-operation with parents and the schools as the project workers are very aware that remedial education by itself cannot and should not try to compensate for deficiencies in other spheres. It is not always easy to gain acceptance for new educational methods. For instance, in Reckhammerweg the project workers have accepted that the children of homeless families reject the traditional school system and so develop a very bad reputation among teachers and other children. Thus they are trying to develop an education which is more relevant to these children's needs and life experience. However, in so doing they have met suspicion and some opposition, both from the schools and from the parents who naturally enough want the project to use traditional methods and curricula which are acceptable to society.

Most of the field locations have some form of youth work but this is particularly emphasised in Gleisdreieck and Kopernikusstrasse (Duisburg) where special groups have been set up with the young people both from the temporary accommodation and from the surrounding area. These groups aim to remedy deficiencies in the mental and social development of the young people, to give them insight into their situation and to encourage them to develop a sense of identification with their peer groups and to tackle problems on a collective basis. Thus there are regular group meetings, visits to local firms, the social welfare departments, other youth groups and the Employment Exchange, weekend trips and holidays. The results of this work (as of the work with other age groups) are difficult to assess scientifically, particularly when the staff involved are largely part-time and unused to carrying out research. However, there did seem to be some positive effects: for example, the young people developed a greater sense of self-respect, their attitudes became less passive and resigned, they started to plan on a long-term basis and all those who were unemployed did find some work, even though it was often of an insecure nature.

Although much of the emphasis in the projects has been placed on work with the young there is also a variety of types of work with adults. For example, at Hagenshof there is legal advice work, work with the elderly, language and pottery classes and tenants' groups. The Horststrasse project has a particular interest in providing advice and information to families and supporting parents' groups.

Nevertheless, as already hinted, one of the major developments during 1977-78 has been increased emphasis on neighbourhood and community work and a redefinition of their nature and significance: both theoretically and in practice. On the one hand this has affected the project workers' relations with residents, who have been encouraged to debate and act together to cope with their problems and to develop communal leisure activities. On the other hand, this community work involves a changed relationship of the project personnel with such local institutions as the social services department, aimed at improving the responsiveness of these agencies to the needs of residents.

Research

Given the participation of the ISS in this project, research is given a prominent role: although not as much as the researchers themselves would wish. Some of this research is in co-operation with other institutions. For example, the local Gesamthochschule working particularly with the Hagenshof project has obtained grants to carry out a long-term study of deprivation, including a large and detailed survey.

ISS has also carried out a survey of its own covering 237 households in 8 large emergency accommodation centres, using a questionnaire drawn up jointly by social workers, research staff and the homeless themselves. The survey aimed to reveal the causes and intensifying factors of deprivation; to discover whether the assessment of the situation and the possibilities for action of the people concerned and the "experts" coincide or differ; and to examine existing social policy and social work measures with respect to their importance for preventing and eliminating deprivation.

This survey found that most of the respondents were German-born and from the Ruhr area, though a substantial minority originated from other countries. Nearly two-thirds had been in emergency accommodation for over 5 years and more than one-third for over 10 years, indicating that much deprivation and homelessness is long-term rather than a temporary crisis. As one would expect most of the adults had a very low standard of general education and very few had learned a trade. Only 15% currently had any gainful employment at all. As far as their children's education and employment is concerned their aims were limited, perhaps realistically. The majority would like to see their children become skilled or semi-skilled manual workers. However,

the respondents felt that children from homeless families were as clever as any others and there was some criticism of teachers for their lack of understanding, knowledge and encouragement and a feeling that many children could do much better with more individual attention and perhaps attendance at an all-day school (8.30 a.m to 5 p.m).

Not suprisingly, accommodation was seen as a major problem by the respondents, particularly the cramped conditions, poor sanitation, dampness and poor state of repair. However, even those in regular work were reluctant to move out of the emergency accommodation because of the high level of rents elsewhere. Even with the help of housing allowances most felt that families with 3 or more children would have to economise in other spheres in order to afford an apartment of adequate size and quality. Besides this alternative accommodation was thought to be difficult to obtain due to discrimination practised by landlords.

Discrimination was also felt in other spheres. Children found it difficult to mix with those from outside and tended to be blamed for any misbehaviour. There was some hostility towards 'officials' who it was felt adopted very condescending attitudes towards those seeking help.

If the action-research approach is to be taken seriously then action must begin in those areas which are seen as top priority by the deprived themselves. When questioned the area most frequently mentioned was that of accommodation with aims such as the improvement or replacement of the emergency accommodation and the granting of a lease so that the stamp of "homeless" would be removed.

The researchers were shocked at the ignorance of the respondents as to how far they could be helped by various social agencies. There were also innumerable instances where the services were known, there was apparent entitlement and yet for some reason the individual had not applied. In some cases these social provisions might have prevented the individual or family from having to go into emergency accommodation at all.

There is obviously a role for social workers here, in the provision of information and advice. Many of the respondents also wanted the support of social workers more generally, for example in helping them to exert pressure on the authorities to improve their living conditions.

Most people were found to be interested in the activities carried out by the projects, particularly if they were approached personally and given detailed information beforehand as to what was involved. Those who were not interested in participating argued for example that the deprived were powerless to do anything about their situation, that even when something was achieved it was usually only a few who benefited, that the deprived were only acting as guinea-pigs for the social scientists:

So far these findings from the survey are only preliminary and also of course they only relate to a fairly small sample. However, it is hoped that they can provide some guidelines with which to inform action - both action within the project itself and, perhaps more importantly, action by outside authorities concerned with homelessness.

THE SOCIAL INTEGRATION OF REFUGEES AND IMMIGRANTS - AMBERG

The Amberg project is a recent addition to the European programme, having been in operation only since March 1978. It operates under the auspices of the Institute of Social Science at the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg, the Sozialamt (Social Services Department) of Amberg and a variety of governmental, labour and charitable organisations. Like the projects in Stuttgart and Duisburg/Essen, it takes the problems of homelessness and inadequate accommodation as its major theme; here, however, it is the problems faced by a ghetto of immigrants that are distinctive.

The Bergsteig estate includes approximately 1800 foreigners and German citizens of foreign origin. Although some have been there for up to 30 years, they remain separate socially from the wider community of Amberg. This project may, therefore, have important lessons for the increasing number of communities within the European Community which include substantial numbers of immigrants and "guestworkers". The Bergsteig estate is commonly regarded as a "multi-problem" neighbourhood, of which crime, mental disorder, educational under-achievement and irregular employment may be seen as symptoms or causes. The project is confronted by the inter-related problems of poverty, ethnic division and residential segregation. These provide the three main dimensions for the initial research. As to poverty, the project team are investigating the significance of poor educational qualifications, employment status, eligibility for social benefits, housing conditions and family histories. As to ethnic segregation, they are considering how, especially among second-generation immigrants, aspirations towards inclusion within the wider society may conflict with identification with the ethnic group of origin and may promote, for example, psychological disorder. Lastly, in their research on residential segregation and stigmatisation, they are exploring the causes and consequences of the stereotyping of the Bergsteig residents by members of the wider society, whereby they are imputed with negative and socially proscribed traits.

Not, however, that the research is focussed narrowly in space and time on present-day Amberg. Rather, the first interim report argues the need to understand the poverty and segregation of the Bergsteig in terms of the long-term historical development of the region as a whole. Most significantly, from being on long-established trade routes and a periodic focus of industrial

development, the Oberpfalz which lies close to the borders of Czechoslovakia and the DDR, has suffered dramatically from the post-war division of Europe and Germany. The consequent economic stagnation has provided an unfavourable background for the reception of refugees and other immigrants within such neighbourhoods as the Bergsteig.

Only on the basis of these research findings will action programmes aimed at solving the segregation and poverty of the Bergsteig be developed. Such measures may well include resettlement, community work and advice on welfare rights. They will also, however, include measures directed at the wider society: aimed, that is, at "enlightening" the population of the city at large. Such a programme may well not be complete by the end of 1980; but in the event of no further financing by the European Commission, the city authorities will take on the full burden of continuing the project. The European programme will thus have had an important catalytic role in promoting innovation in solutions to poverty.

ACTION FOR DEPRIVED CHILDREN IN PARIS

The 14th arrondissement is the Montparnasse district of Paris, a district not without its share of poverty although not one of the poorest arrondissements. It is the scene of an experiment in concerting the action of five different organisations dealing with deprived children within a single administrative structure at the level of the arrondissement. From this it is intended to develop a system of preventive work which will avoid the negative effects of previous public policies in child care, particularly residential care.

In February 1976 a Service Unifié de l'Enfance (Unified Children's Service) was instituted in the 14th arrondissement by the Ministry of Health and the Prefecture of Paris. It grouped under a single administrator the Maternal and Infant Welfare Service, the School Medical Service, the Social Assistance Service for Children, the service for Maladjusted Children and the service for the Protection of Children at Risk and Child Mental Health. This unification offered the advantages of decentralisation (the separate services no longer had separate chains of command to the national authorities) and decompartmentalisation which in turn opened up possibilities for developing a comprehensive system of preventive work which would reduce the need for institutional care. At the same time it involved an upheaval in the thought patterns and working behaviour of the social workers concerned. Only with careful planning could the promise of unification be translated into an improved service for families.

The European Community's finance for this project goes to a private research body named COPES (Centre d'Orientation Psychologique Et Sociale) which for 8 years has worked with psycho-social problems among young children. COPES is the consultant to the Unified Children's Service helping to make it operational and develop its potential. The original research application to the Community came from COPES before it was decided to launch the Unified Children's Service and it was then envisaged that COPES would itself run an experimental child care service in this locality. This direct service is now managed by the public authorities under the new administrative structure while COPES continues to receive children and families for consultation. This Unified Children's Service is represented on the management meetings at both local and national level - the Ministry of Health is following the development of the project very attentively.

Field Research

Identification of Families at Risk. Five groups of social workers were set up (four of which continue to meet) to work with the COPES team to develop a set of indicators or danger signals which would identify families with children at risk. These families could then be the focus of preventive intervention. A document (document "C" forwarded to the Commission in October 1977) was drawn up by the COPES team and discussed in the groups. It has been widely circulated in the arrondissement and elsewhere in Paris and beyond. While there was general agreement that the unified files of the five services gave possibilities for identifying risk factors the social workers had doubts about the ethics of monitoring families in this way and the intervention which could be justified by the danger signals. These issues have not been resolved. This is an example of how the educational role of COPES goes beyond technical instruction and even joint research to involve basic professional attitudes.

Other Training and Educational Activities. The COPES team have been involved in a wide range of training activities with workers from several different professions both in Paris and the provinces. This has included the preparation of audio-visual material, participation in a national exhibition and two provincial training days and the management of an inter-disciplinary in-service training course of 30 lectures attended annually by about 150 students, social medical and administrative staff. (Lectures on the psycho-social problems of the child normal family settings).

The object of all these activities is to develop preventive approaches to child care and make known the findings of current research, especially in child psychiatry.

Action to Help Children

One important result of decentralisation is that children taken into care from the 14th arrondissement are accommodated in the arrondissement either in foster families or residential care and not, as previously, in placements outside Paris. This enables parents and social workers from the arrondissement to keep contact with the children and their families and make joint decisions on their future with the help of specialist professionals such as the psychiatrists of the COPES team. At the same time the practice of paying allowances to meet the cost of private full-time child minding has been abolished so as to bring child placements in the arrondissement under more effective public supervision.

The task of recruiting foster parents and supervising placements is the responsibility of three area teams set up in October 1977, each consisting of a social worker, a paediatrician and a psychologist (one of whom comes from COPES). The main work of these teams consists of recruiting and training foster parents(*), administering the placement of children with these foster parents^{and} supervising them. This is the traditional work of their parent organisation, the Maternal and Infant Welfare Service, and in taking on responsibility for foster families they have crossed administrative boundaries to deal also with children taken into care by the Social Assistance service for Children. This is a move made possible by the establishment of the Unified Children's Service.

Innovations

Part-time child minding centre. This has been open since April 1977 and can cater for 20 children at any one time aged 3 months to five years. The children are accommodated for one or several half days a week either on an occasional basis - e.g. to allow the mother to go shopping - or regularly. About 200 children are registered with the centre, about half of them attending on a regular basis.

At first the more deprived families were reluctant to use this service but the social workers of the area have gradually begun to bring such families forward. A charge is made based on the families' financial circumstances.

Proposed Family Group home. COPES and the Unified Service are planning to establish a family group home in a poor quarter of the arrondissement where a husband and wife team with a full-time assistant can care for up to 8 children. This type of care is a recent innovation in France.

Research

This has concentrated on various cost-benefit analyses to justify the costs of preventive care to the financial authorities.

A change in practice in a residential institution in which children with contagious diseases were no longer hospitalised showed dramatic savings. A study is currently in progress to measure the possible savings by reducing the number of premature births by preventive action among deprived families.

(*) These foster parents are known in France as "Assistantes maternelles" (maternal assistants)

COPES was represented on a government working party to consider extending the scope of adoption as a solution for deprived children (e.g. to extend it to handicapped or maladjusted children, immigrant children, etc.). Work is continuing on ways to implement this policy.

COMPREHENSIVE ATTACK ON POVERTY - RHEIMS

Rheims is the capital of the Champagne region of France, producer of the world's most favoured wine and the scene of a collaborative venture between the municipality and the Association Aide à toute Détresse to integrate the city's least favoured inhabitants into the life of the community.

ATD is a non-governmental organisation set up 20 years ago by a priest, in one of the shanty towns that then stood on the outskirts of Paris. It is now established in twenty odd towns throughout France. It is financed by donations from individuals and government grants. More than 200 full-time volunteers devote themselves for several years at a time to live and work among the extreme poor. The volunteers are in fact paid, being full-time, but only at the rate of the Guaranteed Minimum Wage. The French movement has also since 1967 been the focus of an international association which now extends into eight countries, seven of them in the European Community. There are 4 ATD projects in the European Programme, 2 in France, one in the Netherlands and one in the UK.

The Movement sets out to represent the "Fourth World", the bottom 3% of the social scale. This Fourth World consists for the most part of what Engels termed the sub-proletariat, a population without regular employment, often in temporary housing and participating very little in or receiving little support from the main structures of society such as trade unions, churches and political parties. ATD sees this exclusion as the root cause of their situation and sets itself to help them articulate their needs to the rest of society and to build a fruitful collaboration with sympathetic elements within it.

The basis of ATD action is the small team of volunteers which goes to live among the people concerned and spends a long time (± 5 years) gradually building up familiarity and trust. ATD begun work in Rheims in 1967 (with a nursery school), long before the inception of the European Programme. Among its first activities was the programme of Fourth World Evenings which characterises many ATD projects. These meetings have been held in Rheims since 1976 on a bi-monthly basis, bringing together Fourth World families, ATD volunteers and "Allies" from other sectors of society. Average attendance in 1976 was 48 from the Fourth World, in 1978 125; an average of 33 persons attended each meeting.

Several hundred (approximately 500) people from the Fourth World in Rheims have also attended different national and local events organised by ATD and a newspaper, "Solidarity", is put out by the team. The effort in this phase is primarily to recruit sufficient militants from the Fourth World to form a Committee which can take over

responsibility for specific actions and to propagandise the target population and the local community to make them receptive to its work.

Action with Youth

This has concentrated on bringing together young people to discuss common problems, particularly in the field of employment and training, and to press for reforms.

Action with Children

This has not achieved the extension which had been hoped for and is still confined to four housing estates where ATD have set up "Pivot Culturels". These are cultural activity centres with an emphasis on developing reading habits among poor children via lending libraries, story readings, etc.

Action with Professionals

ATD's work in sensitising opinion in favour of the Fourth World is directed both at the social workers and organisations who deal with the poor and the public at large. As regards the professionals this began as general education on the situation of the Fourth World and went on to the preparation of six specific experiments in the fields of schooling, vocational training, housing, social work, income maintenance and the regular and concerted evaluation of the 5 preceding projects. While there was a very limited response to attempts to discuss the situation of the Fourth World in the abstract there was a lively interest among the various institutions in the specific projects. Work in planning these began in April 1978 and it is hoped that not only will they be successful in themselves and capable of generalisation but through them the authorities and those who serve them will come to greater awareness of the needs of the extreme poor.

Action with Public Opinion

A small group of "Allies" has been built up in Rheims over the last two years and the reorganised newspaper "Solidarity" has a circulation of about 600. ATD hopes to extend this base substantially over the next 2½ years, if possible with greater use of other mass media.

Research

It has been decided to divide the research effort between short term "applied"

research to meet the immediate needs of the project and two long term pieces of "fundamental" research, one a longitudinal study of families from a particular bidonville (shanty town) and a sociological analysis of poverty in Rheims.

Conclusion

ATD sees this first 2½ years of the 5 year project as essentially the foundation building phase from which it can take off to a larger scale of activity which can bring tangible improvements in the conditions of the Fourth World.

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT AND EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATION - NOISY-LE-GRAND,
HERBLAY AND TOULON

These are three schemes for pre-school children run by Aide à Toute Détresse (for a short description of ATD see the section on the Rheims project) in two outlying suburbs of Paris and at Toulon on the Mediterranean coast. Noisy was the site of a notorious and now happily vanished bidonville or shanty town which existed on the outskirts of Paris at the height of the post war housing crisis. ATD itself was born in the Noisy bidonville. Many of the ex-inhabitants of these shanties still live in the same areas although now housed in multi-storey blocks of flats. The Noisy and Herblay schools serve housing schemes of 78 units and 24 units respectively, reserved for families suffering from multiple deprivations whom the authorities consider need special support. The Toulon centre serves a "transit" estate of 78 units. While most of the population served by the two Parisian centres is of native French origin, there is a considerable concentration of gypsy and North African families in the Toulon project area. In all three areas the inhabitants suffer the usual complex of poverty-related handicaps.

Activities with children

The pre-school project deals with 3 main types of action with children aged 0 - 6 years: health, pre-school and cultural activities.

The pre-school for children up to four years old is the basic activity at Noisy and Herblay. There are two teachers and a nurse employed at each school which had enrollments of 22 and 13 children respectively in October 1978. The Noisy teaching team is also supplemented by a paediatrician and two social workers. In Toulon the situation is somewhat different, the public authorities having taken over the pre-school work previously carried out by the ATD team who now concentrate on extra-curricular activities. This centre employs two teachers and a speech therapist. A director, psychologist and secretary serve all three centres with the help of four part-time educational counsellors and a part-time accountant.

The pre-schools operate from 9am to 4pm with a 2 hour lunch break. At Noisy the school finds itself serving an increasingly younger age group with all the intake last year in the 20 to 24 month age range (plus 5 18 month olds attending two half days a week). At Herblay the average age is somewhat higher including some children old enough to attend the state nursery school but with too many problems to be sent there immediately. All the sub-proletarian families now realise the importance of school attendance and, in the majority of cases, enrol their children.

In Toulon introductory "awareness workshops" were held on a 3 days a week basis for 10 children (9 of them gypsies) aged 18 to 30 months in preparation for the state school.

ATD has developed a pedagogic system which it feels is particularly suited to the needs of children from very deprived backgrounds. It is analysed in detail in the book "Il fera beau, le jour où le sous-proletariat sera entendu" published by ATD in 1978. There is a particular emphasis on social and linguistic development.

Besides school activities the project teams organise a range of extra-curricular activities both for children of pre-school and nursery school age (4 to 6 years). At Noisy a programme of cultural workshops has operated 3 days a week and during the school holidays, starting with street activities with the children and continuing indoors. The content includes the transmission of inherited culture, apprenticeship of expression (eg nursery rhymes, folk tales, puppet sessions) and the use of a lending library. In 1978 31 children used the library, borrowing 212 books.

Family workshops were run in two homes by the Herblay team, but the families concerned had too many difficulties to profit from them without further intensive support.

In Toulon the team conducted reading workshops for children with special reading difficulties in several private homes as well as for a group of 10 children during the holidays. A summer workshop was held for 11 children not attending the state school and another for 15 (all gypsies) preparing for entry. Street and family workshops were held for irregular school attenders, contacting them in the street and encouraging them back to school.

Health education is an important part of the work with children and parents and the Noisy team run their own Mother and Child Centre which the doctor, nurse and welfare workers attend.

The Parisian teams both use a holiday centre in the Jura mountains for courses in the countryside for children from their areas.

Work with Parents

The parents as much as the children are the target population and the pre-school is a way of contacting families and mobilising them for community action on a wider scale. The pre-schools hold monthly parents' meetings

and there is a range of other group and individual contacts. Parents also take on responsibilities in the pre-school (organising activities, outings, fêtes, replacing teachers, etc.). Several parents have been drawn into ATD's local and national activities such as the Festival of Solidarity in Paris. On the other hand, it has proved particularly difficult to involve gypsy parents in organised activities at the Toulon centre.

A rights group is planned for the Toulon centre as a successor to a housing committee which operated last year as the beginning of a wider community based movement.

Work with Institutions

This was mainly focused on the state nursery schools where the project teams are particularly concerned to foster contacts between teachers and parents and help teachers understand the problems of families from this level of society. Contact is maintained with a range of other cultural and educational institutions to sensitise them to the needs of deprived families.

Assessment

In addition to teachers' reports the pre-school children are given a series of psychological tests twice a year and tests are also carried out on nursery and primary school children from the same areas. This enables developmental progress to be noted although follow-up testing is difficult over a long-term period because of the number of local families rehoused.

Attendance of children at pre-school and nursery schools has become more regular and in general they seem to be better dressed and in better health. However the health of both children and parents is still a cause for concern.

The Future

Within the project the teams will be experimenting with more varied methods of participation for parents. They also plan to introduce new teaching programmes for language acquisition, particularly for the gypsy children of Spanish mother-tongue.

Outside the project ATD is drawing on the experience of these three ventures to set up pre-schools at Rheims in NE France and Angers in the West.

IMPROVEMENT OF HOUSING AND LIVING CONDITIONS - ROUBAIX,
GUÉMENE-SUR-SCORFF AND ORANGE

The three components of this project are sited in the extreme NE, NW and South of France respectively. They are carried out under the aegis of the National Federation of PACT centres (Protection, Improvement, Conservation and Transformation of the Habitat), a federation of associations which emerged after the war to tackle the twin problems of the housing shortage and the aging of the existing housing stock. PACT operates mainly in the field of housing restoration. Most of the accommodation is often used selectively to meet the needs of special groups such as the elderly, immigrants or young workers. The execution and management of each project rests with the local association, the National Federation of PACT Centres' office in Paris giving co-ordination through technical and administrative advice.

Roubaix

Roubaix is an old industrial town on the Belgian border. Much of its 19th Century industrial base as well as its housing is now redundant and is being cleared for new development. There is a significant fringe population of both French and foreign origins.

The local PACT Centre, /CAL (Centre d'Amélioration du Logement - Housing Improvement Centre) has been at work in Roubaix since 1954 and now manages 1,800 units of accommodation in the town and rehouses 450 families a year. The European pilot scheme centres on two parts of CAL's work, the Reception Centre and the "Cité de Promotion". The reception centre was created in 1961 to provide temporary accommodation for socially handicapped families. The Cité de Promotion, which was launched in 1975, is a small housing estate reserved for the same type of family where they can be accommodated on a longer term basis and can be the focus of a range of social and educational services to assist their passage into permanent accommodation elsewhere. Similar schemes exist at Noisy-le-Grand, Herblay and Rheims.

The reception centre handles a large number of families each year on a short stay basis. Usually homelessness, resulting from family breakdown or rent arrears, is only one of a complex of problems. For this reason the Centre staff includes a full-time ^{or part-time} social worker, doctor and nursery school teacher backed up by student teachers and volunteers and supported by the regular social work and home help services of the neighbourhood. The mental health service for the area has also recently agreed to assign a psychologist and a

speech therapist to work at the Centre. In the school year 1976-1977 a weekly playgroup was operated and in June 1977 this developed into a daily nursery school and pre-school for children 2 to 6 years old. The school is developing a programme suited to the needs of educationally and socially backward children, concentrating on the acquisition of language and psycho-motor skills. The work was initially monitored and evaluated by the university institute at Lille. The project team is now considering involving the school inspectorate with a view to following up the long-term performance of the children. A great deal of emphasis is given to parent involvement and this has triggered off a number of other adult activities : sewing circle, home economics courses, group meetings, excursions and so on.

The Cité de Promotion consists of 25 individual dwellings. About half the population are native French and the others are of North African, Portuguese or mixed origin. Between them the 25 families mustered 172 children at the beginning of 1978. Many of the families have been referred to CAL by social agencies in the town but others are self-referrals. The cité is served by a multi-disciplinary team including educational specialists, psychologists and social workers. A research centre from the University of Lille has provided monitoring and evaluation. The actions supported by the European Community have concentrated on recreational facilities for children and work with young people, especially in the field of vocational training.

Holiday camps are considered an important means of bringing children into contact with the outside world. 14 children went away to camps last summer and 10 families also went away on holiday. Most of the other children took part in an open air camp organised by CAL.

An information campaign was launched early in 1978 to inform young people about job opportunities and vocational training. Only 4 young people were jobless in September 1978 and five were on vocational training.

Work with adults mostly concerns education for living on the estate, ranging from learning to read and understand fuel bills and draft letters to official bodies to general household budgeting. Unwise consumption of electricity with the consequent defaulting on fuel bills and cut-offs is a major problem on the estate.

The ultimate objective is to reintegrate families into the normal life of society rather than create a gilded ghetto. Inhabitants are encouraged to use the services

of the wider locality and in particular the local infant welfare clinic. A series of meetings has been held with the various health and social service authorities to gain their support in the process of rehabilitation. The project has been accompanied by detailed studies of the population using the reception centre and the cite.

Guéméné-sur-Scorff

Guéméné is a small market town in the rural heart of Brittany. Many of the young adults have emigrated to more favoured regions of France leaving behind a generation of old people with comparatively few children to care for them when they can no longer fend for themselves. Almost a quarter of the population of Guéméné is over 65. The PACT project aims to prevent elderly people being forced into residential care by improving their home conditions and providing sheltered housing.

The project is run by ARIM (Association de Restauration Immobilière - Building Restoration Association) which is affiliated to the National Federation of PACT Centres) and the Morbihan CAL PACT from its regional office at Rennes and served Guéméné and the surrounding villages. The central activity is the creation of grouped housing schemes ("foyers de soleil"). Work on these has, however, been seriously retarded by difficulties in mobilising the finance - the European Programme can assist only in running costs and not capital expenditure. The necessary loans have now been arranged and three suitable buildings have been obtained for conversion into foyers; a former hotel in Guéméné and two former schools in neighbouring villages. The conversion work will take most of 1979 to complete. 29 units of accommodation are planned for couples and single person households. While intended primarily for the elderly their use by young couples is not excluded. Each household will have its own accommodation and the use of certain communal facilities.

It is intended to acquire a further hotel for conversion after 1979 and it is expected that this type of activity will continue into the 1980s with the decision of the health authorities to restrict residential care to invalid cases.

ARIM and PACT are concerned at the level of rents which will have to be charged when the foyer is opened despite they themselves having taken charge of the building work to qualify for more favourable loan conditions. Several of the planned two person units have been divided into one person flats to lower the rent

level but even so this type of accommodation will never be cheap to provide.

A programme of minor improvements for private dwellings is already under way to help maintain elderly people in their own homes. 90 houses had been improved by the end of 1978 and finance has been obtained for nearly 200 other priority cases. In all over 1000 dwellings occupied by elderly people in Guéméné and district are considered to be in need of improvement. The finance is available under a national scheme known as Priority Programme 15.

It is planned to employ a group of young people during the summer of 1979 on house improvement work, mainly painting and wallpapering, in conjunction with a local work-study programme. The European money will help provide materials.

Parallel with the special house improvement scheme for the elderly a more general scheme is afoot for the Guéméné area financed by the local authorities and the national house improvement agency, taking advantage of the presence of the ARIM technical team. By September 1978 six house improvements had been completed and 13 more were in progress. In all it is planned to renovate about 100 dwellings.

Two social workers are currently employed at Guéméné to promote social activities for the elderly and they have held a series of meetings for the organisers of old peoples clubs. A local federation of clubs has been set up which is participating in the old peoples house improvement scheme.

A home help service has been introduced into the area but the results have not been encouraging. The service is expensive to operate and many of the houses are so dilapidated that effective cleaning is impossible. For the home help scheme to be effective further progress must be made in the house improvement programme.

Orange

Orange is a historic town in the south of France which gave its name to the royal house of the Netherlands. The project, run by PACT-Vaucluse, concerns the restoration of the mediaeval city centre which despite its architectural attractions is very run down with numerous vacant dwellings. The intention is to use the restored property to accommodate poor people from the neighbourhood and outside.

Most of the work so far has consisted of the collection of data on which PACT has developed a comprehensive action programme which it succeeded in

getting the Municipal council to adopt in April 1978. In the words of the project's report for 1978 the European Community enabled them "to lay siege to the municipality".

The data collected by PACT has included its own survey of 230 households and information gathered in the course of its work on minor improvements. These latter have mostly taken place in the context of the programme of house improvements for the elderly (Priority Programme 15) under which 18 households have so far benefitted. Negotiations are also under way to acquire an empty property to develop as housing for immigrant workers.

The comprehensive plan adopted by the Municipality in April 1978 envisages an improvement in public services (water supply, lighting, etc.), improvement or rebuilding of dwellings and extended social and cultural activities. As regards the last point a "maison à tous" (peoples' house) has been proposed as a cultural centre and headquarters for community associations. The work is scheduled to extend over 3 to 4 years.

The programme is likely at first to be implemented on a very selective basis, focused on a comparatively small number of dwellings rated as priority cases.

HABITAT ET VIE SOCIALE
(HABITAT AND SOCIAL LIFE)

STRASBOURG, DENAIN, WOIPPY AND LE HAVRE

This is one of the "second wave" of European projects adopted by the Commission in March 1978. It is focused on four large housing estates in northern and eastern France which are typical of many put up during the 1950s and early 1960s. Although not always built specifically for underprivileged families such estates have often developed as ghettos for the underprivileged as the more successful individuals move out, their places being taken by others who are marginal to the wider society in one way or another. There is often, although not always, a high proportion of immigrant families, mainly North Africans.

The social decline of the neighbourhood is usually accompanied by a degradation of the housing and public amenities. The estates are often physically as well as socially isolated, set at a distance from the main cities on which they depend with poor access to centres of employment and shopping. Social and cultural amenities are often scanty.

The "Habitat and Social Life" project is a government financed community development venture aimed at arresting this decline in four selected estates. As the name indicates a double strategy is employed; an improvement in the physical environment, involving the rehabilitation of housing ^{buildings} and open spaces and an attack on social impoverishment. This latter is to include the stimulation of cultural activities, particularly for women, young people and ethnic minorities; information services; health education; the study of the economic and educational problems of the district, the development of handicrafts and a study of schooling in the area. All this is to take place with the maximum possible participation of the inhabitants, both in the planning and execution.

The project foresees the establishment of community groups of all types including tenants' associations who would become parties with the housing management in the improvement programme.

A large part of the budget for the project is reserved for pre-vocational training establishments to help reduce the level of youth unemployment (all 4 estates have a very young age structure).

Each estate is being served by a team of two full-time community workers and one part-timer. In addition there are two technicians for each scheme to advise on housing improvements and specialists for the health education and vocational training work.

The four estates for the project are the Neuhof district of Strasbourg (nearly 20.000 inhabitants); the du Château district of Denain in the Pas de Calais (5.000); the St. Eloi district of Woippy near Metz (nearly 6.000) and the Mare Rouge district of Le Havre (nearly 10.000).

The project is run by an interministerial organisation "Habitat and Social Life" and financed by central and local government in addition to the European Community.

IRISH NATIONAL PROGRAMME TO COMBAT POVERTY

Community Action Research Project

Welfare Rights Project

Supplementary Welfare Allowances Project

It was Ireland which first proposed a European Anti-Poverty Programme, an idea which developed from its own plans to develop a national programme. Today Ireland is the only Member State possessing more than one project in the European programme which has a single organisation to co-ordinate the different experiments and the only one where the projects have been presented as an integrated part of social welfare policy. For administrative purposes the Commission identifies three Irish projects but alternatively one may count up to 23 different ventures or see the ensemble as a single project with a common management board and common planning, research and evaluation services. Accordingly all the Irish experiments are described in one section in this report, at the same time identifying the three main projects and their associated activities as set out in the Commission's official list of schemes.

The National Committee

The National Committee on Pilot Schemes to Combat Poverty was set up in May 1974 by the Ministry of Social Welfare, with the primary purpose of designing and implementing a programme of pilot schemes to combat poverty within the context of the European Social Action programme. Although government-sponsored, the Committee drew its membership from people with a wide variety of skills and experience, ranging from social work, the Churches and trades unions, to academic life and social research. A total of seven government departments were represented.

From the start this Committee adopted a structural view of poverty, with fairly radical implications :

"It is fundamental to the philosophy of the programme that poverty in Irish society should be recognised as largely the result of inequality and that its eventual elimination ... will require a redistribution of resources and power in society".

It was, however, recognised that such basic changes could hardly be achieved through projects on the scale envisaged by the European programme. The hope was that they would make a "very small beginning in initiating the process of social change and trying out new approaches to tackling the problem of poverty". Thus the programme aimed to do three things: to bring about practical interventions in deprived areas or among groups of people in need; to increase the public awareness of the problem of poverty; and to contribute to the evolution of effective long-term policies to combat poverty. These of course were the same objectives towards which the European programme was being orientated in the planning sessions going forward in Brussels at the same time.

Four separate schemes were chosen by the National Committee to be submitted to the Commission: the Community Action Research Project; the Welfare Rights Project; the Supplementary Welfare Allowances Project; and the Social Services Council Scheme. The first two were eventually funded 50% by the Commission, the third 25%, while the fourth received no Commission funding but it reports to the Commission to provide comparative material and join in the exchange of results. The rest of the money for these schemes comes from the Irish government. Included in the programme are a range of projects operated by other organisations which work in association with the four projects run by the Committee's own personnel. In total the Committee manages, directly or indirectly, 28 projects (October 1978).

Action Projects

Community Action Research (CARP)

Like the other three Irish projects "CARP" is in fact a co-ordinated set of projects, some carried out directly by staff employed by the National Committee and the remainder contracted out.

The three CARP ventures run directly by the Committee are all in remote rural areas on the west coast: Castletownbere (Co. Cork), West Connemara and West Donegal. For a century the young people in these areas have reacted to the poverty of the region by emigrating to America, England or Dublin making it even more difficult for the dwindling, aging remnant of the population to develop or even maintain the economy.

The Community Action approach is of course equally applicable in rural and urban areas - indeed it is more often applied in urban settings in developed countries - and the National Committee might well have decided to experiment in contrasting rural and urban settings rather than closely comparable rural locations. It chose comparable locations not only to facilitate research and evaluation but also because it was considered easier to develop contacts between the community groups which the project planned to foster in different regions if they came from similar backgrounds. The objective is to build up a nationwide network of contacts which will also draw in the contracted out projects. In this way the participation of the poor at local level could lead on to participation at national level. The same strategy is followed in the companion Welfare Rights Project which is based on a comparable set of urban areas in different regions of Ireland.

In each location the project began with a team of three: the leader, an assistant and a research officer. (Teams now comprise five members). Their aim is to help revivify their dying communities on the basis of a wide and direct popular participation, not "selling" a particular solution to the inhabitants but helping them to take charge of their own destiny.

Work starts with a community profile in which the team analyses the social and economic structure and problems of the area. The team identifies the key leaders and works with them and other local people to draw up a plan of action on self-help lines.

The teams did not move into their areas until November 1976 but already by May 1978 the Committee was able to list an impressive array of activities in their report to the Minister for Social Welfare. In the economic sphere the projects have made several starts in promoting co-operatives among fishermen, farmers and craftsmen and putting them in touch with sources of technical advice. It is also trying to involve the population in the planning of particular government schemes for the introduction of new industries and the development of tourism and it is helping to broaden the basis and range of activities of such co-operative ventures as already exist.

An attempt at setting up a model farm in Castletownbere was unsuccessful with the failure to acquire the land in question but a pilot farm scheme is going ahead with a group of small farmers.

There is a great lack of health, education and recreation facilities in these isolated communities and even in some districts of public utilities such as electricity supply. The project has organised local groups to relate with the relevant authorities on these issues and much progress has been made in stimulating recreational, social and cultural activities especially among young people and the elderly. Improvement in the quality of life is a valid end in itself but if it helps counteract the continual migration from these areas it can assist their economic improvement as well.

The project is due to come to a close in 1980. The project workers are therefore giving a great deal of attention to ensuring that the community structures they establish will survive their departure. The objective of creating nationwide interest groups is also beginning to be realised, in particular with a national organisation for inshore fishermen.

There are six contracted out schemes associated with CARP. The longest established is Travellers Rehabilitation Industrial Aid Ltd (TRIAL) at Ennis which works with the "Travelling" population (equivalent to the gypsies in other countries although they are not of Romany origin) in a variety of ways but principally through educational and vocational training projects. It has a training workshop currently employing 20 teenagers. Instruction has also been given to 6 women in machinework and training activities for men are being developed.

The North Central City Community Action project was approved by the Ministry for Social Welfare in February 1978. It is a community action venture in the inner-city of Dublin which has already made a start with a craft-centre and play group. The more ambitious Erris Community Development project is still in the planning stage. The North Leitrim Development Federation has been assisted by the National Committee since December 1976 and has made considerable progress in establishing a home bakery scheme, a holiday home co-operative, a vegetable co-operative amongst small farmers in the region, a youth training programme and other enterprises to create local employment. The Fairgreen project in Galway which is principally a training centre for teenage girls from the Traveller community received a "once-off" from the National Committee in December 1976 towards the establishment of the centre which was officially opened in June 1977. Finally a sixth contracted out project was approved in late 1978, a study on producer co-operatives to be carried out in conjunction with the national Agricultural Institute.

The Welfare Rights Project (WRP)

This has a similar structure to CARP with three teams of four working in comparable areas in different regions, in this case the South Centre area of Dublin, Cork and Waterford. Again the first task of the team was to prepare a "community profile" as the basis for an action plan.

Welfare Rights campaigns in their narrowest sense focus on a predetermined objective, the increase in "take up" for a particular set of benefits. The Irish project goes far beyond this, in practice fostering a series of consumer groups whose object it is to represent the consumer interest in the planning and operation of an open-ended range of services that touch on the lives of the poor.

To date the teams have been involved in various forms of educational work on welfare rights mainly with organisations such as "Tenants Associations" and have set up information and advice centres in their districts, known respectively as the Information Rights Centre, the Rights Resource Centre and the Action Education Centre. In addition they have been involved in direct work with different groups such as unemployed teenagers, pre-school projects, consumer co-operatives and other educational issues together with adult education projects.

As with CARP there are several contracted out projects which work in association with the directly run schemes. In December 1976 the National Committee gave a 'once-off' grant to Ballyfermot Community Association (Dublin) to establish an Employment and Welfare Rights Unit as part of the Association's work in that area. It also supported a nationwide survey of old people living alone conducted by the Society of St. Vincent de Paul in preparation for a special project by the Society to help the elderly. Other contracted out projects are run by Threshold (Dublin), basically an advisory service for the homeless, the Athlone Community Services Council which is building a youth centre and running a research project on youth needs in Athlone, and the Coolock Community Law Centre in North Dublin which provides free legal aid and acts as a pressure group on social welfare issues.

The Supplementary Welfare Allowances Project operates in the context of the reform of the social assistance system in Ireland which came into effect in July 1977. The object of the project is to draw up an appraisal of the new system and test out means of improving it.

The project was able to profit from a delay in introducing the new scheme

to carry out a study of the old system against which the new one could be measured. Some 1800 recipients of the old Home Assistance scheme were interviewed and a survey was also carried out among officials administering it.

The introduction of the new scheme is now being monitored throughout Ireland with special studies undertaken in five localities.

The action research element is supplied by two contracted out projects. Women's Aid (Dublin), a four year old organisation which provides accommodation for "battered wives", receives a grant from the National Committee to build in a research component to its work, develop group work activities among its families and improve its liaison with other relevant organisations (e.g. housing authorities) including other women's aid groups. In Kilkenny the Committee supports the Newpark Close project which in many ways resembles some of the ATD projects on the Continent such as Breda. Two workers live among a "target group" of 30 particularly deprived families with whom the local Social Service Centre has been working for some years. The object is to develop new approaches to work with these families based on a sense of greater mutual understanding and trust. The project, which is just beginning, has no pre-arranged activities.

The fourth scheme is the Social Service Council's Project. The past decade or so has seen the emergence in Ireland of a large number of Social Service Councils, comprising groups of voluntary organisations at a local level, which come together to promote the co-ordination of services and the pooling of resources. Some also provide a variety of services themselves. The first stage of this project comprises a research study of approximately 75 of the Councils, with the aim of examining their structure and functioning and of making recommendations on future policy. This study should be completed in early 1979.

The other part of the project is the study of Social Service Council activity in Co. Clare. Clare was chosen because it has a high level of Social Service Council activity in urban and rural areas and also because, as a county, it ranked high as far as indicators of poverty were concerned. In fact it is a critical case study to examine how the Council operates and how effectively it does its work. The study in Clare will provide information on the workings of the Council, on its clients and on the extent to which the Council helps these clients.

Fieldwork on the study began in November 1976 and the methods used were participant observation and unstructured interviews. It is expected that the report will be completed in early 1979.

Taken together, the Clare and National studies will provide much useful information on the operation of Social Service Councils, and will also make recommendations as to new policies or approaches that might be adopted by these agencies.

Research

All the projects involved, both those directly and indirectly managed by the National Committee, are pilot projects. This means not only that they aim to demonstrate a wide variety of methods of research and action, but also that what is learned from the projects is more important than what the projects themselves achieve during their limited life-span. This "experimental" nature of the Irish poverty programme means that research is of paramount importance, and the Irish projects have placed as much emphasis on this aspect of the "action-research" approach as have any of the projects in the European programme. The role of research is strengthened by having a central co-ordinating body like the National Committee: researchers were in fact on the staff of the national programme before the action staff started work, and the areas for the Community Action Research and the Welfare Rights Projects were chosen in the light of investigations based on carefully chosen socio-economic and socio-political criteria. The programme also contains some projects which are, at least at certain stages, purely research studies (for example, the now-completed study of the workings of the Home Assistance Scheme).

Research staff are also strongly represented in the individual project teams. Indeed, the visiting expert from the Advisory Group voiced her fears that the programme may become somewhat "over-intellectualised", cause the inhabitants of the project areas to feel themselves "over-investigated" and inhibit the development of spontaneous action and independent thinking. However she did add that, as far as she could see, these dangers were minimised in the Irish programme, where the researchers, refreshingly free of jargon and open to new ideas, are often involved in action themselves.

LOCAL HEALTH AND SOCIAL SERVICE UNITS - PADUA

The largest project in the European programme is at Padua, near Venice, a city of a quarter of a million inhabitants famous as a centre for Renaissance art. The project is nothing less than a complete restructuring of the city's health and social services. Recent national legislation in Italy giving increased powers to the municipalities has made this a particularly important project as Padua's experience, alongside that of certain other pioneering cities, can serve as a model to the rest of the nation. The experience is valuable also beyond the frontiers of Italy as Padua is implementing in its own manner a number of principles which are at the heart of reforms in the social services going ahead in every member state of the Community.

The project dates back to the early 1970s and was financed up to 1975 by the city council. The support of the European Community has enabled the experiment to be extended throughout the city and to be carried into new fields. The project thus antedates the changes in national legislation which have since facilitated its progress. It began with a re-application of existing laws and innovations which although not in conflict with existing law had not been foreseen by it.

The municipal officers responsible for initiating the reform devoted six months in 1972 to drawing up a set of objectives in consultation with a wide range of interested bodies. These objectives were endorsed by the city council in February 1973. The rest of this chapter describes the project from the point of view of each of these objectives in turn.

Decentralisation

Fundamental to the reform is the idea that the city is composed of districts which are organ social entities. Once these fundamental components of the city had been delimited the city administration intended to site a "Local Unit" within each of them for the delivery of a unified basic range of health and social services.

Not only would such a decentralised structure make the services physically more accessible to the population but it was envisaged that a dynamic relationship would develop between the Local Unit and its community which would lead on to forms of community self-management, shaping the services to respond to local needs.

A series of studies in 1971 indicated a population of 50,000 as the maximum to be served by a Local Unit and listed a number of social factors to be taken into account in determining the locality's precise boundaries. Eventually 8 districts were marked out which was increased to 10 when the Municipality set up a network of neighbourhood councils. Thus each Local Unit now serves an area co-incident with that of a neighbourhood council, which usually meets on the Local Unit premises.

The siting of the Local Unit within each district was determined largely by the pattern of public transport. The Local Units are relatively small and occupy premises converted from other uses. For the most part the buildings were already in municipal ownership or belonged to organisations whose activities have now been taken over by the city. Not only does this approach save time and money but the project organisers wished to avoid the creation of large forbidding new office complexes.

The typical unit has accommodation for 3 dispensaries with waiting rooms, enough small offices for each of the professional staff to have exclusive use of one in the hours he is at the Unit, a room for the home helps and home nurses, space for a computer terminal and a general meeting room. Most Units also have space for cultural activities, remedial gymnastics and so on. Not all units are the same size or operate the same range of services.. The pattern of staffing and services is set out in the section on Unification.

When the experiment was first developed it was easy to maintain liaison between the central administration and the Units. Later, however, as the Units grew in size and number it became necessary to make formal arrangements. One member from the staff of each unit is now designated as the co-ordinator, acting as the Unit's spokesman to the central administration and vice versa. The co-ordinator is not the director of the Unit but a member of staff nominated by his colleagues and the post is expected to rotate amongst them. The 10 co-ordinators meet regularly with the Chief Officer for Health and Welfare (the Assessor).

The co-ordinators deal largely with personnel matters. The technical planning, implementation and evaluation of services is carried out by a Staff Group made up of the medical director and advisors, experts in the health and social fields.

Unification and Universalisation

The second major objective of the reform was to break down the division between services and make them available to the entire population on a non-categorical basis - i.e. to all citizens irrespective of income, occupation and age. By bringing together a range of services under one roof the reformers thus had more in mind than simply the convenience of the clientele.

Within each Unit is an information service run by a full-time social worker. Her task is to direct callers to the service appropriate to their needs and to help fill in application forms, including applications for cash assistance. The law has only recently allowed Italian municipalities to integrate their social assistance schemes with other municipal services and cash aid is not distributed by the Local Units in Padua. However the city's social assistance scheme is being restructured in parallel with the reform of health and social services and it is intended to concentrate applications for assistance on the Local Units.

The home help service did not exist in Padua until the introduction of the Local Units. The service is now fully operative in 6 out of the 10 units. In each of these six there is a full time organiser who usually deploys about 6 home helps, two home nurses and about 20 volunteers. In the central districts most of the service goes to long term support for the elderly while in the new housing estates on the periphery it is more often crisis work with large families. The city has developed a six months' training for home helps including instruction in home economics, civic administration and family dynamics and supervised periods with different types of family. The family help service also arranged holidays for about 400 people, mostly elderly, during the summer of 1978.

Work with children is concentrated on twelve inter-disciplinary "basic-teams" of two paediatricians, 2 medical assistants, a social worker and an educational psychologist. Each team serves about 5,000 children necessitating two teams in two of the Units. Attached to each team there is a further paediatrician and a nurse specialising in preventive care for children under 3. The basic teams are supplemented by four "specialist teams" each consisting of a child neuropsychiatrist, a psychologist, physiotherapist and a speech therapist. In principle these teams work with referrals from the basic teams but an increasing proportion of the specialist cases are now self-referrals, predominantly from middle class families. This shows that the service has

escaped the poor law image and its middle class clients will help maintain a high standard of care. At the same time this highlights the problem of ensuring that the most needy take full advantage of the services open to them. The work of the speech therapists in the Local Units is backed up by a speech therapy centre.

Most of the work of the basic teams is preventive care, described in the next section.

A family counselling centre is now operating in the city and it is hoped that in time this service may be extended to all the Local Units. The centre is staffed by a gynaecologist a psychologist, a social worker and a nurse and deals mainly with young couples seeking advice on a wide variety of matters including fertility.

Each Local Unit possesses a computer terminal linked to the city hall computer for the issue of residence cards, registration of births, marriages and deaths etc. The existence of this service ensures that almost inevitably every citizen at some time visits his Local Unit which is considered a method of integrating it into the life of the community.

Most of the Units also provide ^{ample} facilities for cultural and recreational activities, including youth groups, as well as the meeting hall for the neighbourhood council.

The policy of unifying services goes beyond services which the municipality itself operates. Since 1974 a co-ordination committee containing representatives of all the child welfare agencies in Padua has been examining inter-agency relationships and through it a number of useful agreements have been worked out. For instance in 1975 agreements were made with the national society for workers' orphans (ENAOI) and the national society for the protection of children (ENPF) enabling several social workers to be detached for service to the local units and for the work of the two associations in Padua to be handled by the Units. The detached workers still remain on the payroll of their parent agencies.

There is also an agreement with the national sickness insurance scheme (INAM) for financing domiciliary and clinic services for the elderly and with a Home for the elderly to provide an old peoples club to develop social contacts between the residents and the outside world. The inception of a provincial mental health service has led to an agreement for this too to

operate from the Local Units with Staff employed by the Province of Veneto. Agreements have also been made to enable the Units to call upon specialist hospital services.

The Units place great importance on contact with all social agencies in their districts, particularly the schools, both to exchange information on individual cases and to collaborate in developing their respective services. The Unit co-ordinators are given a particular responsibility in this area.

Prevention

The ultimate objective of unification is the development of preventive care which by its nature must cut across departmental specialisations. Early diagnosis and treatment of social and health problems although not preventive care in the full sense is an essential stage in this development. Much of the work of the basic and specialist child care teams concerns early diagnosis.

A new system of health cards has been introduced to follow every child in Padua from birth to adulthood recording the significant events in its medical and social history. The record is opened by a visiting paediatrician shortly after birth and maintained through 10 follow up visits between the ages of 50 days and 3 years in conjunction with the programme of compulsory vaccinations and immunisations. After the age of 3 surveillance of the child passes to the basic teams which examine children individually at the Units and carry out mass examinations in the nursery schools. The school health service has been merged with the work of the Local Units since 1974.

The doctor working with the under 3s is supported by a health visitor while a social worker forms part of each basic team. The medical examinations can thus also be used as occasions for health education with parents, a truly preventive form of intervention.

The home help service is also seen as preventive avoiding the need for residential care for children and the elderly. In the same spirit over the last two years the municipality has greatly expanded its day nursery facilities. The existing day nurseries were taken over from the national organisation (OMNI - the national organisation for mothers and children) which previously ran them and several new nurseries opened. This progress has been maintained even in the face of a tight squeeze on public expenditure and the need to economise in other sectors. By the end of 1978 six nurseries were in operation with 360 children.

Priority is given to the children of working mothers.

All early diagnosis and prevention must rest on the basis of extensive research; the service has to seek out the problem and not wait to be confronted by it. Most of the research effort linked to the project in Padua can thus be seen as part of the drive towards preventive care.

Participation

This continues to be the most elusive of the objectives sought by the project. Even before the first Unit was set up in 1972-3 a questionnaire was sent to every household in the district informing them of the new centre and seeking their advice on planning the home help service. The response rate was somewhat over 50%.

The basic child care teams have of course been constantly engaged in public education work with schools and parents groups as part of their professional responsibilities. The two main channels for participation remain, however the neighbourhood councils and ad hoc study groups composed of specialist professionals and interested local citizens. The neighbourhood councils are kept continuously informed of the work of the Units, although the project leaders find their response disappointing. Study groups have been set up to examine the problems of the elderly and the handicapped and their reports have been given wide circulation. Although useful these exercises have not aroused popular concern to the degree that was hoped.

About 200 volunteers are engaged in Local Unit activities mainly in the Home Help Service. They range from persons with one Sunday morning a month to spare to visit an elderly person to those who can give 2 or 3 days service a week. Other volunteers work with youth groups. Twice a year the volunteers meet with the chief officers of the health and welfare administration to communicate their ideas and experience. A register of volunteers is drawn up annually and registered volunteers are covered by a group accident insurance.

Research

Three surveys were carried ^{out} before the inception of the Local Units by an outside research centre. These consisted of a survey of the basic social characteristics of the city and special surveys of primary school children

and old people in residential care.

One objective of the project has always been to build up a register of the population identifying groups at risk. Such a census has now been carried out in one Local Unit district considered reasonably representative of the city as a whole. Every household has completed an extensive questionnaire on its health, education, employment and housing conditions. A first analysis of this data is now available. This work is seen by the project leaders not only as a useful basis for future planning but as a major step towards preventive care at the individual level.

SOCIAL CENTRES FOR CHILDREN, WOMEN AND THE
ELDERLY - GIUGLIANO (NAPLES)

The European programme of pilot schemes is represented in the Italian Mezzogiorno, probably the poorest region in the Community, by a project at Giugliano on the outskirts of Naples. This was one of the second wave of projects approved by the Commission in March 1978 and work began in Giugliano the following month. The project is run by ^{the} Centre for Social Medicine of the municipality.

The aim of the project is to create a number of Social Centres serving three particular groups of the population: children, women and old people. Through the activities of these centres the target populations are to build up creative skills, overcome their psychological and physical handicaps and finally arrive at the realisation that they have it in their power to improve their conditions by mutual aid and collective pressure on the administration.

The project has rented specific premises from which they can cover the whole of Giugliano and has gathered together a central co-ordinating team of a psychologist, social worker and secretary with specialised teams to work with each category of the target population. The children's team consists of 8 community workers, a craft instructor, two social workers and a psychologist.

The women's team is led by a doctor and includes another doctor and 3 community workers, while the team for the elderly is led by a doctor with 4 workers. In addition there is a research group of 5 led by a social worker and a group of 4 workers engaged in promoting community activities outside the centres.

The first months of activity in Giugliano were devoted to opinion surveys, public meetings and contacts with local organisations both to generate awareness of the project and to collect information and opinions on which to plan future services. In particular the project organisers wished to establish criteria for identifying priority groups within the larger target populations, criteria which would be generally acceptable to the local people. For instance it was decided to give priority for children in the recreational centres first of all to large families, then to low income families and finally to working mothers, with certain places reserved for children with special difficulties.

Activities with Children

Two recreational centres were opened in September 1978. A total of 80 children are registered at the centre but in view of the overwhelming number who sought places (about 200 in the first month) it was decided to establish a rota of workers with responsibility for organising activities outside the centres for children in the 10 to 13 age range. Experience with such work had already been developed on the local beaches during July and extra-mural activities have since been sponsored in many different parts of Giugliano, some of them a long way from the recreational centres.

Activities in the centre concentrated on developing creativity and self-expression. Although the number of children directly served is comparatively small it is hoped that this group can serve as a reference group whose cultural stimulus is transmitted outwards to a much larger circle.

The children's team also organises cultural activities in the local schools, particularly those close to the recreational centres. There is a particular concern for integrating handicapped children into social activities and a number of places in the centres are reserved for them.

Women's Groups

Several womens groups are in existence - a free drama group mainly for younger women and expectant mothers, an art, music and discussion group including local women and residents from an old peoples home, a youth group which is being given its own room to run as a meeting place, a women's gymnastics group and a discussion group on women's problems and family life.

Women's problems were also the theme of a travelling exhibition and discussion programme which toured Giugliano from May to July.

Activities with the Elderly

A series of six meetings for elderly people including discussions, music, dancing and a film show have been organised with an attendance varying from 50 to 70. A series of small group meetings has also taken place to plan the introduction of a home help service.

Contact has been maintained with the Pensioners Union and at their request a paper was sent to the National Congress at Ariccia in April in 1978 on

"the Elderly Person in Society." Residents of a local old people's home have participated in various recreational activities in the district and a small discussion group has been meeting each week for ex-residents of the psychiatric hospital.

A travelling exhibition and discussion programme toured Giugliano from May to July on problems of the elderly.

RESEARCH GROUPS

study and evaluation
A / group drawn from universities and research institutes was formed in November 1978. Meanwhile an observation group had already been at work since May collecting basic data for the project. In September this group began a study of environmental pollution.

Evaluation

As regards contacts with the local population the figures are impressive despite the short time the project has been in operation. About 200 children, 120 elderly people and 180 women (excluding the elderly) have been directly involved in project activities. The indirect impact through their contacts with relatives and friends is probably considerable.

These group activities have sparked off agitation for change which has already had some success. The women and children of Giugliano have obtained better public transport facilities through negotiation with the local administration and also an increase in the number of children registered for summer holiday activities. Citizens groups have succeeded in getting some of the rubbish heaps removed and the elderly have opened a campaign for a home help service.

Finally a strong relationship seems to have been established between the project workers and the population.

The long term aim must be to develop an increasing awareness among the poor of their true needs and of constructive ways of meeting these needs. In this manner the services they demand will not be such as to prolong their dependancy but those which can effectively liberate them from their hardships.

THE FOURTH WORLD PROJECT - BREDA

This is one of the four projects in the European Programme run by the ATD Fourth World Movement, an international federation of non-government organisations, dedicated to the cause of the poorest of the poor ("the Fourth World"). The background to this organisation is set out more fully in the section on the project at Rheims, France. The basic purpose of all the ATD activities is to articulate the life situation of the Fourth World and help break down their isolation from the rest of society which is seen as the root cause of their poverty. In Breda, a small Dutch town near the Belgian border, this means gaining recognition for the rights and needs of the Fourth World by the public authorities, fellow citizens and private institutions and following on from this making it possible for the Fourth World and its representatives to play a full part in the life of the community.

ATD estimates that about 3 to 6% of the population of the Netherlands belong to the Fourth World. In Breda this involves about 300 particularly deprived families concentrated in the Heuvel district. This is a low rent housing area built just after the Second World War which has become "silted-up" with deprived families as the more successful manage to move away to better accommodation. The ATD project centres on the SW corner of Heuvel. About 90 families were actually involved in the project (i.e. participating regularly in one or more activities) at the end of 1978.

The project team is very small; the project leader (a social worker-priest), 2 community development workers and a part-time play leader. In addition about 10 volunteers from outside the area are usually helping in a variety of ways while the local people themselves take an increasing initiative in running project activities. Since the end of 1977 there has also been a part-time research worker attached to the project. Such a small team can be vulnerable and the project was severely handicapped by the project leader's sickness for several months in 1978. During this time the project was led by one of the community development workers.

The project operates from 2 three-roomed flats. It also acquired a wooden hut in early 1978 for children's and youth groups and uses the ATD "recreation farm" in the country for Fourth World family holidays.

Given that the team repeatedly invited the most deprived families to participate in local and Movement activities, a situation was created whereby the inhabitants themselves took more and more initiatives to combat social exclusion.

One of the signs of this positive trend: When the project leader was unable to continue the local liaison paper the local inhabitants wanted to continue to run it. Some of them even asked for technical training to enable them to work independently of the team. This demonstrates a greater will to participate.

There have been other changes resulting from a better understanding of the population and from the confidence generated by the members of the team (the full-time workers of the Movement) and the population concerned:

- The team have changed the approach used in the group of 11-14 year olds to enable the young people to meet on a person to person basis and to form friendships. Less emphasis has been placed on different activities and more has been placed on opportunities for the young people and the team members to meet.
- The discussion group for young people over the age of 15 was only able to meet sporadically because of the team leader's illness but about fifteen of these young people regularly came to see the team and the subjects discussed, often in a small, informal group, related to their own position, their work, problems arising from social exclusion and their wish to join the Youth Section of the Fourth World Movement.
- When the team cut down the number of home visits to the inhabitants the families visited each other when there were problems, some of the members of Parents' Council were very active in this.

The "contact" evenings which had been requested by families on a regular basis at the start of the project as a means for meeting positively did not take place in the requested manner and the inhabitants no longer requested such meetings. May be this was because families managed to find other ways of satisfying their needs for creating positive relationships in the context of more specific activities in the project, such as the "mother and child group" and the Parents' Council.

The Parents' Council proved to be one of the project's most successful initiatives and has gradually taken over the role of a neighbourhood council through its control of the wooden hut (and thereby the group activities which take place there) and its experience in relating with schools and other outside institutions. The project workers are now concerned to ensure that what was once envisaged as a parents study group should now become an open democratic body representative of the neighbourhood.

The Parents' Council's principal activity continues to be the running of children's clubs for different age groups, where the children can join in creative activities, team games and excursions. There is also an active play group for very young children. In July 1977 the Council decided to launch an old people's group, which since October has had its own committee responsible for its own activities. This group now consists of about 20 people, including some middle-aged parents who prefer it to the Parents Council which attracts mainly younger parents.

Over the past year the project has moved from a concern almost exclusively with neighbourhood matters to participation in a wider Fourth World movement,

being involved in the preparations for ATD's contribution to International Children's Year.

THE JOINT FAMILY DAY CENTRES PROJECT - LONDON AND LIVERPOOL

This project consists of seven separate schemes, all but one in the London area, with the common objective of pioneering some form of non-residential day service to help families - predominantly families with children - who are either poor or at risk of becoming poor.

The seven schemes are co-ordinated, advised and evaluated by the Institute of Community Studies (ICS). This means that ICS runs seminars at approximately six-weekly intervals for representatives of the schemes at which progress and problems are discussed; regular visits are made to schemes to advise on research and monitoring procedures; and ICS publishes a broadsheet to describe the project and News Bulletins for internal distribution. In November 1978 it also produced a study of the use of locally recruited personnel and an interim evaluation of the entire project.

Despite common objectives and problems and the presence of an overall co-ordinating body each component scheme is separate, responsible for its own action and research and has its own distinctive style, approach and target population. It is worthwhile to discuss each in turn.

1. Aide à Toute Détresse

ATD is an international movement referred to elsewhere in this report, being involved in three other projects in the European Programme. It aims to promote the self-expression of families suffering from poverty and social exclusion - a group ATD refers to as the Fourth World (see also the projects at Rheims, Herblay, Noisy -le-Grand and Toulon in France and Breda in the Netherlands).

This particular scheme started with 45 "sub-proletarian families" in the London region, most of whom had spent some time at ATD's residential centre at Frimhurst in Surrey. ATD's aim is to consolidate this group and bring in other poor families and sympathisers from other social groups ("the Allies") to use it as a means by which the very poor can represent their own interests to the rest of society.

ATD combines regular group meetings or "Fourth World Evenings", each centred on a theme such as the family budget, housing law or unemployment, with the publication of a journal and personal visits to families by ATD workers. The collective response is also promoted at the supranational level; ATD has sent delegates to a Family Congress in France and a European Youth Congress in Brussels and welcomed a Fourth World group from Versailles who visited Frimhurst. In November 1977 the scheme was represented at the Festival of Solidarity in Paris on the 20th anniversary of the ATD movement.

The group has now found a permanent meeting place in central London with an exhibition room, study area and library which will begin operating in the autumn of 1979.

A current aim is to enhance the participation of the poor in the scheme. Thus a training group has been set up for some regular attenders who wish to take on more responsibility and a financial contribution from the poor is encouraged - for example towards the journal or travelling expenses - as it is felt that this will promote their dignity and independence. Some progress has been made in setting up local groups in the Home Counties based on the homes of attenders at the central London meetings, while help has been given to other ATD groups in the UK including one newly formed in Glasgow.

Increasing emphasis is being given to contacts with "Allies" including information meetings outside the framework of the Fourth World evenings. Currently 115 Allies are on the ATD mailing list of whom 55 attended meetings in the last year. The scheme is in touch with 54 Fourth World families.

The unique feature of this scheme is that it is not so much aimed at rehabilitative or preventive work among the group members as at using the group for an external purpose: to articulate the experience of the lowest levels of society to society as a whole.

2. Downtown Family Centre, Rotherhithe

This scheme in an isolated and declining dockland area of London provides a day centre principally for families with young children, with staff drawn from the indigenous population - using what are known in America as "New Careerist" principles. The aim is to re-build the sense of community and the mutual aid systems which emigration and the break-up of the extended family have destroyed.

"New Careerist" principles were felt to be particularly appropriate here, as the local population are traditionally suspicious of social workers and "outsiders". They are concerned about the obvious decline of their area and perhaps feel the arrival of social workers labels it as a "problem area", with consequent further decline. The staff have worked hard to overcome the reaction from local residents who saw the Centre as one for "problem families" rather than a resource and amenity for all.

Local people have been appointed to the management committee and two local women were the first full-time workers. Although a professional was chosen to lead the scheme and train staff, his aim was to make himself redundant as soon as possible.

Due to early local opposition to the scheme, the centre was obliged to operate initially in a church hall. However, these premises proved unsuitable and were not in the centre of the inhabited area. Considerable time and energy was spent in searching for better premises in a more central location, which were eventually found, renovated and opened in October 1977.

Given these difficulties, the first stage of the Centre's operation was remarkably successful. It provided various facilities for children plus a meeting area with

a coffee bar where parents could relax and socialise. Activity groups also developed, such as sewing, keep-fit and adult literacy and the staff give classes on a range of topics. A weekly meeting of staff and users was established to develop participation in the Centre's management.

By Christmas 1976 more than 50 families were in regular contact with the Centre and by July 1977 this had risen to about 80, with up to 40 people/attending each day (including children) for a significant length of time. The prime users, as expected, were mothers with young children.

The Centre was successful in attracting both recent arrivals and long term residents. However, it was found that most use of the Centre was made by residents of one particular estate. It is hoped that the move to more central premises has solved this problem.

By early 1977 the leader was only present in the Centre on a very part-time basis and had become far more of a consultant, concentrating on research and dealing with external work, such as writing reports. Eventually he took a full-time post elsewhere while remaining a part-time consultant, leaving the indigenous staff (now four full-timers) to run the Centre completely independently.

The move to new premises has coincided with the emergence of a more structured form to the Centre's activities. In particular an age limit of 3 years has been introduced for children using the Centre, with a reduction in hours of opening to give time for staff training. The Centre is thus much more specifically directed at families with very young children. Increased use by this group where the problems of social isolation are probably more acute has more than offset the loss of attenders with older children. It has also ensured that all children of nursery school age (3-5 years) will continue to enrol at the local nursery school, an important community asset which would be lost if rolls fell.

3. Camden Family Service Unit "Drop In" Centre

This is an experiment in social work with individuals and families with long standing and complex difficulties, all of them on low incomes. It is organised by the local branch of the Family Service Units, a voluntary organisation specialising in family casework with the extreme poor. The Drop-In Centre is a converted house where clients of FSU can "drop-in" at any time, develop their own group activities with the help of the project leader and in the process break down their social isolation and build up new self-confidence and self-esteem. It supplements the traditional one-to-one social work which FSU continues outside the centre.

Particular activities which have developed are a darts team, cookery evenings, a weekly discussion group, private reading lessons and a play scheme.

A steering committee for research and evaluation has met regularly since late 1976 and a bank of videotapes to monitor and illustrate changes in the clients has been built up. In March 1977 a survey of staff and client views at the centre found that

it was intensively used by a core of 10 clients, who found it useful to combat loneliness, build up self-confidence and acquire new skills. These people tended to become involved in the work of the Unit - helping with cooking, cleaning and decorating - and at one time there was some anxiety over this close "in-group" making it difficult for new members to join. This now seems to have been overcome. Between October 1977 and September 1978 57 adults used the centre. 46 adults came more than twice a week, of whom 19 used the centre up to five times a week. No count was made of children.

4. Croydon Gingerbread Play Centre for Single Parent Families

This self-help scheme provides after-school and holiday care for the 5 to 11 year old children of single parents in full-time employment. The local Gingerbread club, part of a nationwide network run by and for single parents, acquired a large derelict Victorian house and garden close to East Croydon station, which was renovated largely by the unpaid labour of the parents and opened as a playcentre. The centre proved extremely popular and by October 1978 there were 71 children attending after school and during the holidays and a further 51 during the school holidays only, with a substantial waiting list. The house is also used most weekends and evenings - there is a teenagers' night once a week and many adult members come to play darts, table-tennis and so on. To cope with the large numbers during the holidays, a nearby Girl Guide hut with a large area of grass is rented.

There are 3 permanent members of staff with considerable experience but no specific qualifications. A lone father acts as caretaker and drives the minibus. The staff rely heavily on help from volunteers, many of whom in turn have been helped with personal problems through their involvement with the project.

A sample survey showed that most parents using the play-centre were female with one or two children. Most had been working prior to using the playcentre but only half had been in full-time work. Those who had been working had used a combination of friends, relatives, childminders and day nurseries. Over half the parents said the playcentre had improved their capacity to work. Enabling lone parents to work has two advantages. Firstly financial: the vast majority are better-off than they would be on social assistance payments on which a third had at some time depended, mostly for considerable periods. Secondly, there are possible psychological advantages - both for the parents, who find that a job improves their self-esteem and social life, and for the children who benefit from consistent care in the same environment, from mixing with a variety of adults of both sexes and from meeting other children with a similar background. Some children are indeed referred to the playcentre by the local Child Guidance Service.

In 1978 the Head Teachers and Form Teachers of all children using the playcentre were invited for an informal meeting with staff and parents. This was very

worthwhile and most schools were represented. The Resident Playleader noticed that several children had reading difficulties and because of the contacts with the schools it was possible to co-ordinate activities to help them.

In 1978 the project purchased its second minibus, making possible an increase in outside activities and for two of the staff to take a group of children on a camping holiday.

The playcentre has received considerable favourable publicity. However, there are felt to be two ways in which it is not fully meeting the needs of its clients apart from an excess demand for places. Firstly, a significant minority of parents would like longer opening hours to cater for shifts and Saturday working. Secondly, the playcentre only caters for children up to age 11. The over 11's are often still too young to be left on their own and need some kind of "pop-in" club, where they can come and go as they please.

This project is distinctive in being a totally self-help venture whose participants reject the appellation "poor" - they are for the most part successful people in skilled employment who have used the playcentre to escape from and stay out of poverty.

The project was cited as a model for other areas in a recent report published by the Equal Opportunities Commission.

5. Defoe Day Care Centre

This scheme, located in the grounds of Hackney College in North London, was set up to enable student mothers to continue their education and working mothers to continue in employment by providing full or part-time care for children under school age. The centre is staffed by six full-time workers, two part-time evening workers, a part-time "outreach" worker and part-time administrative and domestic staff. Students from the college are on placement at the centre on a daily basis.

Care is provided for 6 babies aged 13 weeks to 2 years whose mothers are completing or have recently completed their general education, and for 20 children aged 2 to 5 divided equally between the children of working and student mothers. It was originally intended to provide 10 part-time places for the children of isolated women from the local community. However this idea has now been abandoned because the local playgroup can cater for this need and because of lack of space in the nursery building.

The centre also supports young mothers in developing their child care skills by encouraging them to spend time in the nursery and by organising discussions and making books available on child care. The aim is to have a truly community based unit. All employees live locally and most are involved in other community activities.

Most of the management committees are local including parents and staff. Some parents and local pupils also help with the children.

It is too early to judge on progress towards long-term objectives. One of these is to help young parents at a stage when it is often difficult to continue or start educational courses or to carry on in employment. Certainly these parents are taking further courses and some have got better jobs. However, a centre like Defoe cannot tackle the fundamental problems of inadequate student grants (or lack of grants) and a worsening employment situation. Another objective is to give children a favourable environment and thus a good start when they go to school. Very favourable reports have come back of the children who have reached school age. For parents/^{and staff}also, the centre can lessen social isolation and provide a basis for informal relationships to develop.

6. London Voluntary Service Council - Family Groups Project

In this scheme eight "family groups" were set up in contrasting areas of London - four in Hackney and four in Croydon. They are run by 24 local women trained by the project but not necessarily with any formal qualifications. The groups are intended particularly for those under stress who experience poverty and social isolation. Members were recruited by personal invitation on the recommendation of health visitors and others. While the emphasis is on stress situations (e.g. young mothers with a history of depression) few members had previously been in contact with social work services, in contrast, for instance, with the Camden project.

By November 1978 six groups were still meeting. Only one group failed to attract regular attenders. The other casualty closed after 2 successful years due to the leader being overworked. The groups meet once a week during term time, and the sessions usually centre on a practical activity such as dressmaking. A playgroup operates in parallel with each adult group to relieve the mothers of childminding problems.

Between September 1976, when the first four groups started, and September 1977, 123 people had attended, most of them regularly. Three-quarters for example attended more than half the sessions in the second term. The overwhelming majority are mothers with young children reflecting the recruitment by health visitors. A surprising amount of hostility was expressed towards official welfare services and it may be that having local "non-professional" leaders makes the groups more approachable as well as far cheaper to operate.

The scheme has four professional workers who were responsible for directing it initially. However, this team has gradually withdrawn from the action as the groups became more self-supporting. The team still holds monthly meetings but is now chiefly concerned with monitoring and evaluation. To this end, group sessions are

recorded and observed, members are interviewed and social welfare agencies asked to give their views of the groups. The ultimate aim is to introduce the group members to other activities, using the groups as a training experience for a fuller and more sustained participation in the life of the neighbourhood.

Already results are beginning to show. In Croydon members of several different family groups have taken over a moribund local community group and re-established it as a thriving concern. The effect on the lives of the group leaders has often been quite as dramatic as on the other members, with leaders taking further education courses and becoming involved in many more community activities. There is even an incipient career structure. One leader is now a training adviser to the LVSC Family Groups Unit and another may become a tutor on family groups for the Local Authority.

The response to the scheme by outside bodies has been prompt and positive. Croydon adult education department is at work to develop family groups on a "borough-wide" basis. A further two groups in Hackney have been developed by adult education. One is attached to a school; the other was requested by the housing department. Requests for help in setting up groups have come from all over London and the LVSC has now set up a Family Group Unit which it hopes will become an independent agency within 3 years. The senior worker, supported from a private trust fund, was appointed in late 1978.

A comprehensive report on the project will be published in 1979.

7. Liverpool Personal Service Society Family Clubhouse Project

The Family Clubhouse, situated in a very poor area of Liverpool, aims to bring disadvantaged local people together in an informal setting, either just "for a chat" or to join in some more specific activity. Most users are referred by social work agencies, although the Clubhouse encourages all local families to use its facilities. It thus hopes to avoid the stigmatisation likely if it is seen as a place only for the very poor or "problem families". The project has been successful, in that many families in the same street as the Clubhouse use it regularly.

The long term objective is to demonstrate that community based day centre facilities can be more helpful than the traditional one-to-one social work. The families, through group experience in the Clubhouse setting, are expected to find in themselves strengths to enable them to lead more independent and satisfying lives.

Originally there was only one member of staff - the scheme leader. Early in 1978 he was joined by a local part-time helper and in September a second full-time social worker was appointed. About 20 students have helped at the Centre for periods varying from one day to 3 months.

The scheme leader encourages communal activities such as the residents' association, a cookery group, woodwork workshops, a film group, a group for adolescent girls

and a bulk-buy club. A coffee morning is held each week to which local social workers are also invited, and also a weekly lunch. The leader has found much of his time occupied with welfare rights advice and there are group discussions of particular problems with leaflets on display.

The Clubhouse is used by about 15 to 20 people daily and about 80 adults and 70 children have used it regularly since its inception. Many more would probably attend but for the small size of the premises. As the project has developed the users have participated more and more actively. For example, a group of mothers now runs the weekly lunch entirely by themselves, and it is hoped that mothers will take over responsibility for the girls' group. The workshop has enabled some of the men to produce woodwork items for the Clubhouse, such as a coffee table and shelving. The film group were actively engaged in making a film about unemployment during 1977.

The concensus among local social workers and referring agencies is that the Clubhouse is of great value to the families, avoiding potential breakdown and lessening social isolation. The project leader himself spends a great deal of time on individual counselling but the main benefit has come from the mutual support and solidarity of the group itself.

General

The diversity of separate schemes within the project will provide a rich variety of experience to report upon at the end of 5 years. At the same time it presents a challenge. Can these schemes draw mutual benefit from membership of a common programme? Can profitable comparisons be drawn from such diverse enterprises? The project has most of the problems of the European Programme in microcosm and it is of special interest to the Commission to see how the seven Family Day Centre schemes draw together to tackle these problems (and exploit these opportunities) in conjunction with the ICS.

AREA RESOURCE CENTRES - SOUTH WALES, GLASGOW AND LONDON

Area Resource Centres are a particular technique of community action. The basic idea is to support the activity of small, informal neighbourhood groups by having available in the district, conurbation or region a centre to which they can turn for advice, encouragement, professional services, use of specialised equipment and perhaps some limited financial aid. An informal group which operates from its members' own homes may indeed find it difficult to duplicate a circular announcing a public meeting - the existence of a centre which can simply provide paper and duplicating facilities may make the difference between effectiveness and impotence, survival and collapse.

The traditional community action approach with a small team working intensively over a long period in one district or neighbourhood is expensive in skilled manpower and thus difficult to generalise over a region or a major conurbation, let alone a nation. The area resource centre has a wider reach while yet serving to foster the local grass-roots group activities which are the essence of community action. Not that the resource centre team is confined to a passive role, setting itself up and awaiting customers; it must seek out its potential customers, build up trust and understanding and indeed create a demand for its services in encouraging the formation of new local groups where need and opportunity arises.

The idea for an experimental programme of area resource centres was first developed by the Gulbenkian Foundation. The British government, via the Voluntary Services Unit of the Home Office currently supports six experimental centres. Three of these representing three very different approaches to the basic concept are funded 50% by the European Commission; in South Wales, Glasgow and London. The British government and the Commission also jointly finance the monitoring committee and its action team which co-ordinate and monitor all six projects. In this way the European Commission has access to the experience of the three projects it does not fund in addition to those in its own programme. This gives an extra dimension for comparison, including perhaps some indication of the value of being in the European programme (although of course by supporting the monitoring committee the Commission indirectly supports all the projects).

The Joint Monitoring Steering Committee

The Committee is composed largely of representatives from six centres with a chairman provided by the Gulbenkian Foundation. It was formed in July 1976 and now employs a part-time Research Director (Dr. Ray Lees) and a full-time Research Fellow based at the Polytechnic of Central London. The main task of the committee is to evaluate the programme for which it must develop an appropriate methodology and at the same time shape the project activities so that they are susceptible to evaluation.

The Committee also undertakes research on selected issues. A paper has already been written on the use made by the centres of the government's Job Creation Programme together with recommendations on how it could be improved. This has been circulated to central government departments and local authority associations. In fact the Committee is showing signs of becoming a Resource Centre for Resource Centres with its own research and library services at the disposal of project leaders. There may indeed be a useful role for such a body.

South Wales Anti-Poverty Action Centre Ltd.

This was the first Area Resource Centre supported by the Commission to start work. It serves the whole of the "Valleys" area and coastal strip of South Wales from Swansea to Newport and has recently been involved in work in other parts of Wales. It is therefore very much a regional centre serving three major cities and numerous small towns and villages scattered over a wide zone with difficult communications.

The Centre employs 7 workers operating from a converted chapel in Merthyr Tydfil. It is managed by a committee of representatives of local groups.

Since the beginning of 1976 the centre has been in contact with about 50 local groups and provided a very wide range of services. In the employment field it has helped several groups formulate applications to the government under the Job Creation Programme (temporary employment on socially useful works

sponsored by non-profit bodies). Most of these projects have involved using unemployed young people in renovating buildings for community use, so creating the physical infra-structure for further group activities. The centre also organised a conference on JCP and forwarded recommendations to the government on possible changes in the scheme. The centre has sponsored the creation of two producers co-operatives following factory closures in the region but it has found that this requires more time and specialist skills than it can readily make available. A federation of eight Welsh community-based employment ventures has now been established which may be able to handle this type of promotion in the future.

In the Rhondda valley the centre has sponsored an integrated scheme for employment promotion using government aid programmes as an alternative to supporting separate unrelated projects. This venture, "Rhondda Enterprise", plans to establish workshops for young people in which the young unemployed will be able to participate in planning the type of training and employment opportunities to be provided.

In the housing field the centre sponsored the establishment of the Merthyr Tydfil Housing Association. In quoting from the centre's annual report one may get some idea of its role in promoting groups such as this.

"SWAPAC's assistance to the Association has involved stimulating interest in the locality in the idea of housing associations, recruiting activists, establishing links with expert help like architects and with the Housing Corporation and generally supporting the embryo association till it got on its feet".

SWAPAC has also been active with Tenants' groups and residents groups in housing clearance areas.

The centre has promoted a number of community care schemes for the elderly and disabled. In particular it has attempted to draw recreational groups into social service activities, for instance encouraging groups that have obtained funds for the renovation of community buildings to go on to provide free house repair services for the elderly or to make their buildings available for pre-school groups.

Another major area of work is legal services. Two Welfare Rights Groups were set up and operated from September 1976 to August 1977 using JCP support.

A grant from the Nuffield Foundation has been used to employ two workers on a Tribunal Access Unit, who recruit and train volunteer advocates to assist claimants for welfare benefits at appeal tribunals. A grant from the Nuffield Foundation and the Welsh Consumer Council is being used to research into unmet legal need.

Research is a major aspect of the centre's work. The "Valley City Project" currently being carried out is an attempt to re-group census data so that the area can more easily be compared with traditional inner city metropolitan areas. A political economist has recently been employed to co-ordinate research into the economic base and social characteristics of the area.

The size of the region precludes close involvement with particular neighbourhood groups obliging the centre to search out an appropriate regional role, for instance in encouraging regional federations of self-help groups, sponsoring regional conferences and contributing to regional magazines. It is trying to forge links between voluntary bodies and organised labour to bring the problems of the region more forcibly to the government's attention. Most of the research and information activity is also on a regional basis, including the collective evaluation of experimental projects.

Govan Area Resource Centre

GARC operates on a very different geographical scale to SWAPAC. It serves a community of only 30,000 on the edge of Glasgow, Scotland, among the shipyards which once built famous transatlantic liners. It took a long time and much negotiation with local and national authorities before the project could get into operation and the first staff only set themselves up in an old Victorian primary school in August 1977.

A management committee was elected at the end of 1977 composed of representatives of local groups. 35 local organisations were represented at the centre's General Meeting in 1978.

Almost from the inception the Management Committee realised the important role that the centre could play in the field of employment. The committee, in association with two other areas, sponsored the Local Enterprise Advisory Project which was successful in obtaining Urban Aid funding to employ an Industrial Advisor.

Despite the absence of important data, a report on unemployment in Govan was published emphasising the much higher rate of unemployment (15%) than in Glasgow as a whole (9.7%). It concludes that the area will continue to suffer unless increasing resources are channelled into creating employment and improving the infrastructure.

The work of the Centre during 1978 can be summarised under the following headings:-

1) Information Services: There has been a constant flow of enquiries from residents of Govan and from groups in Glasgow and elsewhere on a variety of subjects.

Material from the library, personal contacts of full time workers and the skills of local activists are all mobilised to answer them. The library has been specially catalogued for the use of self-help groups.

2) Community Work Support: The centre has supported many existing organisations and helped to develop new ones such as a bulk buying co-operative and a toy-library. The centre had also set up a community newspaper which is now under its own management.

3) Adult Education: It is felt that adult education is a community service whose potential is greatly under-exploited. The programme initiated by the Centre has two objectives: 1) to provide an opportunity for learning and to identify issues of concern to people in the area; 2) to make adult education agencies aware of the need for relevant programmes in areas like Govan.

4) Employment: The Employment Study Group set up in November 1977 has published a report on unemployment, referred to above. The Group urged the community to take an active part in promoting and creating employment and suggested that it might develop service and manufacturing enterprises through workers' co-operatives. Sub-groups have been established to draw up feasibility studies and "seed corn" funding of £1,000 allocated for setting up co-operatives.

5) Training: The Centre is used regularly by universities and colleges.

Evaluation Group: This consists of representatives of the Management Committee and 3 outside academics. The group helps the Management Committee and staff on monitoring the project and also envisages helping local community groups to assess the performance and effectiveness of their projects.

London Voluntary Service Council - Community Work Service

This is the only Area Resource Centre linked with a Voluntary Service Council. In this case it is a regional council whose member organisations are the voluntary and charitable organisations which serve London as a whole and the autonomous local councils of social service in the London boroughs. These latter are themselves umbrella organisations bringing together local voluntary bodies.

The LVSC has a staff of about 40 including specialists to develop experimental projects, one of which being the Family Groups experiment in the Family Day Centres project of the European Programme. The Area Resource Centre programme finances three posts in the LVSC plus secretarial support. The team operates within the normal management structure of LVSC as part of its Community Work Service. Thus unlike the other Area Resource Centres the project does not have a separate organisational identity; it is an experiment in building a resource centre into an organisation long established in the field of co-ordinating voluntary effort.

The project has followed three main lines of development:-

- 1) Support to Fieldworkers: Faced with the thousands of community groups in London the Community Work Service seeks to reach them through an information and training service for their fieldworkers, of whom there are at least 700. The Service supplies news and information and exchanges ideas through its monthly newsletter and other material it distributes. Its training activities are funded separately by the Inner London Education Authority. This direct engagement with fieldworkers also keeps the Community Work staff up to date with developments in local areas and in touch with current community work training.
- 2) Metropolitan Groups - support and stimulation: Because so many decisions are taken at a regional level, it is an essential part of the Service's role to bring together the many groups concerned at the local level, stimulating concern, providing information and helping the process of devising strategies.
- 3) Practical assistance to Community Groups: The Service helps groups in many practical ways - e.g. access to funds, drawing up constitutions, advice on book-keeping and finding premises. In a sample period of 4 weeks up to 18 October 1978 the Service was able to record practical assistance rendered to 11 groups starting with the Prisoners Wives and Families Society (finding auditors and preparing fund raising letters) and concluding with the Campaign for Family Housing (assistance with publicity and co-ordination of activities).

The aim of the first 12 months was to become known and accepted among relevant groups throughout Greater London. Particular emphasis was directed towards the needs of minority ethnic groups. These have specific problems of discrimination and retention of cultural identity but many of the skills they

need do not differ in essence from those defined by white community groups. The main activities were advertising the resources of the Service and developing information and training in the field of community employment initiatives.

The second year saw a gradual move from services to paid workers to a greater involvement with members of community groups. The Service initiated seminars for local residents who have recently become community workers and encouraged other bodies to provide courses for their workers. A series of evening meetings was organised to facilitate exchange and discussion between those involved in campaigns for the retention of certain public services. The number of individual groups coming for help has grown and several metropolitan groups have either come into being as a result of the Service's stimulation or have been sustained by its efforts.

It is intended to run more training events of a very basic nature (e.g. book-keeping, employers' responsibilities and constitutions) within the near future. This will allow the Service to reach more groups than is possible responding to the needs of individual groups when they are in difficulty. Two current publications are "Basic Book-keeping for Community Groups" and "Issues in Public Housing" (a 7-part teaching pack).

CRAIGMILLAR FESTIVAL SOCIETY - EDINBURGH

The Craigmillar Festival Society is an indigenous community action enterprise which took root in the Craigmillar district of Edinburgh, Scotland, about 15 years ago. Its closest parallel in the European Programme is the Marolles project in Brussels.

Craigmillar is a large council housing estate built in the 1920s on the eastern edge of Edinburgh, somewhat isolated from the rest of the city behind a granite peak named Arthur's Seat. In the past there was considerable local employment in mining and brewing but most of this has now disappeared leaving a community with a high level of unemployment and a complex of other social problems.

The CFS approach is based on the theory that a community must first have a positive self image if it is to tackle its own problems and not lie at the mercy of the actions or neglect of outside forces. Once the positive self image has been developed the community can progress in confidence and expertise from one project to the next, drawing in an ever widening circle of participants until it reaches the stage where the mass of the inhabitants can participate in actively planning their future in conjunction with the relevant outside authorities. This ultimate goal is termed "shared or liaison government" in the parlance of the project leaders; it is one articulation of the concept of participatory democracy which inspires most if not all the projects in the European Programme.

One of the distinctive features of CFS as its name implies is that it grew up around a cultural event and cultural and artistic activities continue to play an prominent part in the overall scheme. As the world knows Edinburgh is the home of an annual international cultural festival; the citizens of Craigmillar also have their festival even though they are at some distance both geographically and socially from the clientele of the downtown theatres.

The Festival is the "vehicle that draws out the talent in the area and feeds it into the various activities of the CFS" (CFS report to the Commission, 1977). There are a multiplicity of events in the Festival, one of the most important of which is the community musical largely written by local people on a theme important to the area.

To accommodate the growing number of events the duration of the Festival was extended to two weeks in 1978 with most of the clubs and schools in the district contributing their own festival celebrations.

On a year-round basis there is the Community Arts Team (CAT) which employs young people under the Job Creation Scheme on various artistic projects such as both outdoor and indoor murals. Their first undertaking was the conversion of a disused church into an Arts Centre which has become a permanent home for the Festival. The Centre also accommodates dance classes, art and crafts with children, silk screen printing, music sessions, photography clubs and a youth theatre.

Cultural activities help build the positive self image from which the other community activities spring. These can be classified under the headings Employment, Housing, Social Welfare, Planning and Education.

In the employment field CFS has used the Job Creation Scheme to sponsor six projects creating 71 jobs, mainly renovating buildings for community use but also carrying out house repairs for the elderly and disabled. On the basis of the experience gained CFS has now set up Craigmillar Festival Enterprises Ltd. for which it has acquired a disused service station to develop as business premises. This will initially work in the building and maintenance field, but there are plans to branch out into manufacturing. The third aim of CFS employment policy is attracting jobs to Craigmillar which involves submitting evidence to government committees and preparing a brochure setting out the results of a survey of job skills in the area.

In education the CFS sponsors a wide range of after-school and holiday activities including residential holidays at the

CFS country cottage for groups and small classes for children under stress, these are run by neighbourhood workers. A special Education Unit operated for a year with Job Creation funds handling 11 children truanting or excluded from local schools, and two pre-school playgroups started 9 years ago. In April 1978 a neighbourhood worker was appointed to work with "children under stress" in 3 local schools. A major aim is to make the people of Craigmillar more aware and informed about their education system and open up a continuing debate between parents and teachers and all those concerned in education, employers, politicians, administrators and pupils. A series of six local education debates was organised in 1977 and it is planned to establish a regular programme of quarterly public education forums.

The centre of CFS social welfare activity is the Information Office which deals with about 300 enquiries a month and whose expanding business has recently caused it to move into larger premises. Most of the work is "pre-crisis" casework, budgeting threatened evictions, cut-offs of electricity, etc. A full-time neighbourhood worker deals with housing and financial matters supported by volunteer part-time colleagues..

Work with the elderly centres around the Day Club and six Lunch Clubs. The acquisition of a bus has enabled CFS to bring the housebound into these activities and the bus is available to other groups whom CFS is encouraging to start up similar clubs.

At the end of 1978 preparations were going forward to set up a small hostel for young people who might otherwise be "sleeping rough" and a counselling project for adolescent girls.

The CFS housing activity is directed mainly at stimulating public participation in housing and planning issues, for instance by using a double decker bus as a mobile exhibition. It also has an active liaison with a local housing association and has promoted environmental improvements which are being carried out by the local authority.

By November 1978 CFS had reached the stage where it could present its Comprehensive Plan for Action, whose preparation had been one of the objectives in seeking Community support. This is to be the basis for a future of "shared government". The plan was unveiled at a press conference at Craigmillar at which the European Commission was represented. The lavishly illustrated document was written, produced and printed at the Society's newly established community press.

As is evident from the above summary CFS, like the Comité d'Action des Marolles, was in existence long before the European Anti-Poverty Programme. The City of Edinburgh was an early sponsor and the Lothian Regional Council, which has since taken over the City's responsibilities in this field, continues to finance the Society's "core" activities, including the project organisers' salaries. The central government and European funds are used to enlarge the scope of the Society's activity along with lesser contributions from a wide variety of other sources.

In 1977 there was a move in the Regional Council to cut off the CFS grant. In the course of a successful campaign to mobilise popular opinion to reverse this move, CFS attracted considerable publicity throughout Scotland including half an hour on BBC television.

The President of the European Commission had the opportunity to meet Mrs. Crummy, the project leader, on his visit to Edinburgh in March 1978. 44 local people, including 20 teenagers also had the opportunity to visit the Netherlands and Belgium on a drama tour which included a performance in Brussels as guests of the Marolles project.

10% of the CFS work is now concerned with the diffusion process - working with other Community groups throughout Scotland and England.

SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME, EDINBURGH

This is an experiment in integrating community development concepts and techniques into the normal structure of local government. The initial planning for the project was undertaken in 1974 by the City of Edinburgh Corporation but the following year the local government structure for Scotland was reorganised and the project is now a joint responsibility between the regional and district authorities which have inherited the City's former functions, i.e. the Lothian Regional Council and Edinburgh District Council.

The traditional method of operation for local government has been through functional departments (education, housing, etc.) rather than through services directed to particular neighbourhoods. The idea of this project is to establish in each of four pilot areas a local government official with specific responsibility for that area. His task is to bring together representatives of the various local authority departments serving the area and establish a dialogue between them and the people for the resolution of local problems. He thus applies the techniques of corporate management vis-a-vis the authority and community action vis-à-vis the local residents.

The four area co-ordinators who are employed by the regional authority (one is in practice known as the Area Researcher for reasons particular to his district) are supported by a team of three drawn from the central planning unit of the district authority's town planning department. The proposal to have a full-time director was dropped when the project became a joint Regional-District responsibility and instead there is a programme advisory group consisting of a senior official from each authority.

The principal objectives of the project are :

- to define areas of multiple deprivation in the city, analysing the problems and developing and implementing inter-departmental policies to eliminate them.
- to build a comprehensive picture of problem areas in order to determine priorities in local government policies.
- to make local government more effective and accessible in the localities.
- to assist local people in planning and taking action to meet their own needs with the help of outside resources.
- to help local communities adapt to social, economic and physical change.

The rest of this section outlines the work of the project in the four pilot areas.

Georgie/Dalry

This is an older part of the city which had once been a thriving industrial and residential area but is now in decline. There has been a marked deterioration in housing conditions.

The project worker has concentrated on the one side on the development of community groups around local issues such as house modernisation, children's play facilities and housing and environmental problems and on the other side on the formation of an area service team of local government officials with responsibilities in the area.

This is a difficult area in which to work owing to the transient nature of the population who have little experience in working together as a community. The local government officials have also found difficulty in transcending their departmental responsibilities to discuss their corporate responsibility to combat poverty in the area.

Leith

This is the port district of Edinburgh with similar problems to Georgie/Dalry. Early in the life of the project there was an influx of community orientated workers into the area under the government's job creation scheme. The area co-ordinator saw his task as bringing together fieldworkers from the statutory and voluntary services in the locality to clarify their areas of work and to avoid duplication of effort in exploiting these new resources. The work has now reached the stage where the group can consider setting up inter-service teams to develop particular activities.

The SCDP worker will be actively involved in the conversion and management of the derelict railway station for community use and in developing a multi-purpose arts centre. This latter will be a joint venture with several local groups.

Pilton

Pilton is a municipally-owned housing estate. Its problems are poor housing and isolation from centres of employment and lack of social

amenities. The area has a history of "one-off" projects which seem to have had little lasting impact save to make the local people wary of further initiatives.

After discussion with local residents it was decided to appoint an Area Researcher rather than an Area Co-ordinator. His role is to be to inject experience with community groups in Pilton into the centre of local government activity, concentrating on an examination and evaluation of services for Pilton. Community groups are invited to assist in drawing up plans for environmental and recreational projects.

Wester Hailes

Wester Hailes is a new municipal housing estate. The housing standards are good but the location is unpopular with the residents and there are few local amenities or work opportunities. The project here has concentrated on encouraging the formation of local groups to work together on local issues. Its major achievement has been the preparation of "Wester Hailes Speaks for Itself", a comprehensive assessment by residents of the needs of the area in all aspects of community life.

TRIBUNAL REPRESENTATION UNIT - WOLVERHAMPTON

This project is staffed by employees of the National Association of Citizens' Advice Bureau (NACAB), the body which co-ordinates and services the 700 Citizens' Advice Bureaux throughout the United Kingdom. The individual bureaux are essentially independent with their own management committees and are usually funded by local authority grants. They are for the most part staffed by voluntary workers. The central structure is financed primarily through central government although it remains independent of it.

Applicants for social insurance or assistance benefits often need advice and representation in presenting their claims and this is further needed if the occasion arises to appeal to a tribunal. Consequently the Unit was brought into being to test out a national lay advocacy service at Supplementary Benefit and National Insurance Appeal Tribunals, operating through the CAB network. The unit is based at Wolverhampton and works with 9 CABx in the West Midlands, giving training and support services to bureau staff to undertake representation work.

The overall long term objective is to assess whether the CABx movement can provide a comprehensive lay advocacy service in this field. The short-term objectives are:

- a) to make a lay advocacy service available to the public in the project area.
- b) to encourage awareness amongst the public of the advocacy service.

The medium term objectives are:

- a) to demonstrate the need (or lack of need) for a system of lay assistance in the field of income maintenance.
- b) to point to possible improvements in the present income maintenance system from the point of view of the claimant.
- c) to assess the training and related resources needed for CABx to provide a national scheme of lay advocacy.
- d) to assess the degree of mutual co-operation and assistance needed between the CABx and existing statutory and voluntary agencies to make the service effective.

Progress to date:

The project work proper started in August 1976 and the first major task was to establish in each bureau within the area a group of potential lay advocates. Training has been divided into "generalist" and "specialist" courses. "Specialist" courses have largely taken the form of seminars, either on aspects of appeals work or ways of improving and practising advocacy techniques. "Generalist" courses have been designed to supplement the existing basic training for workers in Welfare Rights.

The Tribunal Representation Unit itself was launched at the end of February 1977 with a press campaign in the area. Besides developing training courses the

Unit has primarily acted as a support resource to bureaux. The staff have acted as a "second tier" of advice to clients with Social Security problems as more and more bureau workers became involved in representing claimants for the first time. Project staff have found that a large amount of on-the-ground help was needed for some workers, from very straightforward advice to joint representation at tribunals.

The project staff have been involved in supplementing the information bank of the National Association which was found insufficient for the work. Continuous evaluation and assessment of the project's work is seen as an important dimension of the staff's role. Information on the numbers of appeals and on representation is collected regularly. An attempt to monitor the types of enquiry which come to the CAB was only partially successful.

The Unit produces a newsletter with accounts of tribunal proceedings as well as guideline papers for internal use.

The interim report of the Unit (October 1977) stated that "a tribunal representation service cannot flourish without a strong welfare rights perspective." The work of the project since the publication of that report has been focussed on the development of welfare rights work generally both within the project area and with other agencies regionally and nationally.

Since the Interim Report an additional Welfare Rights Worker has been appointed. The Unit Co-ordinator and the Welfare Rights Worker deal with training, support to bureaux and some casework while the Researcher monitors the project's development and undertakes research exercises. There is also an Administrative Assistant and a Secretary.

A programme for recruiting new generalist volunteer workers with a special interest in Welfare Rights was undertaken during the last year. The project staff were very pleased with the number of new workers who, as a result of the programme, joined the CABx. Recruitment is considered a very important factor in fostering progressive innovations.

Over the past year project staff began to provide individual casework to claimants. The staff have ambivalent feelings about this. On the one hand their prime concern is the needs of claimants. The desire to be actively involved in their struggles, rather than participating "second hand" has led them to expand this area of work, even though the personnel available on the "action" side of the project is limited. On the other hand, the fundamental philosophy of the project is to stimulate others to become more actively involved with claimants. This is reinforced by the desire to dispel the myth prevalent within CABx, that welfare rights and tribunal work is a specialisation for "experts" to whom cases are referred. The danger of the

project developing individual casework to any greater extent is that the myth will be perpetuated and the significant role that CABx volunteers themselves can play will be lost. Given this ambivalence, the project staff have been very concerned over the year to keep a "fair" balance between casework and support work.

Two research surveys were completed during 1978. The first was of CAB volunteers which fulfilled two functions: it illuminated the background of the volunteers and it enabled the project to discover their views about tribunal representation by volunteers and about innovations in the CAB service generally. The second was a survey of solicitors in the project area. An earlier research study (Welfare Advice and Advocacy, NACAB Occasional Paper 1) looked at existing sources of advice in the area at the beginning of the project. The survey of solicitors complemented this study by examining the activity and attitudes of solicitors regarding tribunal work and welfare benefits advice. The results of both surveys will be published later.

A research study on the project's first three years of work will be published in 1979. Representations have also been made by the Tribunal Representation Unit to the National Insurance Advisory Committee on the operation of the Housewives Non-Contributory Invalidity Pension.

NORTHERN IRELAND - VOLUNTARY ORGANISATIONS, AREAS OF SPECIAL SOCIAL NEED
AND WELFARE RIGHTS

Although there is officially only one project in Northern Ireland it has always had two very distinct components.

The first component is based at the New University of Ulster at Coleraine where Prof. GRIFFITHS of the Social Administration Department has been conducting a study of voluntary social service organisations in the province. At the same time in Belfast a study has been in progress with a team from the Central Economic Service to develop indicators of social need for the different neighbourhoods of the city. Both these studies have now been completed. Professor Griffiths' work, entitled "Yesterday's Heritage or Tomorrow's Resource", is available from the New University of Ulster while the Belfast study was published by HMSO in March 1977 under the simple description "Belfast - Areas of ^{Special} Social Need". Both studies were funded jointly by the European Commission and the Northern Ireland Office. Follow-up projects for both were approved in March 1978.

Voluntary Organisations

An early result of Prof. Griffiths' work was the compilation of the first directory of voluntary social service organisations in Northern Ireland. This listed over 700 organisations of which the research team studied 70 in depth including personal interviews with their senior officers. These 70 alone mobilised 160,000 volunteers and spent over £2 million a year, mostly raised by private subscriptions. This is a scale of voluntary effort well above the average for the UK, considering that Northern Ireland has a population of only about 1.6 million.

In classifying and analysing these organisations the researchers concluded that the smaller ones were more dynamic and adaptable (including the ultimate adaptability of going out of business when they had served their purpose) and offered greater possibilities for creative innovation. In his concluding chapter Prof. Griffiths urges government to put their emphasis on stimulating individuals to take action and less on simply trying to co-ordinate the activities of bodies already in existence - in other words to develop a resource centre strategy.

Northern Ireland is clearly a small area with a distinctive cultural mix at the extreme N.W. corner of Europe. It is easy to reject social research based on the province as having no validity outside its unique situation. The Commission indicated a willingness to carry out a parallel study in selected regions elsewhere in the European Community.

Areas of Special Social Need

This study is an exercise in urban geography. Indeed the project leader was a geographer and the greater part of the information in the report is presented in map form. If geography can be defined as the spatial aspects of human behaviour, poverty has its spatial aspects which are important topics for geographical research.

The objective was to quantify social need and plot its distribution throughout the Greater Belfast region. 39 social indicators were developed covering employment, housing, education, health and demography and a figure was calculated for each 200 metre square in the city. Some types of disadvantage had a very high level of association with others, giving rise to 5 major clusters of social disadvantage and 3 minor clusters with less strong linkages. Some of these clusters have strong territorial concentrations; others are distributed more evenly throughout the city. In general social need in Belfast is dominated by two sets of factors, one a complex of high levels of unemployment and low income in relation to family size and the other of poor housing and a deficient physical environment. Both of these clusters are strongly localised but not coincident although there is some overlap. The basic data for this research derives mainly from the 1971 Census amplified by data on the administration's files arising out of the routine operation of government. Belfast is fortunate in having such detailed statistics but similar data should be available in most large European cities (the Belfast work followed from earlier work in Liverpool). Although mainly a paper exercise the information was checked by doorstep interviews with a 1 in 10 sample of households in the Falls and Shankill districts. This was also an opportunity to record the perceptions and attitudes of the population in these two highly disadvantaged neighbourhoods.

Besides its methodological importance this research had an immediate practical value, being the prelude to a multi-million pound grant to the city from the

central government. The city's new poverty maps can be used to direct these resources more accurately than in the past, the researchers having noted that existing provision bears little relation to the pattern of need.

Another fact noted by the researchers was the low level of take-up in some districts for statutory benefits such as supplementary benefit (i.e. social assistance). This prompted the development of a follow-up study in Belfast in the welfare rights field which was approved by the Commission in March 1978.

Welfare Rights

The Belfast Welfare Rights Project operates in four areas of the city; Turf Lodge, Tullycarnett, New Lodge and Ballymacarrett. It is concerned with assisting people in these areas to claim all the benefits to which they are entitled, collecting evidence on the causes of non take-up and more broadly, documenting the problems of households who find it difficult to make ends meet and the impact of government policies on them.

Four workers were in post by 1st May 1978 and a fifth started one month later. Throughout May and June, alongside their involvement in a comprehensive training programme, the workers started up advice centres. The advice centres are located in premises made available by local community groups and are now an integral and much valued part of the overall work of the groups. The centres also provide the project workers with a sound base in the community and in each area the workers have recruited back-up teams of local people and "Young Help" workers (unemployed young people on a government work experience programme).

In this first stage also, a questionnaire has been designed for the house to house work which is to provide the team with systematic evidence on the extent and causes of non take-up of benefits. In addition the workers have been involved in a number of other activities to promote awareness of benefits and identify the problems people are having in getting them. Talks were given to local groups and leaflets on specific benefits were distributed in some of the areas.

This work besides being of value in itself has enabled the workers to try out different approaches to the problems with which the project is concerned. It was decided in July 1978 that in each area three strategies would operate simultaneously during the following years :

- 1) The workers would devote the largest part of their time to house to house work interviewing representative samples of the population in their areas.
- 2) Each month a different benefit would be selected and the project areas would be saturated with specially designed leaflets encouraging people to claim this benefit if they were entitled to it.
- 3) The advice centres would continue to operate.

Each of the four project areas is twinned with a control area so that the volume of claims and payments made in these areas can be compared systematically with the experience of the project areas.

By January 1979 these strategies had been carried into effect with a significant measure of success. Over 500 interviews had been completed (the anticipated total is 1,500) with a very low refusal rate. Of 320 checked interviews the project team report 252 cases where help and advice was needed to claim benefits. Meanwhile the four advice centres have handled about 1,300 inquiries. The leaflet campaigns seem, however, to have had much less impact.

Once involved in the area the project workers are often drawn into community activities well beyond their original brief and have made important contributions in the fields of education, housing and planning.

A DEVELOPING PROGRAMME

Over the first two years of its life the urgent problems for the programme were birth and survival. The programme was conceived as part of the Social Action Programme running in a first phase from 1975 to 1976. Within this time limit the Commission had to move from a 3 line policy statement in the Guidelines for a Social Action Programme to a fully fledged set of projects which could prove their viability and convince the Council of Ministers that they were worth financing throughout a full five year term. The Commission had to get into business quickly in a new field, translating the political will of the Community into rapid and effective practical activity.

The value of the constituent projects is now recognised. With its prolongation and extension by the Council decision of December 1977 the programme has entered a new phase. The Commission's foremost concerns now must be to weld together a coherent programme that is much more than a set of separate projects with a certain element of common funding, to ensure that the practical experience is carefully recorded and evaluated, to see that the lessons learnt are shared between Member States and that they are used where appropriate in the development of future policy at the European level.

In carrying through the modest expansion of the programme foreseen in the 1977 Decision, the emphasis has been on securing a better geographical balance - for instance the programme has been reinforced at the extremities with a new project in the Mezzogiorno and a stronger effort in Ulster - and in enlarging the cross-national element, particularly with regard to studies which may be relevant to future Community policies.

Just as important is the tightening of links between existing projects. Although the Commission has no funds for the "animation" of the programme there has been a healthy growth of contacts between projects outside the meetings in Brussels. The 4 German projects have built up a system of regular liaison and they have developed close contacts with the Irish Combat Poverty programme. A group of workers from the Padua project was successful in gaining a UN grant to visit the projects in Dublin and Edinburgh while the Craigmillar project sent 26 adults and children to tour the Benelux, including a visit to the Marolles project. The Community has a duty to encourage such exchanges, creating fresh precedents of intra-Community co-operation in the process.

The employment of the specialised evaluation unit ESPOIR must itself stimulate contacts between projects and increase the resources available to each project from membership of the programme. ESPOIR will be at one level a consultancy service for project leaders helping them with their individual evaluation exercises and at the same time it will be looking towards the future when the Commission has discontinued funding the present schemes and must pass a judgement on the value of the whole operation.

The Commission is very much aware that at the end of the day there must be a stock-taking, which will be no simple affair given the diversity of projects and the unquantifiable nature of many of their objectives. However, by drawing together the thinking on evaluation which has already gone on in the projects this very diversity may be turned to an advantage in stimulating new approaches and insights.

But the appraisal of each project and even of the programme as a whole is not enough. Parallel with its evaluation work the Commission is funding research into the nature of the poverty problem in each country and the policies in action to combat it. Only against this background can it make full sense of the programme evaluation and develop appropriate Community level policies - for instance in setting tangible and realistic targets for the reduction and elimination of poverty.

This programme is more than an interesting exercise in technical co-operation. Its greatest potential value is in sensitising European opinion to the problem of poverty and preparing the way for more far reaching Community level policies. In evaluating the programme the Commission bears in mind that judged by the strict standards of developing, quantifying and testing an hypothesis the voyage of Christopher Columbus was a failure. Although he never accepted the verdict his pilot project failed to support his carefully researched and documented theory that one can reach Japan by sailing a few hundred kilometres due west from the Canary Islands - but that is certainly no true measure of the significance of his achievement. The European anti-poverty programme is likewise an adventure whose full consequences may not be known until well beyond 1981. Meanwhile the spirit of the programme is perhaps best summarised by one of the Craignillar residents on her return from the visit to Holland and Belgium :

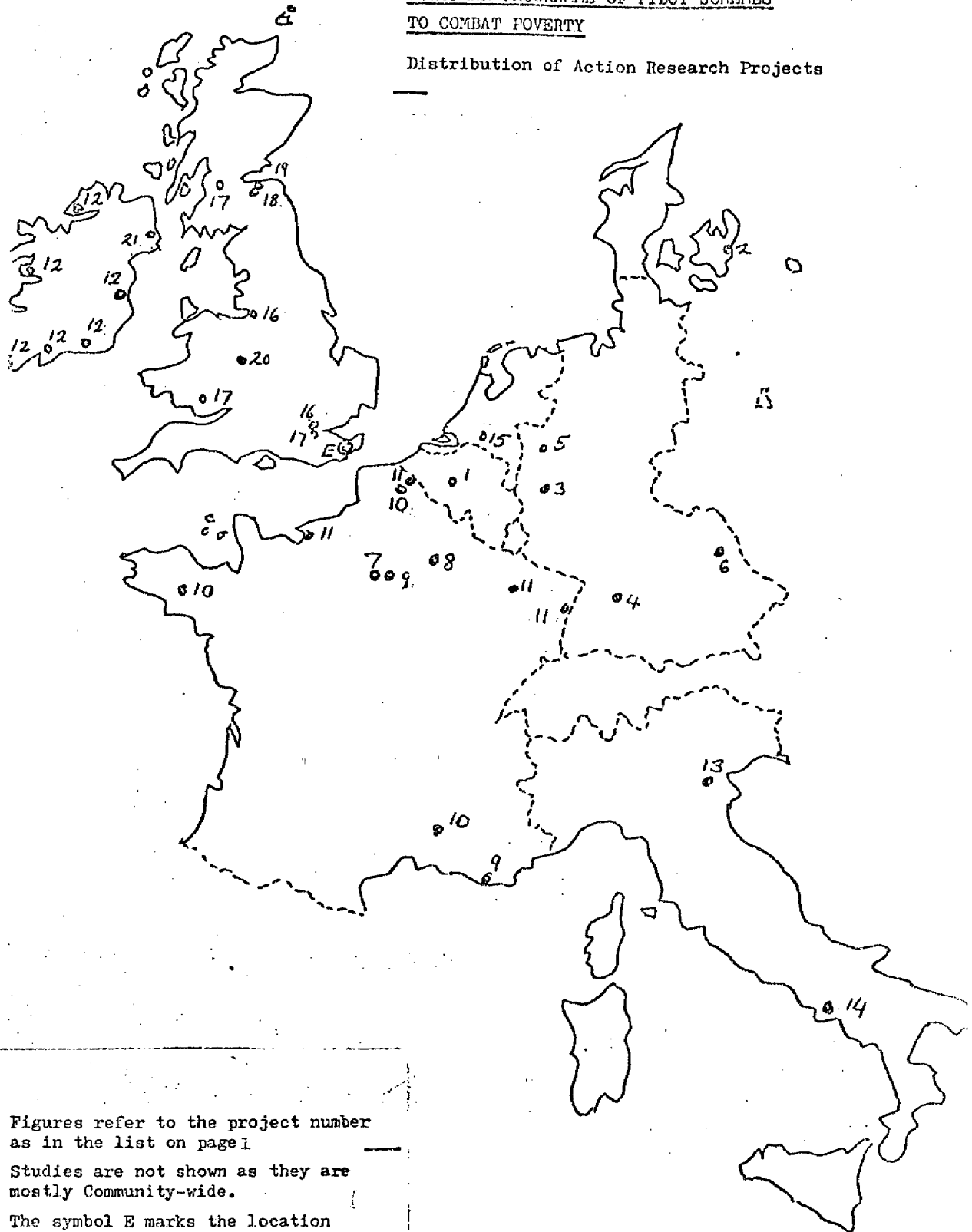
"Through the media of community arts we shared with the people of another culture and language not only our joy and laughter but our mutual hopes and fears But we also shared with our new found friends hope for

the future - hope that through the EEC Anti-Poverty Programme with its commitment from nine member countries, that ordinary people will get together and work towards solving the problems of poverty - poverty being not only lack of income, but lack of opportunities and that together we will work towards making life fuller and more meaningful for all in a Europe where everyone will share and care."

"Craigmillar Comprehensive Plan for Action" 1978

EUROPEAN PROGRAMME OF PILOT SCHEMES
TO COMBAT POVERTY

Distribution of Action Research Projects



Figures refer to the project number as in the list on page 1

Studies are not shown as they are mostly Community-wide.

The symbol E marks the location of the ESPOIR research unit.

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