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inequality with and for Future generaTions

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Summary

- In accordance with the Methodological Guidance and Work Plan for WP2 of the UPLIFT project, this report examines the scales and dimensions of inequality affecting the young population in the functional urban area (FUA) of Amadora, in Portugal. National and local dynamics are analysed to find how the drivers of socio-economic inequality operate in this context mediated by policy interventions, including an overview of how policy-makers and stakeholders conceptualize and respond to the challenges.
- After describing the FUA, we present the main trends and policies in four thematic areas – education, employment, housing and social protection –, distinguishing between national and local developments. The analysis covers the economic and financial crisis that erupted in 2008, the subsequent post-crisis years of recovery and the Covid-19 pandemic.
- The financial and economic crisis fell disproportionately on young persons and aggravated their disadvantage, especially in the areas of employment and housing. Even in the recovery years after 2015, young persons in Amadora did not see their situation improve as much as that of the overall population.
- Educational policies contributed to reduce social inequalities, mainly through the promotion of educational attainment and the provision of additional resources to schools in the most vulnerable contexts; less has been made to tackle segregation between schools. The great difficulties of young persons in employment are especially manifest in the indicators of unemployment and precarious work. The rise of housing costs and gentrification make it extremely hard for young persons to live independently from their parents. Housing policies to reduce social inequalities exist, but their implementation has been too slow, with gaps and bureaucratic obstacles, and clearly insufficient for the number of low-income young persons in Amadora. Concerning social protection, benefits are accessible to only a limited number of persons and their amount is very small, often below basic survival costs.
- Multiple policies were implemented in the these four areas, involving various levels of governance and distinct types of organisations. State budget constraints and reliance on nongovernmental organisations (NGOs) stand out as general trends, both of which intensified under the austerity policy response to the crisis in 2011-2015. Interviewees report a lack of articulation between policy measures, as well as a limited assessment of their impacts.
- Public policy decentralisation has been followed as a strategy to optimise resources and better respond to local needs, but it often leads to a situation in which local public and private actors become responsible for solving problems without having the administrative competences, the financial resources or the technical qualifications required to meet such expectation. Some interviewees are concerned that public

policy is gradually losing the capacity to correct structural inequalities, instead becoming a set of emergency patches and remedies that cannot do more than respond to the most immediate and basic needs of the population in poverty and social exclusion.

- Young persons are paid substantial attention by the local welfare system, as shown by the specific policies, initiatives and services developed for them by the municipality and NGOs. However, they are mostly understood as beneficiaries or targets of these measures, with no substantial attempt at involving them as co-designers or decision-makers.
- The National Programme to Promote Educational Attainment, created in 2016, is identified as an innovative policy that grants autonomy and adequate resources to schools and their local partners, bridging the gap between different levels of governance. Despite the recent implementation of the programme, good results are already visible in some schools.

Introduction

This report examines the scales and dimensions of inequality affecting the young population in the functional urban area (FUA) of Amadora, in Portugal. Our purpose is to understand how the drivers of socio-economic inequality operate in this local context, as well as the role of policy interventions in aggravating or reducing the impacts of inequality on the urban youth. Therefore, particular attention is paid to the room for action of local policies and the manners in which policy-makers and stakeholders conceptualize and respond to the existing challenges. This corresponds to the meso-level analysis in the UPLIFT project, i.e. between the macro-level analysis of inequality drivers (the focus of WP1) and the micro-level analysis of individual behaviour and strategy (the focus of WP3).¹

Building on previous deliverables of the UPLIFT project, this report expands data collection and analysis by bringing in additional desk research and interviewees with eight local actors.

The desk research was carried out between July and December 2020, with the aim of collecting and organising the relevant literature produced at the national, regional and local levels on the four thematic areas of analysis: education, employment, housing and social protection. Special attention was given to studies that scrutinise the patterns and structures of inequality affecting youngsters in Amadora and policies influencing urban inequality since 2008. Sources included publications from official bodies, reports of independent studies and observatories, papers in academic journals, masters' and doctoral dissertations, among others.

The interviews were conducted between November 2020 and May 2021. The persons to be interviewed were selected for their relevant knowledge and experience in the FUA, ensuring a combination of views from public officials and members of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) to enable a critical assessment of social developments and policy impacts.

Scheduling the interviews took longer than expected due to the Covid-19 pandemic and the resulting public health measures in Portugal, which included partial or full lockdowns during this period of research. Most of the interviewees struggled with personal and professional constraints and uncertainties, requiring us to reschedule several interviews. However, it is important to highlight the interest and willingness of most persons contacted, especially

¹ The specific guidelines for the reports on the sixteen FUAs under study in the UPLIFT project can be found in the WP2 Methodological Guidance and Work Plan. As established in that document, this report draws on results from four tasks of the project: Task 1.3 - National policies and economic drivers for inequality, Task 2.1 - Statistical analysis of inequality at the local level, Task 2.2 - Analysis of the main socio-economic processes and local policies influencing inequality during and after the financial crisis and the subsequent recovery, and Task 2.3 - Innovative post-crisis policies.

those who agreed to participate as they were recovering from Covid-19 themselves, caring for close relatives infected, or overloaded with work and family duties.²

The report begins with a generic description of the FUA, highlighting key local characteristics and how they compare with the country as a whole. This is followed by a presentation of the main trends and policies at the national and local levels, based on the analysis of literature, statistics and interviews. Afterwards, the case of an innovative policy is examined in greater detail. Finally, we summarise and discuss the main findings, emphasising their contribution to understand the FUA of Amadora and to fulfill the broader goals of the UPLIFT project.

² Four of the interviewees are workers from public services, while the other four are members of NGOs. All of them perform functions at the local level. Six of them are women, which is broadly consonant with the over-representation of women working in the areas under study. One interviewee preferred to answer the questions in written. The other seven were interviewed online to limit face-to-face interaction, as recommended by the public health authorities. The duration of the interviews was between 60 and 90 minutes. They were recorded, transcribed and analysed with the support of the qualitative data analysis software MAXQDA.

1 General description of Amadora

The concept of FUA goes beyond aspects of population size and density to consider also the functional and economic extent of cities (Dijkstra et al., 2019). Therefore, the FUA of Amadora includes the city of Amadora in itself (the “city”), as well as areas around the city that are closely linked to it from a functional point of view (the “commuting zone”).

Based on a preliminary analysis of the local dynamics, the FUA of Amadora has been defined as corresponding broadly to the municipality of Amadora. The municipality is a relevant unit concerning both public administration and official statistics.

With respect to public administration, the municipality is run by a city council.³ It comprises six smaller units of public administration, called *freguesias* (similar to parishes). The core of the FUA is located mostly across two *freguesias* (Mina de Água and Venteira), whereas the other four *freguesias* may be understood as peripheral in the FUA (Águas Livres, Alfragide, Encosta do Sol and Falagueira - Venda Nova) (see Figures 1 and 2).

While it is situated only 10 kilometers to the North-West of Lisbon⁴, the city of Amadora has a long history as a pole of attraction for people and businesses by itself. The status of both city and municipality was earned in 1979, after several decades of growth. Over the following decades, it became an area characterised mainly by housing and services, although some industrial factories remain present today.

Regarding official statistics, the municipality is a unit of analysis frequently used, as shown throughout this report. According to the latest data available, the municipality of Amadora has, in 2020, 185,517 inhabitants and a territory of 23.8 square kilometers. It is the most densely populated municipality in the country, with 7,795 persons per square kilometer (*vis-à-vis* 112 in the country as a whole). This population is quite diverse in terms of ethnicity. In 2019 there were 21,456 foreign persons living in the municipality of Amadora, i.e. 11.7% of inhabitants had a foreign nationality (much above the share of foreign population in Portugal: 5,7%), including substantial numbers of migrants from Portuguese-speaking countries in Africa – Cape Verde (6,100), Guinea-Bissau (2,506), Angola (1,391), São Tomé and Príncipe (945) and Mozambique (120) –, Brazil (4,438), Romania (793), Ukraine (611), India

³ There are 308 municipalities in Portugal, each with its own city council.

⁴ The municipality of Amadora is one of the 18 municipalities that constitute the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon. While it is a highly populated area with particular dynamics, the FUA of Amadora can also be considered as belonging to the wider FUA of Lisbon, especially given the residents of Amadora that commute to other parts of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon to work.

(714) and China (416), among other countries. Besides foreign persons, there are also considerable numbers of naturalized persons and children or grandchildren of foreigners holding Portuguese nationality.

Also in comparison with the national context, the expense rate of the municipality of Amadora in culture and sports stands below the average (5.8%, *vis-à-vis* 10.4% in the country). The crime rate in this municipality is slightly below the national average too, with 31.6 reported crimes per thousand inhabitants (*vis-à-vis* 32,6 in the country).⁵ These two indicators are relevant as they help characterise the FUA of Amadora within the national context and entail potential implications for the experience of local young persons.

As for the young population, there were 27,328 persons aged between 15 and 29 years living in the municipality of Amadora in 2020, i.e. 14,7% of the total population can be found in this age group. This share decreased over the last decade – it stood at 18.5% in 2007 –, somewhat faster than the trend of population ageing at the national level. In the total of population in Portugal, the share of this age group decreased from 18,4% in 2007 to 16% in 2020.⁶ The greater decrease in Amadora may be related with various reasons, including young persons moving abroad, the establishment of lower income residents coming from Lisbon, and the difficulties of work-life balance discouraging parenthood. While a detailed examination of demographic trends falls beyond the scope of our study, this observation should be paid more attention by researchers and policy-makers.

The FUA of Amadora is quite heterogeneous with regard to economic resources and quality of life. Especially between the 1970s and the 2000s, a significant part of the population – longtime residents as well as persons arriving from other regions of Portugal or from other countries – lived in self-constructed dwellings. Social housing has been built both as a means to accommodate persons in situation of extreme housing vulnerability and to release those areas for building new roads and for real estate investment. It should be noted that some self-constructed dwellings still persist today.

Despite the overall persistence of low-income households experiencing risks of poverty and unemployment, the segment of middle-income residents has gradually expanded for two main reasons: on the one hand, the overall improvement of working conditions in the

⁵ These two indicators are based on official sources and available at the online database PORDATA: <https://www.pordata.pt/en/Municipalities/Summary+Table/Amadora-253189>

⁶ For data on the population by sex and age group, please see Table 1 in the Annex. Similarly to other indicators, the evolution of the population is based on data from 2007, 2013 and 2017. These were the years selected in Task 2.1 of the UPLIFT project (Statistical analysis of inequality at the local level) to enable a comparison between the various FUAs covering the pre-crisis, crisis and post-crisis periods. Whenever relevant, we also refer to more recent data.

country; on the other, the high housing costs in Lisbon, which pushed many people to live in areas nearby, including Amadora.

These various pressures and inequalities became more apparent with the eruption of the financial crisis in 2008. The pre-existing vulnerabilities of a considerable part of the local population made them more exposed to unemployment, as well as to consequences from the retrenchment of the welfare state prescribed by the austerity policy response to the crisis.

The economic recovery observed in the country since 2015 has also been felt in Amadora. The size of the population living in this municipality, which had remained rather stable until 2014, increased about 10 thousand persons over the following six years, while the total population in Portugal kept decreasing as a result of population ageing. This is likely to reflect both the upswing of the local economy and gentrification dynamics in neighbouring municipalities.

More detailed information at the local level, including quantitative and qualitative evidence on occupational structure, unemployment, educational attainment or quality of housing, among other dimensions, will be examined in the following chapters. They will help us understand how the “urban paradox” of growth and inequality translates into opportunities and risks for the young population in the FUA of Amadora.

2 Findings

2.1. Education

2.1.1. National trends and policies

After nearly five decades of a dictatorship characterised by a scarce support to schooling, the democratic regime in place since 1974 opened new opportunities for education in Portugal, and the system expanded in the 1980s and 1990s to include a growing proportion of children and youth (Martins et al., 2016). However, in comparison with the other countries of Europe, the educational system in Portugal went on registering high retention and early dropout rates, low results in international tests, low higher education attendance, a late public investment and small private investment, and a centralised structure at the national level (Abrantes and Abrantes, 2014).

Although Portugal had the highest share of early leavers from education and training in the age bracket of 18-24 years among all EU member states in 2008 (nearly 30%), this indicator decreased to 16% by 2012 and to 8% by 2018.⁷ More broadly, substantial improvements have been observed in all indicators of education over the last decades (Araújo et al, 2020), but the country still registers a limited intergenerational social mobility: the school makes only a small contribution to counter the reproduction of inequality from parents to children, which is especially troublesome in a country with income inequality indicators above the EU and OECD averages (Martins et al, 2016; Farias, 2017).

The intergenerational reproduction of inequality occurs in several manners: wealthier families have more economic and educational resources to support children with their studies, pay for external tutors, outsource domestic and care responsibilities, choose the most efficient contexts, circumscribe the recruitment of elective kinships and develop strategies to promote an educational trajectory of excellence (Mata, 2015). The last years show an improvement in the performance of students from all socioeconomic backgrounds, with students from higher income families maintaining their relative advantage (DGEEC, 2021).

Gender and ethnic segmentations are also relevant. While girls perform better at school than boys⁸, they are less likely to access a class more affluent than their parents' due to segregation between fields of study, discrimination in the labour market and work-life

⁷ Atlas of Inequalities (Deliverable 1.3 of the UPLIFT project), p. 41.

⁸ This is apparent in the analysis of official data (DGEEC, 2021) and corroborated by the latest Pisa results on Portugal (Lourenço et al, 2019), which nevertheless show considerable difference across skills: girls perform much better than boys in reading, but they perform similar to boys in science and slightly worse than boys in mathematics.

balance difficulties (Abrantes and Abrantes, 2014). In turn, third-country nationals make up a massive proportion of the students retained and of the students attending tracks alternative to regular education, such as vocational courses in secondary education (Roldão and Abrantes, 2019). They are also under-represented among students in higher education (Abrantes, 2016). The children of immigrants have a lower achievement at school than those with Portuguese parents, and this disadvantage is especially severe for children that arrived more recently and whose parents have a low educational level (Seabra, 2012).

The case of Roma students has also been highlighted for their persistent low performance and for the lack of public investment to tackle it (Mendes and Magano, 2016). They are sometimes concentrated in a specific school of the area, or even concentrated in specific classes within one school (Abrantes et al., 2016). Ethnographic research conducted in several neighbourhoods, including in the FUA of Amadora, shows that Roma students that succeed at school have a few common characteristics: special educational programmes exist in their area of residence, their schools are attentive to their integration, they are supported by the family and they have role models in the community (Magano and Mendes, 2016).

Segregation at the local level is also very much associated with a public-private divide. While public schools have gradually reached the capacity to accommodate all children and young persons, a segment of wealthier families kept resorting to private schools, either religious or secular, national or international, conservative or progressive (Abrantes, 2016; Schippling et al., 2020). Within public schools, informal ways of segmentation have been observed, such as the strategies of highly educated families to keep their advantage by pressuring schools to constitute classes based on the performance of students and to distribute the best timetables and the most qualified teachers accordingly, often on the grounds of a better articulation with extra-school activities (Seabra, 2009).

With regard to public policy in the area of education, substantial outcomes have been achieved since the late 2000s. Compulsory education was extended to the 12th grade or 18 years of age (Law 85/2009). The national programme of Educational Zones for Priority Action (TEIP), initially created in 1996, was reinforced and expanded, providing schools in vulnerable territories with special resources such as more equipment and additional teachers and other educational experts, e.g. psychologists, social workers and mediators (Abrantes et al. 2013). The aim of the programme is to reduce social and educational inequalities through the creation of specific mechanisms to identify, support, protect and supervise schools in poor, segregated and marginalised districts, including the allocation of additional equipment, teachers and other educational experts (e.g. psychologists, social workers and mediators). The specific goals were to: (1) enhance learning processes and reduce dropout rates; (2) create vocational courses and (3) articulate school with local communities. Beginning in 2006, after some years of political disinvestment by rightwing governments, the TEIP programme was reviewed and expanded under a new Socialist administration committed to system rationalisation and accountability. It established four main priority areas: (1) the quality of

school careers and achievement; (2) failure and dropout rates; (3) the transition to the labour market and (4) schools as educational and cultural agents within local communities. It is currently underway in 136 school clusters over the country, including 8 of the 12 school clusters existing in Amadora.

The austerity policies introduced between 2010 and 2015 as a response to the economic and financial crisis interrupted the trend of growing public investment in education (Mauritti et al., 2015). OECD reports have identified Portugal as one of only nine countries where public expenditure on education decreased between 2010 and 2014, and the third where the decrease was most substantial (-12%) (OECD, 2017: 205). Between 2012 and 2017, Portugal, along with a few other countries, “experienced some of the largest decreases in the share of expenditure on non-tertiary educational levels (over 11%), mainly explained by a decrease in public expenditure” (OECD, 2020: 289). An administrative reorganisation was implemented during the crisis, postulating that public institutions at the national level should focus on controlling targets and results while schools were ascribed a greater responsibility and autonomy to enhance their students’ performance and active community participation. This included the creation of school clusters, usually composed of a secondary school and some primary schools and kindergartens within the same zone, all sharing a unified project, board and principal, with the aim of not only promoting territorial strategies and better integrating educational stages but also reducing expenses (Abrantes et al., 2013).

Non-standard tracks in primary and secondary education expanded since 2008, especially in the form of vocational courses (*cursos profissionais*) (Abrantes and Roldão, 2019). Increasing attention has been paid to equity and inclusion since 2015, as demonstrated by the adoption of various additional measures to prevent school failure and dropout: the replacement of the national exams at the end of the first and second cycles of basic education (4th and 6th grade, respectively) with a systematic assessment in intermediate years to facilitate the prevention of failure, a greater investment in kindergartens and free supply of schoolbooks. The National Programme to Promote Educational Attainment was created in 2016, bridging gaps between levels of governance and granting schools more room of manoeuvre to address local needs (cf. chapter 4 of this report). Since 2018, schools can also develop their own projects of curricular autonomy and flexibility (Decree-Law 55/2018). The principles and standards of education for children with special healthcare needs were established in 2018 (Decree-Law 54/2018). It should be added that, during the last two decades, many teachers benefited from training on gender equality to better incorporate it and support in their daily work (Vieira and Alvarez, 2016).

2.1.2. Local trends and policies

The rates of early leavers in Amadora by 2017 were substantially higher than those registered at the national level.⁹ This is the case both in primary education (10.2%, *vis-à-vis* 5.4% at the national level) and in upper secondary education (21.3%, *vis-à-vis* 14.9% at the national level). Nonetheless, similarly to the country as a whole, these rates show a considerable decrease in Amadora between 2007 and 2017. Also consonant with national trends is that early leaving is much higher among males than females and much higher among foreign-born than natives.

Several policies and initiatives have been developed at the local level to reduce inequalities in education.¹⁰ First, 8 of the 12 existing school clusters in the FUA of Amadora are part of the TEIP programme. As mentioned above, this programme applies to schools that have an especially vulnerable student population and therefore receive additional resources enabling them to hire additional staff and organise classes and curricula in manners that they find most adequate to the needs.

Second, the *Centro Qualifica Amadora*, run by the municipality in collaboration with two public secondary schools and a private vocational school, helps young persons (as well as adults) find adequate opportunities of education or training and supports them in their trajectory, for instance as they resume studying or change tracks. The municipality has also supported the local expansion of *Generation Orchestra (Orquestra Geração)*, a project set up in Portugal in 2007 by a network of public and private partners, funded by the EU programme EQUAL, to promote the social inclusion and social mobility of vulnerable children and young persons; it currently involves three school clusters in Amadora. More recently, the municipality adopted a strategic educational plan (*Plano Estratégico Educativo Municipal*) and a specific plan to tackle school failure and dropout (*Plano de Prevenção e Ação sobre o Insucesso e o Abandono Escolar na Amadora*) based on a local diagnosis (Mateus, 2019).

Various NGOs work with young persons in the FUA of Amadora to improve their educational performance and prospects, in particular through projects supported by *Escolhas*, a national programme created by the government in 2001. Currently in its 8th generation (2021-2022), this programme supports five projects in Amadora, all of them involving young persons from vulnerable neighbourhoods. The latest assessment of *Escolhas* at the national level, which registered over 33 thousand direct and indirect participants (11,76% of whom were children and youth aged 6-25 years from vulnerable contexts), shows that local teams and stakeholders evaluate the results of the programme quite positively, although they also point

⁹ See Table 2 in the Annex.

¹⁰ In Portugal, educational policy is a competence of the Ministry of Education (national government), which can give autonomy to schools through legislation or administrative decisions as we see in several cases throughout this section of the report. The Ministry of Education is also responsible for providing teachers, while municipalities are responsible for the remaining staff, infrastructure and extracurricular activities and projects.

out problems such as little resources and high bureaucratic requirements (Alexandre et al., 2020).

Our interviewees emphasise the very demanding challenges posed to schools by the many situations of poverty and social exclusion in the FUA, underscoring the interconnections of education with employment, housing, social protection and healthcare. They consider that, besides the lack of material resources, young persons in this situation often lack positive role models in the family and in the community. Additional difficulties are experienced by young persons with a migrant background, especially related with learning the Portuguese language and obtaining documentation from the national immigration authorities. Great concern is expressed by the interviewees about the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, considering that many households lost their income due to unemployment and young persons from poorer families often lack adequate conditions for distance learning (equipment, internet or support from relatives).

Overall, they deem that substantial efforts were expended since 2008 to improve schools – namely with the investment of the municipality in infrastructure and extracurricular activities, which started earlier in 2002 – and the increasing autonomy and responsibility of schools enabled them to better address local needs. However, serious problems are said to persist. Our interviewees point out the excessive standardisation of the educational model (especially with regard to student assessment and grades), the little investment on adult education (affecting young persons that dropped out of school too early, as well as older persons that are also low-educated) and the insufficient training of professionals to deal with specific problems in their daily activity at schools. One interviewee, who works at a NGO that supports population living in a social housing quarter, refers to further difficulties arising from the segregation of students between schools of the same area based on their socioeconomic backgrounds.

There are three primary schools in the area, but the social housing quarter is geographically ascribed to one school only. Therefore, two schools have a high-profile population and the other one is for the children from social housing – they remain inside the community even at school; they don't have other peers, can't access other experiences... It's what we call a ghetto-school. It ends up being very much an extension of the quarter they live in and of its dynamics, and it perpetuates lifecourses. It's also a time-bomb school. Hence, permanent teachers are scarce, they change almost every year... People have no strong commitment to transform the school into a more consistent project.

NGO staff member

2.2. Employment

2.2.1. National trends and policies

Portugal suffered one of the largest increases in unemployment rates between 2007 and 2012 in the EU.¹¹ After reaching as high as 17.3% in the first quarter of 2013 (the peak of the economic crisis in the country), the unemployment rate decreased consistently in the following years. By 2018 it was below the figure of 2007; and, by the first quarter of 2020, it had decreased further to 6.5%. With the outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic, it increased again, standing at 7.1% in the fourth quarter of 2020.¹²

Throughout the period under study, the youth registered a much higher rate of unemployment than the overall active population. Indeed, Portugal is among the EU countries where the urban youth experience a larger relative disadvantage.¹³ This disadvantage increased until 2018, when the unemployment rate of those aged 15-29 years reached almost twice that of the population aged 15-74 years.

Young persons are also particularly exposed to precarious work in its various forms: informal, “flexible” (short-term contracts, freelance, part-time), temporary agencies and platform work, among others. These arrangements affect a disproportionate share of young workers across all educational levels, although university graduates are less likely to become unemployed than their counterparts with lower education (Diogo, 2012). Differently than in other EU countries like Germany, Austria or Denmark, non-standard forms of employment in Portugal are mostly involuntary and there is a thick separation between the life-stages of studying and working, with little fluidity in entering the labour market (Oliveira et al., 2011). Temporary agency work, encouraged by reforms of the national labour law in the early 2000s, contributed to reduce wages even in periods when the wages of permanent workers were rising (Moreira, 2012). Considering the diverse forms of unemployment, underemployment and emigration, the real unemployment rate by 2014 was estimated at 29% of the overall active population (*vis-à-vis* an official unemployment rate of 13.5%).

The changes observed in labour relations and working times have additional consequences for women, hindering work-life balance and creating obstacles for equality in employment as they still ensure most of the domestic and care work in the family, even in the youngest age brackets (Casaca, 2013; Perista et al., 2016; Ferreira et al., 2017). Migrant young persons, and migrant women in particular, are confronted with a combination of obstacles associated with

¹¹ Atlas of Inequalities (Deliverable 1.3 of the UPLIFT project), p. 49.

¹² Eurostat data.

¹³ Atlas of Inequalities (Deliverable 1.3 of the UPLIFT project), p. 51.

discrimination, as well as difficulties in obtaining or renovating their legal documentation in such a volatile labour market (Cerdeira et al., 2013).

The vulnerability of young persons in key aspects – unemployment, precarious contracts, limited coverage by social protection and collective bargaining, and little career prospects – exacerbates social and intergenerational inequalities (Marques, 2020). The risk of becoming “not in education, employment or training” (NEET) is higher for young persons with a disability, low education, migrant background, low-income household and parents in long-term unemployment (Eurofound, 2012; Ferreira et al., 2017). In turn, holding a university degree increases the chances of finding a job and enjoying better working conditions (Pires, 2018), even if higher education continues to be permeated by inequalities, as students from more affluent socioeconomic backgrounds are over-represented in the universities and fields of study leading to higher status and wages (Ramos et al., 2017).

The productive structure in Portugal is still composed predominantly of micro, small and medium-sized companies, many of them family businesses, with little qualification and training, bound to a model of low-paid labour-intensive productive specialisation (Parente et al., 2014). A growing number of young persons have attended and completed vocational courses in the last two decades, but many of them find difficulties to integrate in a labour market with little innovation and investment capacity (Parente et al., 2011, 2014). Also noteworthy is the decreasing trend of unionisation and strikes over the last decades (Costa et al., 2014).

Important changes with regard to income inequalities occurred in the period under analysis: a decreasing trend in 2004-2009 was followed by stagnation in 2009-2010 and aggravation in 2011-2012; and, while the educational level remained the most relevant variable to explain wage differentials, the income concentration of the wealthiest increased substantially during the economic crisis (Carmo and Cantante, 2015). According to data from the Eurobarometer in 2016, 86% of persons aged between 16 and 30 years in Portugal considered themselves marginalised or excluded from economic and social life during the period of the crisis – well above the UE28 average of 57% – for reasons associated with unemployment, precariousness, informality, low wages or delay in becoming economically autonomous from their parents (Ferreira and Vieira, 2018).

About 10% of workers in Portugal by 2007 – that is, before the economic crisis – did not earn enough to access essential goods to have a decent life (Alves, 2016) and, between 2009 and 2014, the real income of households decreased 12% on average, with a stronger penalty on the poorest households (Estanque and Costa, 2018). The prevalence of poor workers is entwined with other factors of social exclusion, in particular household composition (single-parent households are especially at risk), material deprivation and low work intensity (Alves, 2016). The high in-work at-risk-of-poverty rate in Portugal has been relatively stable since 2013, standing at 10.7% by 2019. Its prevalence among people with tertiary education and

those living in high work intensity households suggests that, in a context of low wages and labour market segmentation, holding a university diploma “is no longer a guarantee of immunity regarding the risk of poverty” (Rodrigues et al., 2016: 109). According to Diogo et al. (2021), the working poor account for 32.9% of those in poverty. No in-work benefits have so far been implemented in Portugal (Perista, 2019).

Concerning public policies at the national level, three periods can be distinguished. First, from 2008 until 2015, gradually stronger austerity measures were adopted as a response to the crisis. These measures, in particular reforms of labour law and social policy to meet the conditions and targets of the financial bailout, translated into a reduction of unemployment benefits and obstacles to collective bargaining (AAVV, 2015; Caldas, 2015; Lima and Abrantes, 2016). They were accompanied with active labour market policies, including public schemes to support hiring (*Estímulo Emprego, Contratos Emprego Inserção*), geographic mobility (*Apoios à Mobilidade*), entrepreneurship (*Criação do Próprio Emprego, Criação de Empresas, Microcrédito, Investe Jovem, Apoio Técnico*), internships (*Estágio Emprego, Reativar*), professional rehabilitation (*Apoio à Integração, Emprego Apoiado, Marca Entidade Empregadora Inclusiva*) and professional training. These policies had little impact on employment and could not do much for young persons in a period of heavy economic recession and labour market deregulation (Lima, 2015; Pereira, 2016; Caleiras, 2019). The National Plan to Implement a Youth Guarantee, launched in 2014, involved about 300 thousand young persons but was limited by great challenges regarding implementation, monitoring and effective integration in the labour market (Ferreira et al., 2017).

A second period, from 2015 until early 2020, was characterised by the adoption of policies to recover income and employment, including rises of the national minimum wage¹⁴ as well as the reversal of previous wage cuts and the restoration of 35 hours as normal weekly working time in the public sector (Lima, 2016). Unemployment and job creation indicators registered positive developments, although job quality and working conditions did not improve significantly (Caleiras, 2019).

A third period, since early 2020, has been shaped by the negative effects of the COVID-19 pandemic. The measures adopted by the government attempted to balance restrictions on physical interaction with compensation mechanisms to help workers and employers stay afloat, including a simplified layoff procedure, compulsory home-based work, staggered working times and exceptional benefits to support income, private businesses and family care. The rise of unemployment has mainly affected precarious workers, many of whom are

¹⁴ The national minimum wage was 426 Euros gross per month by 2007. It gradually rose up to 485 Euros in 2011, followed by no change in the next three years. Since 2015, it has increased again every year, standing at 635 Euros by 2020. This means that the national minimum wage currently corresponds to 133,6% of the at-risk-of-poverty threshold in the country, whereas in 2007 it corresponded only to 115,5%.

young (Caleiras and Carmo, 2020). Young persons are also suffering the greatest material deprivation, especially in households with children (Silva et al, 2020a, 2020b).

2.2.2. Local trends and policies

The unemployment rate is not available at the level of the FUA, but we can analyse it at the level of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon.¹⁵ By 2017 it stood at 9.5%, slightly above the national unemployment rate of 8.9%.¹⁶ The highest rate in 2017 was found in the age group of 15-29 years: 16.6%.

As in the country as a whole, the unemployment rate of young persons in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon rose dramatically in the post-2008 crisis and decreased in the subsequent years of economic recovery. In 2017, it was still higher than in 2007. The age group of 15-29 years in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon also registers an exceptionally high inactivity rate, 48.1% (considerably above the 41% of the overall active population), and higher than the 42.3% registered in 2007. These figures corroborate that, in the realm of employment, young persons suffered a disproportionate penalty during the crisis and did not benefit from the opportunities of the recovery period as much as the working population at large.

The distribution of young persons across employment sectors in Amadora is quite uneven.¹⁷ It is important to bear in mind that many people living in Amadora commute to Lisbon to work, which means that the analysis of the local labour market cannot characterise the employment situation of young residents at large. Still it is noteworthy that young workers in Amadora are largely employed in wholesale and retail trade, transport, hospitality and food service activities, with only a small presence in other sectors such as industry, manufacturing, construction, administrative services and professional, scientific and technical activities. This imbalance appears to have increased since the post-2008 crisis. On the one hand, there has been a substantial reduction of young persons employed in shrinking sectors like industry and construction, especially between 2007 and 2012. On the other, sectors that did grow since 2007, even during the economic crisis, have not shown a proportionate increase of young persons in their workforce, such as information and communication, public administration or professional, scientific and technical activities.

The rate of precariously employed in the FUA stands at 29.9% – below the national rate of 34.3% –, with men slightly more affected than women.¹⁸ This rate decreased between 2007

¹⁵ The Metropolitan Area of Lisbon is the NUTS III area including the FUA of Amadora, as well as the city of Lisbon and other municipalities nearby.

¹⁶ See Table 3 in the Annex. By 2020 this gap had increased a bit further, standing at 7,7% in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon vis-à-vis 6,8% at the national level.

¹⁷ See Table 4 in the Annex.

¹⁸ See Table 5 in the Annex.

and 2012, as permanent workers were more able to keep their job than precarious workers; but it increased again in the recovery years, confirming the little security provided by many of jobs created after the crisis. Similarly to what happens at the national level though, the persons aged between 25 and 34 years register the highest rate of precariously employed in Amadora (32,2%), although their comparative position improved since 2007, when it reached as high as 40.1%.

Several public policy programmes exist at the local level to promote integration in the labour market. There are four Offices for Professional Integration (*Gabinetes de Inserção Profissional*) in the FUA of Amadora.¹⁹ These are run either by *Juntas de Freguesias*²⁰ (Águas Livres and Encosta do Sol) or by NGOs (Moinho da Juventude and Aproximar). The *Junta de Freguesia* of Alfragide also operates an Employment Office since early 2020 in cooperation with a local NGO (CooperActiva). Besides providing information and assistance to job-seekers, all of these organisations and others – national and local, public and private – collaborate regularly to provide training, often financed by EU funds and free of charge for trainees.

The municipality created in 2008 a programme to support local entrepreneurs (*Amadora Empreende*), in collaboration with the ISCTE – University Institute of Lisbon and the foundation Calouste Gulbenkian. This programme had a positive evolution in the first years, with a continuous increase in the number of companies created, mostly micro-enterprises in sectors such as informatics, retail, cooking and healthcare (Cruz, 2012). Its role has been later incorporated in a public company created by the municipality in 2016 (*Amadora Inova*), which combines three areas of intervention: supporting entrepreneurs (*Amadora Tech*), tackling school failure and early dropout (*Amadora Sorri*) and promoting social innovation (*Amadora Cuida*).

In the *freguesia* of Falagueira-Venda Nova, a Local Contract for Social Development (*Contrato Local de Desenvolvimento Social*) was carried out since 2016 by a catholic charity (Santa Casa da Misericórdia), which ceased already, and a more recent one is carried out by an NGO since 2020 (CooperActiva). The national programme for the creation of these Local Contracts for Social Development, supported by public funds, was launched in 2007 to enhance social change in vulnerable areas and enhance life quality and well-being. It entails measures in the areas of employment, training, parental and family intervention, and capacity-building of local communities and institutions.

19 The national network of Offices for Professional Integration is currently composed of 409 offices throughout the country, based on partnerships between the IEFP – Institute for Employment and Professional Training (a public body under the Ministry of Labour, Solidarity and Social Security) and local organisations.

20 *Juntas de Freguesia* are the local public administration bodies at the level of *freguesia* (parish).

Our interviewees report that many of the young persons seeking employment in Amadora accumulate difficulties associated with low education, little if any work experience and lack of digital skills, as well as factors of discrimination like gender or ethnicity. According to our interviewees, the Offices for Professional Integration and local organisations with activity in this area struggle with insufficient resources and staff, incipient articulation with one another, and requirements established by the state or the EU that are too rigid and bureaucratic, making it very difficult to develop adequate ways to meet the needs, monitor trajectories and seize the potential of job-seekers. Therefore, the responses made available to unemployed young persons are very much circumscribed to one-size-fits-all solutions, mostly internships and training.

In turn, the interviewees point out that local companies invest little in equipment and training (especially in technological respects) and there is a large prevalence of temporary contracts, long working hours and low wages.

Labour market segmentation is manifest, in the municipality of Amadora, in a quite expressive share of short-term contracts, little transitions from these contracts to permanent contracts, and differences in working conditions associated with these types of contracts, which leads to a high turnover and does not stimulate the development of skills and know-how, and thereby compromises productivity and boosts precariousness.

Public sector official

2.3. Housing

2.3.1. National trends and policies

In 2018, the public body IHRU - Institute for Housing and Urban Rehabilitation conducted the first extensive study to map housing needs, conditions and policies in Portugal (IHRU, 2018). It showed that housing shortage affected 187 municipalities (out of the 308 existing in the country), strongly concentrated in the Metropolitan Areas of Lisbon and Porto. This is the case despite the Special Rehousing Programme – *Programa Especial de Realojamento*, henceforth PER –, implemented at the national level since 1993 to eliminate precarious self-constructed dwellings.

According to Alves (2013), the PER contributed to perpetuate residential segregation on the basis of race and ethnicity, insofar as people ethnically marked – i.e. Roma, Portuguese of African descent and immigrants – have been progressively drawn away from the areas that became targets of real estate investment and price speculation, only available now to middle and high income households. Officially justified by the scarcity of available places, the low-cost option for building social housing in large agglomerations led to poor housing quality and social isolation, in a process described by Alves (2013) as a historical reterritorialisation of colonial relations. This author also underscores the authoritarian character of the PER, as most of the people covered by the programme did not participate in decisions about the

design and organisation of their new neighbourhood and jeopardised their right to rehousing if they rejected the first offer.

In addition to structural problems such as the existence of informal urban and suburban agglomerations, the impacts of the economic crisis that erupted in 2008 and the austerity policy responses adopted since 2010 hit low-income households in a dramatic manner and made it even harder to find better housing. As shown by Allegra et al. (2017), these problems were aggravated by the rise of housing costs after the introduction of legislation during the crisis to attract private investment to the housing market while bank interest remained low, including a scheme entitling third-country nationals to a Residence Permit if they bought a high-value property in Portugal (Law 29/2012 of 9 August).

In their assessment of how the PER evolved in these difficult circumstances, Allegra et al. (2017) recommend policy-makers to develop a territorial approach to housing (replacing an approach excessively focused on accommodation) and to improve the articulation between policies of direct provision, support to renting, market regulation and incentives to participatory actions at the local level. The same authors argue that national public administration should take the lead in housing policies and do away with the current dilution of responsibilities between national and local actors, adopt time horizons able to respond to both emergency situations and needs in the medium run, and pay particular attention to forms of discrimination and exclusion on the grounds of sex and ethnicity.

In a previous study, Malheiros and Fonseca (2011) identified the particular obstacles for immigrants with respect to housing: in addition to their socioeconomic condition, they are confronted with very limited access to bank credit, the cornerstone of housing policy in Portugal at least since the 1980s; discrimination by landlords and sellers; and difficulties in meeting the requirements and effectively accessing public support schemes, while social housing is mainly directed to emergency situations such as homelessness.

Comparing with the other EU member states in 2018, Portugal registers the highest share of individuals in housing deprivation.²¹ The indicator deteriorated in this country since 2008. The urban youth is especially disadvantaged in this respect, much more so in 2018 than 10 years before.

According to data from the EU Survey on Income and Living Conditions, 64.1% of the persons aged 18-34 years in Portugal live with their parents, considerably above the EU-27 average (50.4%).²² A survey conducted by the Observatory of the Housing Market in Portugal (OMHP, 2019) estimated that only 40.7% of those aged 18-34 years lived with their parents, the main

²¹ Atlas of Inequalities (Deliverable 1.3 of the UPLIFT project), pp. 64-66.

²² Data of 2019, available at: https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/databrowser/view/ilc_lvps08/default/table?lang=en

reason being the lack of economic independence – and even 37.2% of the young persons living away from their parents still depend financially on relatives. Considering only young persons that live away from their parents, 51.3% of them live in rented housing, and the average monthly expenses with housing stands at €348. With regard to future prospects, 87.9% of young persons would prefer to buy a house and only 12.1% show a preference for rental, which seems consonant with the reduction of tenants' rights established in the regime of urban housing rental in place since 2012 (Law 31/2012 of 14 August). Safety in the neighbourhood, quality of construction, energy efficiency and mobility (public transports and/or car parking) are elements highly valued by the young persons covered in the same survey. A third of them know about public policy measures to support young persons with respect to housing, especially the programme *Porta 65* (a housing benefit for low-wage workers to help them pay their rent), and 87.6% of those aged 25-29 years express a wish to apply for public support in this area.

A national strategy – the New Generation of Housing Policies (*Nova Geração de Políticas de Habitação*) – was launched in mid-2018, acknowledging the impact of social inequalities on the access to housing and the extreme vulnerability of young persons. The strategy aims to increase the share of public supported housing within the overall housing stock from 2% to 5%, which represents 170 thousand more dwellings. The first law establishing the principles of housing policy in Portugal, in force since October 2019, includes a general principle that special protection should be granted to young people as well as people with disabilities, elderly, families with children, lone-parent, large households and others in vulnerable situations. The Recovery and Resilience Plan recently submitted to the European Commission mentions “the absence of a social housing stock of adequate size and of a structured response to urgent housing needs” (República Portuguesa, 2021: 89).

The latest data from Statistics Portugal confirms the continuous rise of the housing prices between 2014 and 2020, with annual increases of the housing price index around 10%. By the end of 2020, this index stood at 156.5, much above the 92.3 registered in 2013. The effects of the expansion of tourism activities to residential areas, with a negative impact on housing affordability, also raises concern. Increasing difficulties have been experienced in recent years to meet the eligibility criteria of the *Porta 65 Jovem*. The criteria regarding the maximum rental by typology are no longer adjusted to the actual rental prices in the market, thus preventing young people from accessing existing rented housing.

2.3.2. Local trends and policies

In the national context, Amadora is the 5th municipality with the highest share of families in a situation of housing need, i. e. families that meet the requirements to access public housing but are waiting to be provided with it – this is the case of 3,87% of the families living in the municipality, meaning 2839 families (IHRU, 2018: 27). Although the local implementation of the PER began in the mid-1990s, it is still underway. Our interviewees also reported that

many additional families requested access to the programme as time went by, either because they did not meet the requirements at the beginning or because they were identified only at a later stage (e.g. children that grew up and started their own families or immigrants that arrived in the meantime). Besides the late and incomplete implementation of the PER in Amadora, several interviewees criticise the low-cost option of building large social housing quarters in cheap lands instead of smaller units across the municipality.

According to Moreno et al. (2017), there are 2,098 social housing dwellings in the municipality of Amadora, 73.7% of them located in three large PER agglomerations (Casal da Mira, Casal da Boba and Casal do Silva). Most of the persons living in dwellings owned by the municipality come from self-constructed illegal housing and their current places of residence have the same dominant socio-economic characteristics of the previous ones: high unemployment, low education, low income and substantial dependence on welfare benefits (Moreno et al., 2017).

The specific case of Casal da Mira was examined by Moisés (2013), with an emphasis on the perspectives of women. The author identified positive aspects of the rehousing process as experienced by the women involved: the improvement of housing conditions, the physical characteristics of the new neighbourhood and the greater privacy enjoyed there. Negative factors were also identified: the increase of household expenses, the disruption of family and community networks, moving from a house to an apartment, insufficient coverage by public transports, and lack of local shops and services. Based on ethnographic research in several self-constructed and social housing quarters, including Casal da Mira and Casal da Boba in Amadora, Alves (2019) highlights the persistence of low housing quality, isolation from social and economic activities, overcrowded accommodation and lack of data collection by public actors to adequately monitor progress over time.

According to data from the 2011 Census, 63.7% of persons in Amadora lived in their own home, below the home ownership rate registered at the national level (73.0%).²³ This rate is higher in the core area of the FUA (67.9%) than in the peripheral area of the FUA (61.4%). The opposite is observed in the share of those living in a rented home: 31.2% in Amadora (above the 20.1% registered at the national level), with an especially higher rate in the peripheral area of the FUA (33.5%). The remaining persons either live in subsidized or municipally owned housing, or they are in other uncategorised situation. Based on data from 2019, 52.2% of the persons in this situation were women (including 191 single mothers with minor children), and 41.7% are children or young persons (aged below 30 years). Foreign-born persons made up 15.8% of the beneficiaries.

²³ See Table 6 in the Annex.

These numbers corroborate the various difficulties in the realm of housing in Amadora. No statistics are available to better describe the case of young persons, but our desk research and interviews suggest that they face huge challenges to secure adequate housing, especially in the lower income brackets, and that one of the most common solutions is to stay at their parents or other relatives' homes, even when they have a partner and children.

Several policy measures have been adopted in this area by the municipality of Amadora, mainly focused on urban rehabilitation and social housing. Currently guided by the Municipal Strategy for Urban Rehabilitation (Amadora 2025), local intervention in this regard has chiefly attempted to increase the availability of services to families (parks, schools, kindergartens, healthcare centres, pharmacies and associations, among others) and renew the image of the municipality, countering the notion of Amadora as a cheap(er) place of residence for workers commuting to Lisbon. Our interviewees signal pressures in the opposite direction though. With the rising housing costs in Lisbon, some areas of Amadora also became more expensive and therefore out of reach for low-wage workers, especially those with good access to public transports (such as the city centre, Alfovelos or Reboleira), while the other areas growingly concentrate the poorest population and still have insufficient public and private services.

Other concerns expressed by the interviewees are the increase of illegal rentals, overcrowded dwellings and long-term permanence of families in social housing, associated with difficulties to break with cycles of poverty and social exclusion. This is especially worrisome in the case of young persons, as they would be expected to earn a living and move into the private market.

Ten years after the rehousing process in Casal da Mira, Casal do Silva and other quarters, there are overcrowded dwellings – for one reason: children grew up, or they were already adults when they were resettled but now they are married and have children, and they stayed there. Now you ask me: what can we do? I'll tell you right away: nothing. I think we're all doing a bad job if a family is resettled, grows and remains in the quarter. [...] There are families that left a shed and then stay generation after generation in social housing... We are all doing a terrible job. Ideally there should be a solution either by the family moving into the private market or by the municipality providing them another dwelling.

Public sector official

While some national policies are positively assessed by the interviewees – *Porta 65, 1º Direito, Reabilitar para Arrendar* and *Da Habitação ao Habitat*, as well as more broadly the New Generation of Housing Policies –, limitations are signalled with regard to insufficient public financial investment and too complex application procedures, both contributing to little numbers of young persons covered. The growing trend of decentralisation raises the fear that housing policies may eventually become less effective rather than more effective, as the municipalities are required to design and implement solutions for which they lack money, time and qualified professionals. Furthermore, municipalities and other local actors do not

have any capacity to influence factors with a massive impact on housing such as the legislation on urban rentals or price speculation.

Since the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic, poor housing conditions made it more difficult to contain the dissemination of the virus in some areas of Amadora, especially in dwellings that are too small or too overcrowded when individual prophylactic isolation is prescribed by health authorities, or even (in more extreme cases) dwellings with no access to drinking water. According to our interviewees, the effects of the pandemic on housing have been so far mitigated by the exceptional policy measures of layoff, bank loans moratoria and restrictions on evictions, but they are very likely to rise once these temporary measures are withdrawn.

2.4. Social protection

2.4.1. National trends and policies

Social protection was selected as our additional area of analysis because of its relevance for young persons in the FUA of Amadora. On the one hand, considering the high levels of poverty and unemployment reported in the previous sections, the forms of direct support enacted by the state are key to promote living conditions and social inclusion, especially in periods of economic recession. On the other hand, the redistributive character of social protection is expected to mitigate the structural drivers of inequality. Furthermore, there have been relevant changes in social protection throughout the period under study. In line with the usual meaning of the concept, social protection is understood here as the collective mechanisms operated or coordinated by the state to tackle situations and risks of exclusion, poverty and suffering, especially benefits – including rights and duties – in case of poverty, unemployment, sickness or disability.

Portugal has been typically described as a Southern European welfare regime, in which social protection is provided to a large extent by the family and the community rather than by the state – a “social welfare regime” (Santos, 1993). Similarly to other countries of Southern Europe, it does register high poverty, high income inequality, a strong division between labour market insiders and outsiders, limited redistribution and inefficient welfare spending, with informal networks of aid and third-sector institutions compensating the deficit of mechanisms to ensure people’s survival (Brito, 2019). However, a more nuanced and dynamic analysis of the welfare state shows that, between 1990 and 2006, welfare reforms in Portugal led to a relative increase of social expenditure as well as a decrease of social contributions, moving this country actually closer to the liberal regime than to the southern regime (Arcanjo, 2009).

The regulation of unemployment protection in Portugal did not adapt to the transformations of the labour market, leading to a growing share of persons uncovered in the 2000s, followed by a reduction of the amount and duration of benefits under the financial bailout programme introduced in 2011 (Silva and Pereira, 2012).²⁴ The expansion of precarious arrangements – short-term contracts, temporary agency work, bogus self-employment and platform work, among others –, all of which affect disproportionately young persons, women and migrants, increases the risks of both dismissal and not qualifying for benefits (Casaca et al., 2012; Caldas, Silva and Cantante, 2020). In addition, workers recruited in the informal economy by employers that do not comply with their legal duties concerning social security and tax contributions remain uncovered by social protection, as largely observed in sectors such as domestic service, construction or hospitality, harming workers and the very sustainability of the social security system (Abrantes, 2012).

In turn, the national policies of monetary redistribution until the eruption of the financial crisis made a significant and relatively effective contribution to reduce economic inequalities, which decreased until 2010, even if at a pace below the EU and the OECD averages (Carmo and Cantante, 2015). The same authors detect a low financial investment in these policies (by 2009 they represented about 5.8% of the basic income of households in Portugal *vis-à-vis* 8.7% in the EU), but they also identify the policies against poverty and social exclusion as the ones with the greatest impact, in particular the Social Integration Income – *Rendimento Social de Inserção*, henceforth RSI.

The RSI was introduced in 2003 (replacing the Minimum Guaranteed Income, which had been created in 1996) and responded to several needs on the rise: granting social protection to those uncovered by unemployment benefits, enhancing the effectiveness and proximity of public intervention, and offsetting the financial contraction of the state with a greater reliance on local authorities and civil society (Rodrigues, 2010). It consists of a cash benefit for households in extreme poverty, based on a written contract with rights and duties – supervised by the local social security service or a registered NGO – aiming at a progressive social, labour and community integration of the household members. Granted on a yearly basis and subject to renewal upon reassessment of the situation, it is expected to cover only the most basic needs of the household for a temporary period, as demonstrated by its little amount. In 2021, it corresponds to a maximum of €189.66 for the first household member, plus €132.76 per additional adult in the household and €94.83 per child. The mean figures of

²⁴ Unemployment benefits are currently accessible to persons fulfilling three conditions: they are involuntarily unemployed, they are registered in the public employment service and they had 360 working days of contributions to social security in the 24 months prior to the date of unemployment. The maximum duration of the benefits ranges from 5 to 18 months, depending on the age and previous contributions of the recipient. The amount of the benefits corresponds to 65% of the lost remuneration, with a minimum of €438,81 per month and a maximum of €1097,03 per month.

this benefit remain quite low: €119.38 per person (i.e. 18% of the national minimum wage) and €262.12 per household, by April 2021.²⁵ Such amounts are considerably below the national poverty threshold and can hardly impact on the reduction of poverty, even if they may mitigate its intensity and severity (EC, 2020; Rodrigues et al., 2016).

During the economic and financial crisis, several changes were introduced in the entitlement conditions for welfare benefits. These included an increase of the eligibility requirements (less people became eligible), a reduction of the duration and amount of unemployment benefits, as well as cuts in old-age pensions and public sector wages (Lima and Abrantes, 2016). There were also changes in the RSI, reducing the amounts paid (e.g. by forbidding more than one household per dwelling and including house and car ownership in the calculation of income) and increasing the duties of the beneficiaries with respect to job seeking and training attendance (Pereira, 2016). The social security system was then confronted with the challenge of dealing simultaneously with a higher demand for social protection and the financial restrictions imposed under the bailout programme. As a result, “from 2011 to 2014 the system was managed with the objective of reducing expenses and of finding additional sources of revenue in the short run” (Silva, 2018: 15).

The austerity policy response to the economic crisis constituted an aggravation of the welfare state retrenchement that was already undergoing before that, apparent in the considerable reduction of public jobs in 2005-2009 and an acceleration of such reduction in 2011-2013, especially in the sectors of education, healthcare, employment and social security (Botelho et al., 2014). This may have contributed to the growing difficulties of young persons to find employment or access benefits, as well as to their greater reliance on parents and greater fall into poverty (Brito, 2019).

In the meantime, intervention at the local level was promoted to reduce poverty and social exclusion, based on cooperation between state, civil society and companies. According to Almeida and Albuquerque (2020), this enabled a transfer of responsibilities from the national state to local public and private organisations following a network governance logic that can generate new and better responses of proximity to citizens, but doubts remain as to whether it corresponds to a truly effective approach rather than a remedy measure to compensate for structural incapacities of the welfare state.

The official indicators show that poverty and social exclusion decreased in Portugal between 2013 and 2019, mostly associated with the broader economic recovery (ONLCP, 2020). The Covid-19 pandemic is likely to reverse this trend, even if various exceptional policy measures

²⁵ Data from the Institute of Social Security.

have been adopted since March 2020 to increase social protection coverage and benefits (Caldas, Silva and Cantante, 2020).

Children and young persons (those under 18 years) constitute the age bracket at the greater risk of poverty and social exclusion in the country, with other factors adding up to this risk: gender (women are more likely to experience it than men), household composition (single-parent households and households with three or more children), employment status (unemployed, inactive and self-employed workers) and education (persons with low schooling), as well as having a disability or being a third-country national (ONLCP, 2020). Portugal is among the EU member states with the highest at-risk-of-poverty and severe material deprivation rates and Gini coefficients.²⁶ These indicators however register positive developments between 2008 and 2018, especially after 2012, except for an increase in the at-risk-of-poverty rate for the urban youth. In consonance with our analysis of employment indicators, this suggests that young persons have not benefited as much as other age groups from the economic recovery in the post-crisis years.

2.4.2. Local trends and policies

By 2017, there were 5,085 persons receiving social allowances in Amadora (2.8% of the total population).²⁷ Slightly more than half of the beneficiaries were women (52.9%). As to age, 51.1% of the beneficiaries were under 30 years old (an age bracket that constitutes 44% of beneficiaries at the national level), mostly children and young persons that are still studying, who qualify for a means-tested family allowance. With regard to the geographic distribution of beneficiaries in the FUA of Amadora, they live mainly in the peripheral areas. The core *freguesias* of Mina de Água and Venteira, as well as the more affluent peripheral *freguesia* of Alfragide, are those with the lowest number of persons receiving social allowances.

At the national and local levels, the number of persons receiving social allowances increased substantially between 2007 and 2012 and decreased in the following years. Indeed, by 2017 it stood below the figure of 2007. The share of foreign-born beneficiaries in Amadora was 4.6% in 2007, a proportion that increased to 11.3% in 2012 and then decreased (but not so much) to 7.5% in 2017.

The teenage birth rate may also be a relevant indicator of poverty and social exclusion.²⁸ By 2017 it stood at 15.4% in Amadora, much above the 8% registered at the national level.

²⁶ Atlas of Inequalities (Deliverable 1.3 of the UPLIFT project), pp. 26-27. While these problems are broadly distributed throughout the country, the Lisbon Metropolitan Area registers – in comparison with the national figures – a lower risk of poverty and an average income inequality.

²⁷ See Table 7 in the Annex.

²⁸ See Table 8 in the Annex.

Nevertheless, there has been a major improvement over the last years in this indicator, considering that by 2012 it reached as high as 28.8% in Amadora and 12,2% at the national level.

In consonance with the trend identified in national policies, social protection in Amadora has been increasingly ensured and debated by local actors, as shown by the following initiatives. After the municipality joined a national programme of support to local networks in 2003, a Local Council for Social Action (*Conselho Local de Ação Social*) was created to articulate and reinforce efforts against poverty and exclusion. Coordinated by the municipality, this council is currently composed of 69 partners, including *Juntas de Freguesia*, public employment and social security services, police forces, schools, healthcare establishments, private or third-sector associations and a trade union confederation.

Another important initiative has been the creation of an Integrated Service and Monitoring System (*Sistema de Atendimento e Acompanhamento Integrado*), developed by a research institute in 2005-2010 and run by the municipality of Amadora and the *freguesias* since then. Positively assessed by our interviewees, this system consists in the provision of services to improve the articulation between complementary forms of support required by persons in a situation of social vulnerability and exclusion, as well as the follow-up of their cases.

Our interviewees indicate other relevant measures in the period under analysis, all of them pertaining to the implementation of national or European policies. These include the Social Benefit for Inclusion (*Prestação Social para a Inclusão*), created in 2017 to support persons with disabilities, and the operational programme FEAD - Fund for European Aid to the Most Deprived, through which the NGO Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa provides food at the local level.

The main problems pointed out by our interviewees can be distinguished between structural constraints and institutional gaps. With respect to structural constraints, the high prevalence of precarious and informal work, especially in the cleaning and care work sectors for women and in the construction sectors for men, keeps many persons uncovered by social protection and therefore at permanent risk of falling into a situation in which the RSI is the only benefit they can apply for. They often lack support in the community, especially financial help and assistance in caring for children or elderly persons in their own family, since their closest relatives and friends are likely to be under similar pressures. This is even more the case for migrants that arrived recently. Furthermore, discrimination is a major obstacle to tackle social exclusion, as observed for instance in the additional difficulties of Roma or African descent persons to find a job.

Concerning institutional gaps, three problems should be highlighted. First, documental procedures to access welfare benefits are often too complex and detailed, making it hard – especially for persons that are not supported by a local NGO – to successfully apply for them. Second, workers in key positions (e.g. social security, job centres, schools) lack specific training to better address the local challenges. Third, the amount of the RSI is not enough to

raise households above poverty. Nevertheless, the RSI is described by our interviewees as having a positive impact on beneficiaries and their communities, both immediately and in the longer run. In particular, it enables the staff of local NGOs to work with the beneficiaries and contribute to a gradual improvement of their resources, for instance by finding a job or resuming education, as well as investing in the education of their children.

In the case of some households, one of the conditions in the RSI contract at the start was that the child attended school for at least three days a week. Today I'm no longer negotiating three days a week: that child goes to school everyday and his or her siblings too. This policy instrument enabled the beneficiaries to feel that need... In fact, they were the ones telling me what they understood as a better future for their children and how they could give their children a life different than their own.

NGO staff member

3 Innovative post-crisis policies

Bridging the gaps in the articulation between national and local intervention: school-level implementation of the National Programme to Promote Educational Attainment

The National Programme to Promote Educational Attainment (*Programa Nacional de Promoção do Sucesso Escolar*, henceforth PNPSE) was born out of a decision of the national government in 2016 to reinforce the role and capabilities of local education communities in tackling school failure and early dropout.²⁹ The major innovative feature of this strategy has been an integrated approach to the improvement of educational attainment based on local decision-making and bottom-up policy design and implementation, with an explicit concern with inequalities and support from the European Social Fund. Under this programme, four public school clusters in the FUA of Amadora have elaborated and implemented their own Plans of Strategic Action, addressing local needs and engaging in formal and informal cooperation with stakeholders. A positive decrease in failure rates has been observed since then, albeit not in a uniform manner across schools, reflecting the variety of challenges and experiences on the ground.

The origin of this programme goes back to the post-crisis context of 2015-2016, when a new government took office in Portugal with the unprecedented support of all left-wing parties in the parliament. The reduction of social inequalities was a political priority, in particular by addressing the high levels of school failure and early dropout in the country, which affect especially young persons from low-income households and contribute to their high risk of poverty and social exclusion. The PNPSE consisted in a new strategy based on local solutions drawn by each school in cooperation with the municipality and community institutions. The Ministry of Education ensures training, technical advice and impact assessment (a commission was set up for this purpose, including experts and representatives of schools, municipalities and parents), while each school or school cluster creates their Plan of Strategic Action. These plans include measures such as teachers' training centred on the needs of the school, discussion and reflection activities among professionals, recruitment of additional professionals, use of autonomy and flexibility in teaching methods, curricula and evaluation, and research-action projects. The assessments of the programme at the national level show a substantial decrease of retention and early dropout rates, an increase of educational equity (across different schools) and efficiency benefits (Verdasca et al., 2019, 2020).

Considering the four school clusters in Amadora that adopted the programme (Alfornelos, Fernando Namora, Almeida Garrett and Pioneiros da Aviação), failure rates have so far

²⁹ Resolution of the Council of Ministers 23/2016, 23 March, [available here](#).

decreased in all grades up to the 9th grade except in the 6th. The schools cluster of Alforneiros registers the fastest decrease in failure rates, with considerable improvements at all levels of education from 2014-2016 to 2016-2018. Outcomes in the other school clusters are not so clear-cut; for instance, the secondary school Fernando Namora experienced a reduction of the failure rate in the 12th grade but not in the 10th and 11th.

As to limitations, despite overall positive outcomes, the effectiveness of the programme so far has been more apparent in basic education than in secondary education. While the approach is innovative, the environment of reception is not so innovative, the participation of young persons in the design of the Plan of Strategic Action is scarce and implementation depends largely on particular professors and practitioners that take action.

It is significant that our interviewees had difficulties in reporting innovative policies, especially considering that some of them have been working on the ground for many years. Asked about innovation, they were only able to indicate initiatives or projects created before the economic crisis with some innovative features. These included the national programmes TEIP - Educational Zones for Priority Action (1996) and Escolhas (2001), the international project Generation Orchestra (2007) and the expansion of vocational courses (gradually since 2008). They pointed out gaps in the articulation between national and local actors, which is precisely why the PNPSE involves distinct levels of governance and seeks to consolidate their interconnection with the constitution of a national network and the availability of European funds. In addition, one of our interviewees remarks that, while the TEIP programme produced generally positive results over the years, some schools avoid it because they understand it as stigmatising. Thus, broader strategic umbrellas such as the PNPSE may be more attractive and successful in the medium term.

4 Discussion and conclusions

The analysis in the previous pages uncovers the scales and dimensions of inequality in the FUA of Amadora. Convening the results across the four areas under study – education, employment, housing and social protection –, we now provide an overview of the findings and focus on the role of location in generating or countering social inequalities among the urban youth. In doing so, we seek a connection between the three levels of analysis identified in the Deliverable 1.2 of the UPLIFT project (Inequality Concepts and Theories in the Post-Crisis Europe) – macro-level, meso-level and micro-level.

At the macro-level of analysis, Amadora reflects the debilities that characterise Portugal in a rapidly globalising economy, in particular low wages, labour-intensive production and high income inequality. The severe impacts of the financial and economic crisis between 2008 and 2015 fell disproportionately on young persons and aggravated their disadvantage, especially in the areas of employment and housing. The austerity policy response to the crisis, inspired by the neoliberal goal of labour cost reduction, did not protect young persons, much to the contrary. Even in the subsequent recovery years, young persons in Amadora did not see their situation improve as much as that of the overall population. In the context of regional disparities, the position of Amadora in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon is beneficial for its vicinity to a wide variety of work and educational opportunities, but it also entails pressures for housing price rises and residential segregation.

At the meso-level of analysis, it is important to bear in mind that the welfare regime in Portugal has contracted since the early 2000s. This trend accelerated during the crisis that erupted in 2008. Breaking with a previous period which a variety of policies and programmes had been introduced to tackle inequalities, public intervention between 2009 and 2014 was limited to remedy measures with little if any capacity to mitigate unemployment and poverty. In addition, the decreasing social protection coverage reduced the ability of the welfare system to address the vulnerabilities of young persons. The economic recovery since 2015 and the adoption of new policies by the government to improve the situation of young persons, especially in the areas of education and housing, produced positive results, but these have been insufficient in the face of great difficulties to secure a job with decent wages and live independently from the family of origin.

Considering policies and programmes introduced in the period of 2008-2020, a contradiction is apparent. Most of these policies and programmes originated from initiatives at the national level – legislation, national strategy, public investment or other –, suggesting that the central state, the government and the parliament are the strongest actors. However, local actors – especially the municipality and NGOs – have been ascribed a growing role with regard to implementation, and even design in some cases, in a clear trend toward decentralisation as a way to either optimise resources or better respond to local needs, or both.

As corroborated by our interviewees, the local welfare system benefited from a growing room of manoeuvre since 2008. In the four areas under study, considerable responsibilities have been transferred from the national level to the local level, based on a consensual understanding that organisations working closer to the young persons at stake are in a more adequate position to identify needs and problems, as well as to create and monitor solutions. However, this trend has not been accompanied to the same extent by the allocation of adequate resources, such as legal powers, financial means and qualified staff.

Another source of concern pertains to the limited ability of local actors to counter broader dynamics of inequality. For instance, granting the schools resources and autonomy to develop their own measures against school failure and early dropout is improving the educational prospects of young persons from low-income households. However, these young persons will be confronted with a labour market permeated by segmentation, precariousness, and discrimination based on gender and ethnicity. Another example is the little potential of policy measures to provide or support housing in a deregulated housing market with strong pressures toward price speculation and gentrification. Vicious circles of segregation are an outcome of this combination of elements, standing out as both a cause and a consequence of inequality reproduction.

The municipality and the *Juntas de Freguesia* collaborate with local public partners (such as schools, employment and social security services) and civil society organisations (mostly NGOs) in a variety of projects and networks, suggesting a fruitful practice of communication and cooperation. Still, difficulties with regard to the articulation of efforts and the impact assessment of policies have been reported by the interviewees. This is partially explained by the abovementioned scarcity of resources to support policy decentralisation, considering that time and skills seem to lack in many of the local organisations.

The same aspect is important to understand why young persons are perceived as beneficiaries or targets of the specific measures developed for them, with no substantial attempt at involving them as co-designers or decision-makers. Participatory action and policy co-design also require resources and can hardly be found in organisations with traditional working methods and struggling to handle a volume of urgent requests that exceeds their capacity of response. These findings resonate with the observation of Brandsen (2014: 2) that, in the face of persisting or rising inequalities, a loss of social cohesion and failing policies of integration in the years of the post-2008 economic crisis, “local welfare systems are at the forefront of the struggle to address this challenge – and they are far from winning”.

Drawing on the capability approach (e.g. Sen, 1999), our analysis shows that vulnerable youngsters in the FUA of Amadora enjoy some formal freedoms, especially those related with broader socio-economic developments and constitutional rights, but they lack others due to structural inequalities that are reproduced across generations. They also lack conversion factors required to turn formal freedoms into real freedoms, and local policies have precisely

attempted to tackle this problem, with more positive results in education than in any of the other three areas under study.

Our findings also suggest that, at the micro-level, characteristics such as gender and ethnicity bear a significant influence on the experiences of inequalities, due to either structural disadvantages or active discrimination. Young women are more likely than young men to experience poverty and social exclusion throughout their life. Despite their better performance at school, they face greater difficulties than men to achieve economic independence as a result of labour market segmentation and obstacles to their autonomy in the family context such as a disproportionate amount of unpaid work (i.e. daily domestic and care tasks), especially when they have children. WP3 of the UPLIFT project shall allow us to scrutinise inequalities at the micro-level, using life-course analysis and the capability approach to better understand the interconnection of resources (formal freedoms), capabilities (real freedoms) and achievements.

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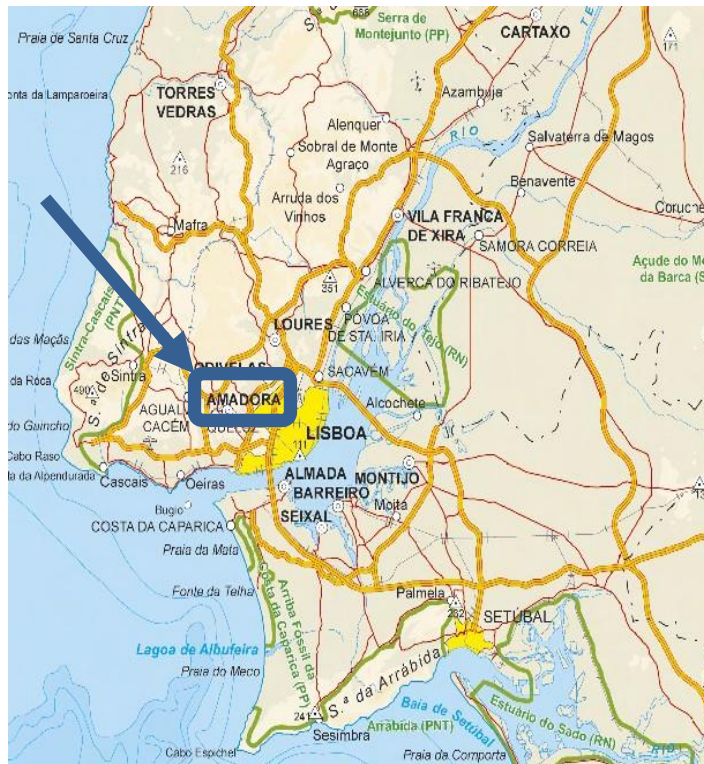
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Annex

Figure 1: Amadora in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon

Figure 2: The six freguesias of Amadora



Source: Direção-Geral do Território Source: Câmara Municipal da Amadora

Table 1 – Population by sex and age group

		TOTAL	Sex		Age				
		Total	Men	Women	Young age group (15-29)	Young age group a) 15-19	Young age group b) 20-29	30-64	65+
National	2007	10.617.575	5.138.807	5.478.768	1.951.370	581.218	1.370.152	5.087.774	1.870.360
	2012	10.487.289	4.995.697	5.491.592	1.729.988	551.206	1.178.782	5.174.494	2.032.606
	2017/18/19	10.291.027	4.867.692	5.423.335	1.642.668	555.911	1.086.757	5.011.189	2.213.274
Bigger region (NUTS III level – Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)	2007	2.808.414	1.349.603	1.458.811	496.283	140.973	355.310	1.366.131	475.274
	2012	2.818.388	1.329.450	1.488.938	443.930	135.491	308.439	1.379.079	547.198
	2017/18/19	2.833.679	1.328.244	1.505.435	428.504	146.907	281.597	1.342.874	611.821
FUA (AMADORA)	2007	173.413	82.793	90.620	32.155	9.264	22.891	86.746	30.768
	2012	175.631	82.344	93.287	28.853	8.275	20.578	84.589	35.978
	2017/18/19	179.942	83.722	96.220	27.214	8.418	18.796	83.357	41.578

Table 2 - Early leavers from education by level of education, sex and nationality

		TOTAL Sex			Country of origin	
		Total	Men	Women	Foreign born	Natives
		Early leavers (18-24)				
National (mainland Portugal)	2007	36,5	42,8	30	42,7	36,2
	2012	20,5	26,9	14	28,3	20,2
	2017/18/19	12,6	15,3	9,7	§	12,3
Bigger region (NUTS III level – Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)	2007	31,7	34,5	28,9	41,8	30,4
	2012	19,9	26,2	13,6	33,5	18,7
	2017/18/19	10,8	9,9	11,7	§	10,1
FUA (AMADORA)	2007	-	-	-	-	-
	2012	-	-	-	-	-
	2017/18/19	-	-	-	-	-

Table 2 (cont.)

		TOTAL		Sex		Country of origin		TOTAL		Sex		Country of origin	
		Total	Men	Women	Foreign born	Natives	Total	Men	Women	Foreign born	Natives		
		Total_primary education					Upper secondary education_Technological/ (Professional)Vocacional courses						
National (mainland Portugal)	2007	10	11,8	8,1	-	-	28,7	32,9	23,4	-	-		
	2012	9,5	11,2	7,6	18,1	9,1	16,3	18,8	12,9	19,3	16,0		
	2017/18/19	5,4	6,6	4,2	12,6	5,2	10,5	12,2	8,2	17,0	10,2		
Bigger region (NUTS III level – Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)	2007	11,3	12,7	9,8	-	-	34,5	37,0	31,1	-	-		
	2012	11,2	12,7	9,6	-	-	21	23,5	17,5	-	-		
	2017/18/19	6,5	7,6	5,4	-	-	14,2	16,1	11,8	-	-		
FUA (AMADORA)	2007	15	16,9	13,0	-	-	39,7	42,2	36,2	-	-		
	2012	15,9	17,1	14,6	28,1	14,0	28,4	31,1	23,7	27,6	28,6		
	2017/18/19	10,2	12,0	8,4	20,1	8,8	15,3	16,8	13,1	22,5	13,6		

Table 2 (cont.)

	TOTAL					TOTAL				
	Sex		Country of origin			Sex		Country of origin		
	Total	Men	Women	Foreign born	Natives	Total	Men	Women	Foreign born	Natives
	Upper secondary education					Upper secondary education_General courses/scientific-humanistical				
National (mainland Portugal)	2007	27,8	22,0	-	-	23,7	26,4	21,7	-	-
	2012	22,2	17,3	27,4	19,2	21,9	25	19,4	37,9	21,2
	2017/18/19	17,0	12,9	28,0	14,4	17,4	20,4	14,9	36,1	16,7
Bigger region (NUTS III level – Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)	2007	28,7	25	-	-	25,3	26,8	24,2	-	-
	2012	26,0	21,4	-	-	25	27,4	22,9	-	-
	2017/18/19	21,2	16,7	-	-	21,1	24,0	18,5	-	-
FUA (AMADORA)	2007	35,2	33,1	-	-	32,1	31,8	32,4	-	-
	2012	35,3	31,3	39,8	31,9	38,5	41,1	36,3	60,1	34,8
	2017/18/19	23,0	19,4	36,6	18,5	26,4	29,6	23,6	54,9	22,4

Table 3 – Unemployment and inactivity rates (Portugal and NUTS III)

		% UNEMPLOYED											
		TOTAL	Sex		Age			Country of origin					
		Total	Men	Women	Young group (15-29)	age (15-24)	Young group (15-24)	age (15-19)	Young group a) (15-19)	Young group b) (20-29)	Other working groups (30-64)	Foreign born	Natives
National	2007	8	6,6	9,5	13,9	16,7	24	13	6,9	12	7,8		
	2012	15,5	15,6	15,5	27,8	37,9	56,4	25,5	13,6	26,5	15,2		
	2017/18/19	8,9	8,4	9,3	16,7	23,9	35,7	15,4	7,6	13,7	8,7		
Bigger region (NUTS III level – Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)	2007	8,9	9,2	8,6	15,4	18,6	34,3	14,2	7,4	12,7	8,5		
	2012	17,6	19,3	15,8	29	43,5	66,6	27	15,5	28,2	16,8		
	2017/18/19	9,5	9,2	9,7	16,6	23,1	40,4	15	8,3	14,2	9,2		
		% ECONOMICALLY INACTIVE (OUTSIDE THE LABOUR MARKET)											
		TOTAL	Sex		Age			Country of origin					
		Total	Men	Women	Young group (15-29)	age (15-24)	Young group (15-24)	age (15-19)	Young group a) (15-19)	Young group b) (20-29)	Other working groups (30-64)	Foreign born	Natives
National	2007	37,8	30,9	44,0	41,1	58,7	82,9	23,7	20,3	22,5	38,3		

	2012	39,8	33,7	45,3	44,5	62,9	87,3	24,7	20,5	24,1	40,2
	2017/18/19	41,0	35,5	45,9	47,9	66,0	89,7	26,5	17,9	24,2	41,4
Bigger region	2007	39,7	34,7	44,1	42,3	62,4	87,8	24,7	20,3	21,3	41,2
(NUTS III level – Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)	2012	40,7	36,2	44,6	43,8	63,9	90,5	23,6	19,4	21,9	41,8
	2017/18/19	41,0	37,1	44,2	48,1	66,4	90,5	26,2	15,5	22,6	41,7

Table 4 - Sectoral distribution in the FUA (total by sex and young age groups + nationality)

	A: Agriculture, forestry and fishing							B-E: Industry (except construction)						
	Sex		Young groups		age	Country of origin		Total	Sex		Young age groups		Country of origin	
	Total	Men	Women	Young age group (<25)	Young age group (25-34)	Foreign born	Natives		Men	Women	Young age group (<25)	Young age group (25-34)	Foreign born	Natives
2007	10	8	2	2	2	-	10	5066	3076	1990	267	1437	192	4874
2012	16	15	1	4	4	5	11	3969	2276	1693	98	1067	253	3716
2017/18/19	18	13	5	1	6	5	13	3854	2253	1601	125	947	283	3571

	C: Manufacturing							F: Construction						
	Sex		Young groups		age	Country of origin		Total	Sex		Young age groups		Country of origin	
	Total	Men	Women	Young age group (<25)	Young age group (25-34)	Foreign born	Natives		Men	Women	Young age group (<25)	Young age group (25-34)	Foreign born	Natives

2007	4973	2990	1983	264	1409	188	4785	6480	5849	631	432	1907	1448	5032
2012	3873	2193	1680	98	1043	241	3632	2678	2373	305	88	578	422	2256
2017/18/19	3751	2178	1573	125	925	280	3471	2985	2632	353	92	375	573	2412

G-I: Wholesale and retail trade, transport, accommodation and food service activities								J: Information and communication						
Sex		Young groups		age		Country of origin		Sex		Young age groups		Country of origin		
Total	Men	Women	Young age group (<25)	Young age group (25-34)	Foreign born	Natives	Total	Men	Women	Young age group (<25)	Young age group (25-34)	Foreign born	Natives	
2007	13673	7284	6389	1451	4221	855	12818	1592	1090	502	78	733	30	1562
2012	16683	7337	9346	1719	4564	1459	15224	2006	1313	693	108	697	42	1964
2017/18/19	16775	7708	9067	1956	4180	1394	15381	2499	1623	876	121	657	41	2458

K: Financial and insurance activities							L: Real estate activities							
Sex		Young groups		age		Country of origin		Sex		Young age groups		Country of origin		

	Total	Men	Women	Young age group (<25)	Young age group (25-34)	Foreign born	Natives	Total	Men	Women	Young age group (<25)	Young age group (25-34)	Foreign born	Natives
2007	966	575	391	17	303	9	957	270	139	131	11	67	12	258
2012	875	502	373	11	190	13	862	207	96	111	6	36	10	197
2017/18/19	559	306	253	1	55	3	556	220	97	123	4	29	17	203

	M-N: Professional, scientific and technical activities; administrative and support service activities							O-Q: Public administration, defence, education, human health and social work activities						
	Sex		Young groups		Country of origin			Sex		Young age groups		Country of origin		
	Total	Men	Women	Young age group (<25)	Young age group (25-34)	Foreign born	Natives	Total	Men	Women	Young age group (<25)	Young age group (25-34)	Foreign born	Natives
2007	5948	2667	3281	487	1869	1420	4528	4748	1115	3633	352	1781	329	4419
2012	6381	3575	2806	399	1808	908	5473	5222	1105	4117	292	1632	358	4864

2017/18/19	8410	4416	3994	420	1813	1105	7305	5747	1124	4623	255	1520	379	5368
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R-U: Arts, entertainment and recreation; other service activities; activities of household and extra-territorial organizations and bodies							
	Sex		Young age groups		Country of origin		
	Total	Men	Women	Young age group (<25)	Young age group (25-34)	Foreign born	Natives
2007	1113	324	789	96	389	97	1016
2012	1008	364	644	82	312	85	923
2017/18/19	824	309	515	36	212	101	723

Table 5 - Precariously employed by sex, age groups and nationality

		TOTAL	Sex		Age							Country of origin		
		Total	Men	Women	Young age group (<25)	Young age group (25-34)	Age group (25-34)	Age group (35-44)	Age group (45-54)	Age group (55-64)	Age group (65 and +)	Ignored	Foreign born	Natives
National	2007	28,8	28,1	29,7	21,1	39,3	22,5	12,4	4,0	0,4	0,2	10,4	89,6	
	2012	25,4	25,3	25,5	17,5	37,2	25,6	14,4	4,8	0,5	0,1	8,7	91,3	
	2017/18/19	34,3	35,4	33,1	17,6	32,7	25,1	16,8	7,0	0,6	0,1	8,7	91,3	
FUA (AMADORA)	2007	31,4	34,8	27,5	17,9	40,1	24,4	12,5	4,3	0,6	0,2	20,6	79,4	
	2012	23,0	23,9	22,1	20,1	36,5	24,5	13,5	4,6	0,7	0,1	14,1	85,9	
	2017/18/19	29,9	31,0	28,8	17,3	32,2	25,3	17,4	7,1	0,6	0,2	14,7	85,3	

Table 6 - Tenure structure by sex, age, household composition and nationality

		% HOME OWNERSHIP	% RENTING
		Total	Total
National	2007	-	-
	2012 (CENSUS 2011)	73,0	20,1
	2017/18/19	-	-
Bigger region (NUTS III level – Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)	2007	-	-
	2012	-	-
	2017/18/19	-	-
FUA (AMADORA)	2007	-	-
	2012 (CENSUS 2011)	63,7	31,2
	2017/18/19	-	-

Table 6 (cont.)

	% SUBSIDIZED/MUNICIPALLY OWNED HOUSING (2019)																	
	Sex			Age				Family type									Country of origin	
	Total	Men	Women	Young age group (0-14)	Young age group (15-29)	30-64	65+	Couples with children	Couples without children	Singles with children	Single mothers with minor children	Single fathers with minor children	Single mothers with adult children	Single fathers with adult children	Singles without children	Extended families	Foreign born	Natives
National	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Bigger region (NUTS III level – Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
FUA (AMADOR A)	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5763	2757	3006	993	1412	2496	855	416	139	212	191	21	238	47	547	434	910	4853

Table 7 - Persons receiving social allowances by sex, age, household composition and nationality

		Sex		Age							
		Total	Men	Women	Young age group (15-29)	Young age group <18-29	Young age group a) 15-19	Young age group <18-19	Young age group b) 20-29	30-64	65+
National	2007	323.941	149.893	174.048	-	147.092	-	131.051	34.979	137.180	20.731
	2012	371.804	178.276	193.528	-	194.349	-	145.253	49.096	171.789	5.666
	2017/18/19	257.545	126.353	131.192	-	113.225	-	87.800	30.046	133.493	6.206
Bigger region (NUTS III level – Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)	2007										
	2012										
	2017/18/19										
FUA (AMADORA)	2007	7.139	3.074	4.065	-	4.168	-	3.233	935	2.520	451
	2012	10.066	4.631	5.435	-	5.896	-	4.474	1.422	3.977	186
	2017/18/19	5.085	2.393	2.692	-	2.598	-	2.074	524	2.071	113

Table 7 (cont.)

	Nuclear family with children	Nuclear family without children	Singles with children	Singles without children	Grandmother with grandchildren	Grandfather with grandchildren	Grandparents with grandchildren	Extended family	Foreign born	Natives
National	6.371	2.326	5.233	5.600	47	5	19	1.370	3.465	320.476
	57.471	16.409	48.918	71.013	362	53	237	12.044	12.260	359.544
	46.885	14.181	44.206	79.761	273	37	181	10.269	6.046	251.499
Bigger region (NUTS III level – Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)										
FUA (AMADORA)	91	33	237	130	28	-	-	-	329	6.785
	815	167	1.478	1.783	283	-	-	-	1.141	8.925
	656	162	1.279	1.830	203	-	-	-	381	4.688

Table 8 - Teenage birth rate

		Total	Sex		Country of origin	
			Men	Women	Foreign born	Natives
National	2007	-	-	17,0	-	-
	2012	-	-	12,2	-	-
	2017/18/19	-	-	8	-	-
Bigger region (NUTS III level – Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)	2007	-	-	20,7	-	-
	2012	-	-	16,7	-	-
	2017/18/19	-	-	11,2	-	-
FUA (AMADORA)	2007	-	-	27,9	-	-
	2012	-	-	28,8	-	-
	2017/18/19	-	-	15,4	-	-

The table below contains data/indicators that are able to display social inequalities in a way that is the most comparable with other urban areas. Each urban report includes this data table, which is also intending to show not only the scale and dimensions of inequalities in the functional urban area of Amadora, but indicates also the scale of missing data that makes any comparative research difficult to implement.

	National data (Portugal)	Regional data (Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)	FUA data (Amadora)	City level data
Population				
Population in 2007	10,617,575	2,808,414	173,413	
Population in 2012	10,487,289	2,818,388	175,631	
Population in 2017	10,291,027	2,833,679	179,942	
Population aged 15-29 in 2007	1,951,370	496,283	32,155	
Population aged 15-29 in 2012	1,729,988	443,930	28,853	
Population aged 15-29 in 2017	1,642,668	428,504	27,214	
Income/poverty				
Gini index 2007	36.8	-	-	
Gini index 2012	36	-	-	
Gini index 2017	33.8	-	-	
Equalized personal income quintiles (mean for the 1st quintile) 2017	5,667	-	-	
Equalized personal income quintiles (mean for the 2st quintile) 2017	7,982	-	-	
Equalized personal income quintiles (mean for the 3st quintile) 2017	10,340	-	-	
Equalized personal income quintiles (mean for the 4st quintile) 2017	14,374	-	-	
Equalized personal income quintiles (mean for the 5st quintile) 2017	-	-	-	
At risk of poverty rate 2007	18.1	-	-	
At risk of poverty rate 2012	17.9	-	-	
At risk of poverty rate 2017	18.3	-	-	
At risk of poverty aged 0-17 2007	20.9	-	-	
At risk of poverty aged 0-17 2012	21.8	-	-	
At risk of poverty aged 0-17 2017	20.7	-	-	
At risk of poverty aged 18-24 2007	16.1	-	-	
At risk of poverty aged 18-24 2012	22.2	-	-	
At risk of poverty aged 18-24 2017	24.1	-	-	
Housing				

	National data (Portugal)	Regional data (Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)	FUA data (Amadora)	City level data
Share of housing below market rates (social housing) 2007	16	-	-	
Share of housing below market rates (social housing) 2012	14.5	-	-	
Share of housing below market rates (social housing) 2015	12.5	-	-	
Average housing price/average income 2007	-	-	-	
Average housing price/average income 2012	-	-	-	
Average housing price/average income 2017	0,822	0,894	0,768	
Education				
Early leavers from education and training 2007	36,5	31,7	-	
Early leavers from education and training 2012	20,5	19,9	-	
Early leavers from education and training 2017	12,6	10,8	-	
Share of inhabitants aged 15-64 with a maximum ISCED 1 (2) education 2007	71.4	73,4	-	
Share of inhabitants aged 15-64 with a maximum ISCED 1 (2) education 2012	61.6	68,3	-	
Share of inhabitants aged 15-64 with a maximum ISCED 1 (2) education 2017	51.7	60,2	-	
Enrolment in upper secondary school 2007	63.6 (Mainland)	64.6	44.8	
Enrolment in upper secondary school 2012	74.6 (Mainland)	73.1	47.6	
Enrolment in upper secondary school 2017	80.2 (Mainland)	79.7	55.0	
Employment				
NEET youth aged 15- (24)29 2007	11,2	11,5	-	

	National data (Portugal)	Regional data (Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)	FUA data (Amadora)	City level data
NEET youth aged 15-(24)29 2012	13,9	15,3	-	
NEET youth aged 15-(24)29 2017	9,3	8,2	-	
Employment rate 2007	57,3	54,9	-	
Employment rate 2012	50,8	48,9	-	
Employment rate 2017	53,7	53,4	-	
Employment rate aged 15-29 2007	50,7	48,8	-	
Employment rate aged 15-29 2012	40,1	39,9	-	
Employment rate aged 15-29 2017	43,3	43,3	-	
Unemployment rate 2007	8	8,9	-	
Unemployment rate 2012	15,5	17,6	-	
Unemployment rate 2017	8,9	9,5	-	
Unemployment rate aged 15-29 2007	13,9	15,4	-	
Unemployment rate aged 15-29 2012	27,8	29	-	
Unemployment rate aged 15-29 2017	16,7	16,6	-	
Share of precarious employment 2007	28.8	-	31.3	
Share of precarious employment 2012	25.4	-	23.0	
Share of precarious employment 2017	34.3	-	29.9	
Share of precarious employment aged 15-29 2007/2008	-	-	-	
Share of precarious employment aged 15-29 2011/2012	-	-	-	
Share of precarious employment aged 15-29 2018/2019	-	-	-	
Share of precarious employment aged <25 2007	54,7	-	64,9	
Share of precarious employment aged <25 2012	58,6	-	61,6	
Share of precarious employment aged <25 2017	70,9	-	69,5	

	National data (Portugal)	Regional data (Metropolitan Area of Lisbon)	FUA data (Amadora)	City level data
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Health

Life expectancy 2007	78,7	78,9	-	
Life expectancy 2012	80	80	-	
Life expectancy 2017	80,8	80,9	-	
Teenage birth rate 2007	17,0	20,7	27,9	
Teenage birth rate 2012	12,2	16,7	28,8	
Teenage birth rate 2017	8	11,2	15,4	