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The impact of local inclusion policies on disadvantaged urban areas: perceptions in the case of Andalusia

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ABSTRACT:

In this article we analyse the transitions and impacts of regional social inclusion policies in disadvantaged urban areas in Andalusia conducting a longitudinal study (1989-2018). To do this, we analysed the regulations that have specifically arisen on social inclusion, weighing them against the perceptions of actors who took part in designing and implementing these policies. The results of the analysis allow us to present effective practices and approaches in these neighbourhoods. We conclude that social inclusion policies have swung from welfare approaches and insertion models based on income-employment guarantee programmes. Both approaches reveal new limitations in today's context of job destruction and precarity.

KEYWORDS: social exclusion; inclusion policies; vulnerable neighbourhoods; employment; social services.

JEL CLASSIFICATION: I38.

Efecto de las políticas locales de inclusión en zonas urbanas desfavorecidas: percepciones sobre el caso andaluz.

RESUMEN:

En este artículo se analizan las transiciones e impactos de las políticas regionales de inclusión social en las zonas urbanas desfavorecidas de Andalucía a través de un estudio longitudinal (1989-2018). Para ello, analizamos las normativas que han surgido específicamente en materia de inclusión social, sopesándolas frente a las percepciones de los actores que han participado en el diseño e implementación de estas políticas. Los resultados del análisis nos permiten presentar prácticas y enfoques efectivos en estos barrios. Concluimos que las políticas de inclusión social se han alejado de los enfoques asistenciales y de los modelos de inserción basados en programas de garantía de ingresos y empleo. Ambos enfoques revelan nuevas limitaciones en el contexto actual de destrucción de empleo y precariedad.

PALABRAS CLAVE: exclusión social; políticas de inclusión; barrios vulnerables; empleo; servicios sociales.

CLASIFICACIÓN JEL: I38.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Studies on social inclusion policies have prioritised either comprehensive approaches or research focused on specific social groups. Analyses from a spatial-territorial perspective have been less widespread. However, in urban environments, most of today's social exclusion dynamics visibly tend to accumulate in certain vulnerable areas or neighbourhoods (Harvey, 2014; Davis, 2006; Castell, 2000).

This article is the result of research conducted within the framework of the *INCLUSIVE Project*, funded by Spain's R&D&i State Plan addressing Society's Challenges over the 2013-2017 period (or *Plan Estatal de I+D+i orientada a los Retos de la Sociedad para el periodo 2013-2017* in Spanish). The project focused on analysing the perceived impact of inclusion policies in Spain. A series of different case studies emerged from the general research work, following different interest and relevance criteria. One of these cases, described in the present study, refers to the impact of inclusion policies in Disadvantaged Urban Areas (hereon DUAs) in Andalusia. Worthy of note, the present study centres on the impact of policies from a global perspective: we did not delve into any specific DUA along the study. In this way, the information presented here is based on work with actors who took part in the first 24 DUAs defined by Andalusia's initial regulations on the matter (1989).

The case of Andalusia was of interest for several reasons. First, Andalusia is the most populated autonomous community in Spain, with around 8.5 million inhabitants. In addition, Andalusia is among the most disadvantaged regions of southern Europe, with an unemployment rate of 21.3%¹ in 2018, and a poverty risk rate of 31%², representing 13.7 points above the country average. To finish, several metropolitan environments in the region have a high concentration of vulnerable neighbourhoods (Seville, Malaga, Granada and around the Bay of Cádiz³). Thus, beyond the interest of the case itself, the context was useful to study the effects of inclusion policies in southern regions of Europe.

As regional social policies expanded at the end of the eighties, a range of Spanish regions developed regulations and programmes aimed at socially transforming these areas. This initial impetus has undergone various transformations, conditioned by political criteria and changes to the social and economic scenario. In the following sections we study regulatory discourse and describe the changes undergone in this public policy domain over the last three decades. Second, we analyse the perceptions of the actors involved in the design and implementation of these public policies on their overall impact. Based on the results of this analysis, we detected the practices that have fostered social inclusion in DUAs.

2. THEORETICAL ASPECTS

2.1. "NEW POVERTY" AND INCLUSION POLICIES

One of the most noticeable effects of Spain's socioeconomic crisis since 2008 has been the questioning of public policies' ability to face rising social exclusion. Long-term factors have converged and contributed to the situation, such as the disconnection of market dynamics regarding impoverishment (Scott, 1994; Stiglitz, 2013), and more recently, employment reduction and precarity policies and their impact on people's different life cycles (Arriba, 2010).

In the post-crisis era, the replacement of *Fordist* (economic-productive) and *Keynesian* (economic-political) *patterns* by forms of global financial capitalism (Paugam, 2007; Sennet, 2000) has accelerated,

¹ Active Population Survey, fourth quarter of 2018. Spanish National Institute of Statistics.

² Survey of Living Conditions 2017. Spanish National Institute of Statistics.

³ Regional Strategy for Intervention in Disadvantaged Areas in Andalusia (2018).

reducing employment's capacity for inclusion (Ignellis & Calvo, 2015)⁴, eroding the institutional structure of welfare and reducing the guarantee-based trend of inclusion policies (Bauman, 2017).

Added to the above, the protective capacity of primary networks (family, neighbours) has declined due to demographic changes (Martínez Virto, 2014), a particularly notable fact in Mediterranean countries (Ferrera, 1996). All these latter factors exacerbate the dissolution (Baumann, 2013) of a large part of the safety nets that legitimise the idea of cohesion in welfare societies.

Today's *safety nets* are assembled according to proximity to the economy's productive-speculative core. Distance from the core leads to losing relational capital and resources (Atkinson, 2003), increasing affected individuals' vulnerability, leading them to situations of disaffiliation (Castell, 1997; Rosenvallon, 2004) and social exclusion (Laparra et al., 2007).

Such circumstances also condition the reach of inclusion policies and often reduce them to responses centred on employment-income guarantees. Tensions still exist between proposals to protect (economically) against new social risks and others to maintain a certain work ethic that prevents dependency (Handler, 2003) leading to two positions. On the one hand, proposals are re-emerging to extend economic protection by means of income guarantee policies (Goma & Roseti, 2016) or double-right policies (Martínez & Pérez, 2015), differentiating the right to income guarantee from the right to inclusion accompaniment. On the other, welfare policies combined with *workfare* programmes are reappearing, where employment/income benefits are linked to potentially stigmatising compensation and control measures (Pierson, 1996).

Finally, the fact that inclusion policies have concentrated around income-employment aspects has led to downplaying the role of other factors (educational, social, relational, territorial, etc.) that have also contributed to exclusion processes in recent years.

2.2. EXCLUSION AND TERRITORY

The obvious fact that exclusion tends to concentrate in specific urban areas has already been studied (Davis, 2006; Harvey, 2014). The urban fabric produces integrated, vulnerable and excluded areas (Jaraíz, 2004).

However, inclusion policies have attached minor importance to the territorial dimension of exclusion, at least regarding operational aspects (Egea et al, 2008). Adopted measures have focused more on individualised interventions (Mallardi, 2013) than on the exclusion factors stemming from the vital context, that is related to the territory.

Interest in territorial inclusion policies emerged in the United States, based on studies on the *new urban underclass* conducted by the Chicago School (Wilson 1987; Flanagan 1999; Davis 2002). The first political proposals were implemented by means of so-called *town planning*, based on arranging population flows inclusively by regulating urban land uses (Blanco, Fleury & Subirats, 2012:29). Nevertheless, the insufficiencies of these inclusive urbanism policies (Luque et al, 2008) meant that programmes, specifically social programmes, had to be incorporated to address problems in areas that concentrated situations of vulnerability. Nevertheless, both approaches have been put into question because they ignore decisive aspects such as the influence of power relations (Castell, 2000; Soja, 2004) or the impact of social control that is inherent to many measures (Sassen, 2010; Harvey, 2014).

Europe has followed a similar route, albeit with its own specificities, especially due to the public sector's greater weight in welfare policies. At the end of the eighties, public initiatives aimed at delimiting DUAs were launched (Paugam, 2007) based on the spatial accumulation of various deficits (unemployment, overcrowding, health, etc.); these DUAs would then be targeted by specific social programmes. The policies were born under the guidelines of United Nations Organization's *Agenda 21*.

⁴ Working poors in Spain rose to 14.8% of the working population in 2017 (FOESSA, 2017).

Later, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development introduced a methodology to diagnose urban inequality, which would lay the foundations of the first inequality maps of Spanish cities and those of Andalusia (Torres, 2004; Pedregal *et al* 2006; Egea *et al*, 2008).

The European Union (EU) has played a key role in the development of inclusion policies in DUAs. Following the approval of the *European Urban Charter* (1992), funding to implement inclusion projects in these areas increased based on *decentralised cooperation* criteria (Oliete & Magrinyá, 2015). These projects would receive resources from different Community Initiatives from 1994 onwards; some were strictly social and/or labour-oriented (Horizon, Equal, Integra, etc.), others, such as the *Urban initiative*, targeted urban areas complemented by a robust social programme.⁵

The approval of the *European Strategy on Social Inclusion* (2000–2006) opened a second stage aimed at establishing a *new institutional framework* (Blanco *et al*, 2012) permitting the consolidation and cohesion of EU countries' inclusive policies (Rodríguez Cabrero, 2004). Common objectives to combat exclusion were defined that each country would then implement through *National Inclusion Programmes*. A common, more relational, model of governance was established, called the *Open Method of Coordination* (Fresno & Tsolakakis, 2010). Different countries have been incorporating lines of action related to inclusion policies in DUAs within the framework of these national plans.

Finally, today's *European Agenda* (2014–2020) has included two instruments to support these policies within the *Strategy for Sustainable and Integrated Development*. The first instrument is directed towards financing regional policies of inclusion in DUAs; the second addresses municipal development projects for cities over 20,000 inhabitants (Huete *et al.*, 2015).

In Spain, DUA action initiatives have been articulated mainly at regional and locally, local levels. Adopted programmes have followed two lines of action (Garrido & Jaraíz, 2017). One line is that of providing additional funding to strengthen certain public services in these areas (education, health, employment and social services in particular). The other, more ambitious line consists in designing *Comprehensive Community Schemes* (Rebollo, 2012; Alguacil, Camacho & Hernández, 2013) in each DUA. This approach pursued a socio-spatial transformation, reaching beyond a mere response to deficits (Rosa, 2009). To strengthen this second intervention model (Gutiérrez, 2014) some autonomous communities have approved the so-called neighbourhood laws, or *leyes de barrio*⁶.

These territorial inclusion approaches have had some limitations. Imbalances between urban-economic interests and strictly social interests have often undermined numerous social measures that targeted greater inclusion, because the physical redevelopment of some areas in DUAs has ultimately led to excluding, rather than including its most vulnerable inhabitants (Cantero *et al*, 1999).

Another practical limitation is that the actors involved (administrations, NGOs, neighbourhood fabric, etc.) have a limited culture regarding integrated planning forms of relational and participative governance with other social and civic agents are absent (Garrido & Jaraíz, 2017). On paper, many DUA intervention programmes adhered to a participation and co-governance paradigm in the phases of diagnosis, planning, management and evaluation, where integrated approaches predominated (Subirats, Brugué & Gomá, 2002); in practice, however, it has proved difficult to overcome the inertia resulting from the specialised and differentiated actions of the range of bodies (social services, employment, housing, education, income guarantee, etc.).

Both limitations have contributed to the fact that although social inclusion is targeted by various agencies, in practice, the bulk of the interventions has focused on social services, employment (to a minor degree) and, more marginally, on the fields of health, education and housing (Mateo *et al*, 2015).

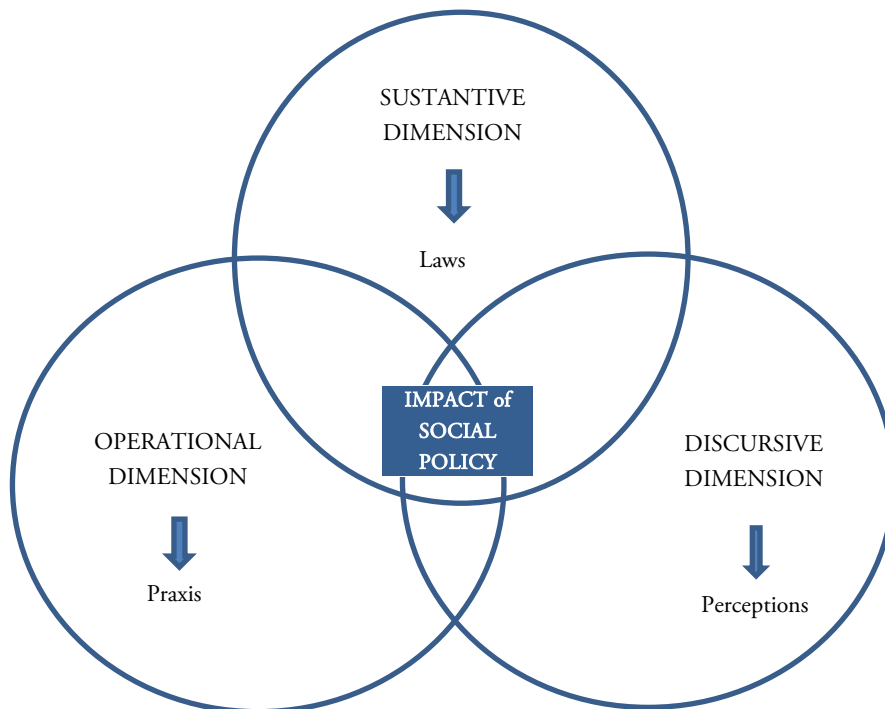
⁵ Different versions (URBAN 1994–1999, URBAN II and URBAN-CT) of these initiatives have led to the development of various urban regeneration projects in Andalusian city neighbourhoods, such as Albaicín in Granada, or Alameda-San Luis in Seville.

⁶ This is the case of autonomous regions such as Catalonia, the Valencian Community, the Balearic Islands and the Basque Country.

3. METHODOLOGY

Given the objective of this research (evaluating the impact of inclusion policies in DUAs) and the conditions of the object of study, we opted for a qualitative approach focusing on the *perceived dimension* (Carrasco-Campos et al, 2013). To do this, we followed the proposal of public policy analysis by Nathalie Morel (2012) and differentiated between three dimensions: the *substantive dimension*, by identifying guidelines and criteria based on the analysis of regulations; the *discursive dimension*, made possible by studying the perceptions of the different actors; and finally, the *operational dimension*, focusing on the description of practices and perceived impacts.

GRAPH 1.
Dimensional analysis of the impact of DUA Social Policies



Source: Elaborated by the author based on Morel (2012).

The three categories above guided all work phases transversally: the design, the field work and the analysis. The procedures and the specific utility of each technique for the study are described below.

The studied regulations (1989-2018) corresponded to those that conditioned the designs of interventions in disadvantaged neighbourhoods both directly (specific application in DUAs), and indirectly (of broader application, yet affecting these areas). This regulation analysis considered different levels of regulations, from international to local levels, through national and regional levels. Some of these international and national regulations have been referred to in the section above on theoretical aspects; local regulations underwent the most systematic and analytical examination as they affect DUAs the most, as illustrated below in the Substantive Dimension results.

Regarding in-depth interviews and focus groups, the aim was to build a closer understanding of the different viewpoints on the policies carried out in DUAs in Andalusia. To this end, it was essential to perform a balanced selection of interviewees that would shed light on varying *research arena* (Rubin & Rubin, 1995) approaches. All the actors participating in these neighbourhood policies were approached whether they designed policies (politicians), implemented them (professionals) or were on the receiving

end (DUA users and residents). As mentioned in the introduction, we focused on the 24 DUAs defined as such since the first Andalusian regulation on this subject (1989).

The in-depth interview informants were selected by qualified sampling (Coller, 2005), except in the case of citizens (residents) who were selected by means of snowball sampling. Each interview had a common script and a specific section according to the characteristics of each group of informants⁷.

To design the interview, we followed the standardised non-scheduled interview model (Denzin, 1970) or conversational interviews, where standardisation is based on focusing on the same information set, allowing the interviewer to adapt the formulation and the order of the questions to each interviewee. A total of 9 interviews were conducted, with an average duration of 45 minutes each.

For their part, the focus groups instrument enabled different perceptions to confront each other in a nuanced way, also providing summary assessments on some relevant aspects. The script for the focus group followed the same content block as the in-depth interviews, although the questions were presented to the group in a more general way to encourage open debate. Three focus groups were held, with an average duration of 75 minutes each.

The fieldwork was conducted between the months of December 2017 and March 2018. Interview data and the focus group participation data is systematised in Table 2.

TABLE 1.
Characteristics of the participants

ID	Profiles	Participants
FG1	Social workers from Social Security entities intervening in DUAs (public and third sector)	7
FG 2	Social workers from employment services intervening in DUAs (public and third sector)	7
FG 3	Political decision-maker	3
EP1	High-level manager (public sector)	1
EP2	High-level manager (third sector)	1
EP3	Social worker 1 (public sector)	1
EP4	Social worker 2 (public sector)	1
EP 5	Social worker 3 (third sector)	1
EP 6	Resident 1 (man aged 50 years).	1
EP 7	Resident 2 (woman aged 25 years).	1
EP 8	Resident 3 (man aged 43 years)	1
EP 9	Resident in the neighbourhood, aged 36 years	1

Source: Elaborated by the author.

The interviews and the focus groups were recorded, transcribed and anonymised in accordance with the participants' informed consent. Resulting materials were entered in a database created using qualitative analysis software QSR NVivo 11. This software performed the coding of information following a semi-inductive approach, because although it was based on the *constant comparative method* (Harris, 2015), we started to code taking the three study dimensions (substantive, discursive and operational) into account.

Of all the information and discourses generated throughout the fieldwork, we selected only the most relevant information considering the context and space available in this publication.

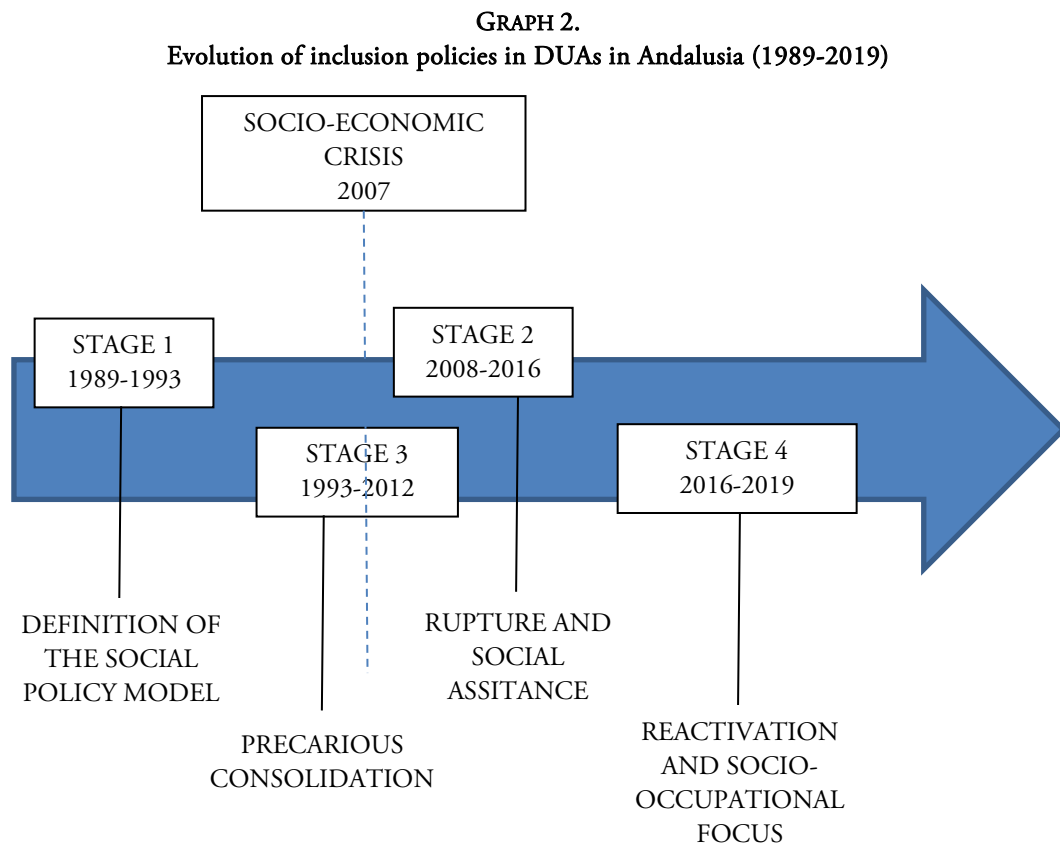
⁷ The scripts were structured into four blocks, adapted to each type of actor: vision of exclusion and responses to exclusion; role of the major inclusion services (employment, income and social services); role of the third sector, civic and market entities; significant practices and proposals.

4. RESULTS

The results of this research on the impact of social policies in DUAs in Andalusia are presented following the three dimensions mentioned above: the substantive dimension (regulatory analysis), the discursive dimension (actor discourse) and the operational dimension (practices).

4.1. SUBSTANTIVE DIMENSION: REGULATORY ELEMENTS OF THE INCLUSION POLICY IN DUAs AND INTERVENTION RATIONALE

By conducting a longitudinal analysis of the basic criteria underlying the range of regulations, we identified four stages in the change of direction in DUA inclusion policies in Andalusia:



Source: Elaborated by the author.

Below, we detail the characteristics of each stage.

Stage 1: Definition of an inclusion policy model

The legal foundations of inclusion policies were established in Andalusia at the end of the nineties, with three defining regulations: the Andalusia Social Services Act 2/98 (*Ley 2/98 de Servicios Sociales de Andalucía*); Decree 2/1999, regulating a Guaranteed Minimum Income (*Renta Mínima de Inserción*); and Decree 202/1989, regulating the Programme of Preferential Neighbourhood Action (*Plan de Barriadas de Actuación Preferente*).

Clearly, at this *early stage*, there was an ambitious political commitment, as inclusion policies were based on protective, comprehensive and proximity criteria. In practice, the regulatory framework was implemented:

- Individually, allocating resources to support people and families in situations of exclusion.
- Territorially, incorporating a territorial perspective to social exclusion by creating the DUAs by decree and reinforcing funding for these areas. This funding was channelled, on the one hand, through services rendered directly by the regional administration in these areas (especially regarding education, health and employment), and on the other hand, through the financing of local bodies where DUAs were present.

This short, three-year phase was, according to the informant perceptions collected for this study, of great significance as they felt it constituted a strategic grounding for future policies.

2nd Stage: Precarious consolidation

Another implementation stage followed this latter political one, it lasted almost until 2012 (well into the crisis). The initial legislative drive came here to a halt, and the agenda focused on implementing ambitious regulations designed during the previous stage.

The actors' perceptions of the consolidation of the *Andalusian inclusion model* reveal two perspectives. One perspective emphasises that notable efforts took place during this stage to expand the Social Services System, as well as to reinforce DUA professionals and resources (schools, health centres, etc.). Also worthy of note, the first network-based governance initiatives emerged in different areas (housing, health, education, employment) among the range of actors (administrative bodies, NGOs and neighbourhood entities).

A second perspective stresses that shortly after, the administration itself slowed down the overall consolidation of this policy. Three types of barriers were described:

- bureaucratic barriers: very long processes applied to the management of social benefits, especially minimum income.
- political barriers: pressures from the municipalities to define the DUA themselves instead of regional bodies. This shift would change the financing procedure (the projects applying for subsidies) and the number of DUAs would triple, thus diluting the original essence of their creation.
- financial barriers: due to regulations that were often unrealistic and very ambitious on paper and thus difficult to undertake in budgetary terms.

Despite these general trends, as of 2002, a number of schemes would emerge in different cities that the informants highly valued. These initiatives took place in some DUAs and attempted, more or less successfully, to bring together all actions and resources within a policy of alliance of administrations, social entities, neighbourhood organisations and political movements. All of them shared a common methodological stance: that of implementing an *Integral Community Plan* (ICP) as an instrument to programme DUA intervention. These initiatives were led by a wide range of actors (universities, NGOs, public-sector companies, etc.). While administrative bodies have taken part in these programmes on a constant basis, their commitment has varied significantly in terms of intensity and regularity according to each case.

Other initiatives valued by the actors also emerged during this period in the field of insertion and employment. Especially worthy of mention is the launch of a series of programmes in the DUAs such as the *Unified Service for Employment Renewal and Generation* (*Servicio Unificado de Renovación y Generación de Empleo* in Spanish), aimed at accompanying unemployed people, bringing together different resources (social, training, career guidance, intermediation) in the process.

Stage 3: Interruption and renewed welfare focus

The socio-economic crisis beginning in 2008 would heavily affect the whole of Andalusia, especially DUAs, added to a policy of cuts to social schemes. Initially the momentum given to inclusion policies was paralysed, subsequently leading all policies to redirect towards welfare protection measures.

Due to the initial paralysis, the funding of many DUA programmes was suspended. The effect was twofold: on the one hand, numerous services of assistance to individuals and families were weakened; on the other, different entities that collaborated with the third sector and had specialised in inclusion work did not have the capacity to survive the cuts and vanished.

The very presence of welfare bodies – especially Employment and Social Service instruments – focused from that moment onwards on the survival of the instruments themselves, which, as interventions expanded, in some cases led to some of the integral work processes being withdrawn, if not officially, certainly in practice.

A profound regulatory repositioning is currently taking place after over 20 years of absence of any significant regulatory renewal. In 2013, Decree-Law 7/2013 *on extraordinary and urgent measures to combat social exclusion in Andalusia* (Decreto-ley 7/2013 *de medidas extraordinarias y urgentes para la lucha contra la exclusión social en Andalucía*) was approved. Other regulations would follow such as Decree 8/2014 *on extraordinary and urgent measures for social inclusion through employment and the promotion of solidarity in Andalusia* (Decreto 8/2014 *de medidas extraordinarias y urgentes para la inclusión social a través del empleo y el fomento de la solidaridad en Andalucía*).

The new regulatory body is directed towards promoting food security policies, emergency aid to families, assistance in situations of eviction risk and support to boost the temporary hiring of people at risk of exclusion. As a whole, these measures go beyond inclusive objectives, they aim to be a firewall against growing exclusion faced by different services on a daily basis (Pacheco-Mangas & Hernández-Echegaray, 2016).

Finally, the entity network has been transformed: many entities dedicated to inclusion have faded away, while others have had to redirect their programmes, and new entities specialised in assistance work are emerging.

Stage 4: Reactivation and renewed focus on employment

In 2016, the trend swayed. Regulatory and institutional discourse underwent a renewed analysis and went back to focus on social inclusion.

The main regulatory factor at this stage came with the approval of the *Andalusia Social Services Act 9/2016* (*Ley 9/2016 de Servicios Sociales de Andalucía*). This *second-generation* law replaced that of 1998 with the idea of updating social policies' inclusive approach. It contains many notable features that we believe are essential: the establishment of a Resource Map and a *Catalogue of Guaranteed Benefits*, recognised as a subjective right; the definition of a specific and defined *Intervention Model*, in which technical work performed with users is supported by the *Personalised Inclusion Programme* and the creation of the reference professional figure, providing technical support to facilitate accompaniment processes. These measures, yet to be implemented, define intervention strategies to an unprecedented extent.

The approval in December 2017 of Decree-law 3/2017 regulating the Minimum Income for Social Insertion in Andalusia (Decreto-ley 3/2017 *que regula la Renta Mínima de Inserción Social en Andalucía*) – modifying and extending decree 2/1999 –, incorporates a second instrument of renewal. The regulation determines the creation of a Guaranteed Minimum Insertion Income, considered a guaranteed right, extending its duration and linking it to a Socio-Labour Inclusion Plan.

The third element was the approval in May 2018 of the *Andalusian Regional Strategy for Social Cohesion and Inclusion*. This new strategy redefines and extends the DUA map, with 99 identified areas throughout the region. It establishes a specific budget for interventions in these areas (169.5 million euros for the 2018-2020 period) and conditions access to funds to the existence of a Comprehensive Community Programme in each area.

The three measures described above provide a glimpse of the attempt to redirect inclusion policies, whatever their impact and degree of implementation may be in the years to come. Nonetheless, the update

focuses more on income-employment relationship interventions, an approach that made more sense before the crisis.

4.2. DISCURSIVE DIMENSION: DUA INTERVENTION IS NOT ONLY A QUESTION OF INVESTMENT

This second section of the research results is related to actors' perspectives (Alonso et al 2016) on the overall impact of inclusion policies in DUAs.

The core perception shared by the range of actors (politicians, social workers and residents), is that the impact of public inclusion policies in DUAs is far from fulfilling expectations. Nevertheless, both residents and social workers do in fact detect that beyond *classic* shortcomings as well as insufficient investment, there is another type of notable weakness:

"a lot of money has been invested in these areas, in some areas in particular... If we stopped and did a study ... for me the problem is not investment but other factors that are not evaluated to the same extent" (FG.2).

Perceived failures centre on two areas:

1. *Obstacles in the transition from assistance to normalisation*

The first weakness, in terms of relevance, is related to the social intervention model. A persisting idea is that intervention does not go beyond the scope of assistance and that continuity work, the integrated accompaniment of individuals and families is more an exception than a rule. The discourse refers to three specific limitations. The first is the precariousness of the economic benefits system. Professionals and local residents share the view that these benefits are punctual, are disconnected and, in practice, are not linked to real activation processes, especially because of a shortage of professionals to accomplish the work. Social workers perceive that a large part of the population in these neighbourhoods are caught in a spiral:

"Users quickly learn how the system works. People have no choice but to play with the benefits, if unemployment benefits are used up, they look for a social wage, then comes emergency assistance, then they check what Cáritas [a charity] people might give them ... And so on until they come back again." (EP.5).

Additional contributions to the economic protection issue were identified in the focus groups. Some reflected on the need to unify the benefits framework:

"The scattering of aid we have in Spain is unacceptable: the SEPE⁸, the Minimum Income in Andalusia, the municipality's emergency aid, and many more. Each administration provides its own benefits, based on its own criteria ... They should tend to unify" (FG.2).

Others believe minimum income should be conceived within a *dual-right* framework (Martínez & Pérez, 2015), differentiating the right to income from the right to insertion. This would act as an equalising element, would lighten social work bureaucracy and facilitate accompaniment in situations that genuinely require it.

"Without a guaranteed minimum income for all citizens it is impossible for us to achieve some form of harmonious inclusion because there are huge differences among some realities and others ...". (EP.1).

The second limitation is employment services' lack of focus: discrepancies can be found between what the services offer and what residents and businesses actually need, added to a lack of coordination between administration resources and NGO resources. A significant view is that social services and employment services fail to share any common work strategies. On the contrary, the services are somewhat differentiated: the former deal with situations of greater exclusion, while employment services work with less "*deteriorated*" situations.

⁸ The Public Service of State Employment or: *Servicio Público de Empleo Estatal* in Spanish.

"we (Social Services) have a close relationship with the employment service, but the point is always to redirect cases. We do not see ourselves as connected systems with shared objectives, but rather as distinct resources. That is why many people we work with do not go to work, if they cannot write, how are they going to start writing their CV?" (EP.3).

The final limitation consists in the lack of comprehensive work integrating the territory's different social resources, particularly since the crisis.

"There is no time for networking, for coordination boards ... These tasks have been gradually dropped due to the growing number of claims (...). Everyone values the community here, but nobody offers the required resources. " (FG.1).

In addition, local residents and social entities point to the professionals' attitudes:

"there are not enough people willing to step out of their office" (EP.7).

2. Problems linked to the management model

The other series of limitations are related to how services are managed, especially their institutional planning and assessment. Three elements emerged, the first being a lack of governance models that integrate the planning of actions and programmes under a single instrument. In all DUAs, ICP is understood to be a priority, but most lack an ICP, and the DUAs that do dispose of an ICP have very different views about its utility:

"Here all (services) call the intervention comprehensive: whether children, the Roma people, or women are involved ... But nothing can be comprehensive if we don't get together and talk about it all". (EP.8).

In a similar vein, a shortcoming emerged regarding *knowledge management policies*, especially in the professional field. They understand that knowledge constitutes their main capital, however, they point to a lack of locations and collective times to design and analyse interventions as well as the absence of shareable information management systems among the different services.

The last limitation relating to the management model is linked to *impact assessment and the identification of potentially influential practices*.

"The administration is not aware of the innovation that takes place in our daily work, they have little interest in it because they are busy with other work. They supported (the Southern Industrial Park DUA), but nobody is thoroughly assessing what is being done, the processes are often low-key, but they have brought changes to the neighbourhood. What we have done should allow other neighbourhoods to learn from us" (EP.1).

Relating to the above, public policy assessments on DUA intervention are perceived as formalities based on predefined implementation criteria, prioritising issues such as the number of beneficiaries, controlling expenditure or correctly applying procedures. All actors advocated the need for an assessment model focusing on impact measurement.

4.3. OPERATIONAL DIMENSION. PRACTICES AND CRITERIA WITH SIGNIFICANT IMPACTS IN DUAs: ACTIVATION AS A COMMON STANDARD

In this last series of results, we will analyse and highlight the practices that different actors in the DUA intervention processes identified as useful, developed both by administrative bodies and the social fabric.

Based on the analysis, we detected six significant "*practices*" that were visible in the different programmes, initiatives or resources:

- Uniting of the resources, teams and efforts of the different services: *Centre for Employment Orientation and Stimulation (CODE* by its Spanish acronym). In the ICP framework, the Southern Industrial Site DUA succeeded in unifying the range of public resources for employment (state,

regional and municipal) into a single instrument. All the training services are managed within the CODE: labour orientation, intermediation, entrepreneurship support programmes, self-employment, initiatives to promote cooperatives. Professional teams that depend on different administrations work in common and share the same premises.

- Creation of work networks between different DUAs: *Emerge and Incorporate Initiatives*. These projects are jointly promoted by regional social services and employment administration bodies. The criterion of perceived utility is that these projects have gone beyond specific contexts and created work networks between different areas, incorporating both public service contributions and that of NGOs.
- Implementation of work methodologies per itinerary: *Andalucía Orienta*. This programme was launched by the Andalusian Employment Service. The main objective of *Andalucía Orienta* Centres is to actively search for employment. Their contribution is that their entire methodology is based on continuity work: it starts with the designing of a *Personalised Programme* agreed upon jointly by the professional and the user, followed by a *Personalised Insertion Itinerary*.
- Mediation adapted to the business fabric. Although labour mediation is worked on in various programmes, some methodologies used, especially by NGOs, are considered to be useful in these areas. The work consists of building up trust with the business world and, at the same time, provide *mentoring* support before and after job incorporation, to make it easier for people to adapt and ensure continuity in the work environment.
- Experiences of insertion employment in monitored companies. Some NGOs have begun to launch businesses that monitor jobs adapted to exclusion profiles in the field of organic farming, hospitality, cleaning services, etc. This is the case of Bioalverde, dedicated to organic farming (supervised by Cáritas, the charity) or *Entrecaminos* (monitored by the *Entreamigos Association*).

These practices – highlighted by different actors – draw attention to two essential DUA intervention criteria that aim at improving efficiency: on the one hand, opening up fields of action at different scales to integrate the initiatives, and on the other, developing methodologies that go beyond assistance and trigger social and work processes.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Three strategic positions in the combat against exclusion in vulnerable neighbourhoods were identified in our section on theoretical aspects. The *first position* regards urban inequality as a global – economic, political and social – process, the fruit of advanced capitalism's very dynamics of exclusion (Jaraíz, 2004). Based on this conception, facing exclusion requires a range of programmes that are not exclusively limited to social welfare policies, and which contemplate aspects of neighbourhood cohesion and economic development, urban standardisation, security, cultural promotion, i.e. policies included within a city's framework (Aguilar, 2005). The *second position* believes in complex, integrated planning focusing primarily on social welfare policies (social services, training and support for employment, education, health, housing, etc.), leaving territorial cohesion policies in the background. The *third position* is more restrictive and centres the inclusion policies around the income-employment guarantee relationship, leaving the inclusion policy agenda to local social services as well as employment services.

When examining the case of Andalusia, there is no robust, visible regulatory grounding allowing to affirm that social inclusion in DUAs has been conceived following broad cohesion policy approaches (*first position*). The core of the regulatory framework is clearly based on a welfare policy model (*second position*). However, during the transition from regulation (on paper) to intervention (in practice), inclusive action is restricted to the *third position* detailed above, as priorities concentrate on responding to exclusion through local social service initiatives (management of minimum income, family assistance, emergency aid, etc.) and employment services (training, career guidance, mediation).

There are some positive exceptions. Five among the twenty-four DUAs in the region have resorted to designing Integral Community Plans in their strategy in view of involving different actors and their social welfare responsibilities (*second position*). Although these cases have developed unevenly, the plans for which public administrations have ensured continuity have reached higher levels of implementation. This is a significant finding: it highlights how the DUAs that adopted relational governance and participation formats with public leadership achieved higher levels of consolidation.

As ICPs were perceived to be useful, the instrument became mandatory for all DUAs wishing to receive funding from the regional administration based on the *Andalusian Regional Strategy for Social Inclusion and Cohesion* approved in May 2018. Paradoxically, the administration failed thereafter to allocate economic resources to this end and centred its funding on direct attention measures. This fact leads us to anticipate that these ICPs risk ultimately to become a formality rather than a genuine governance tool.

Regarding the impact of inclusion policies on DUAs in Andalusia, the most rooted perception is that, despite their long history (since 1989), these policies have not been able to stop neighbourhoods from deteriorating. A view persists, especially among professionals, that this scant progress is due to how social programmes unfold (scarcity of resources, inefficient organisational models, etc.). Without prejudice to this view, it is worth noting that this vision is strictly restricted to social policy; it often turns a blind eye to the fact that the absence of comprehensive city policies has a more significant impact, in our opinion, than the social programmes themselves. This is because neighbourhoods act as *containers* (Davis, 2006) of vulnerable subjects and families, turning the territory's inclusion into mission impossible, due to steady growth in demand due, in turn, to downward mobility. This dynamic has intensified since the 2008 crisis (Arredondo & Palma, 2013).

Based on our analysis, we found that future approaches to DUA inclusion in Andalusia require more comprehensive designs that addressing all three dimensions: the political, technical and professional dimensions. The funding culture of public administrations, from the European level (European Social Agenda) to local levels should also contribute to this. These administrations prioritise their support to actions that focus excessively on employment (Dandara-Tabacaru & Danila, 2017), and make it difficult to sustain more comprehensive programmes, which are essential to bring groups and territories far removed from employment possibilities closer to the work sphere.

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