

National Report on Fieldwork

Workpackage 3

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1. Description of local contexts

1.1. Urban Case

Amadora is a town situated immediately to the northwest of Lisbon, with which it forms an urban continuum. With an area of just 23,8 km², the Amadora municipality is the smallest in area of the 18 municipalities in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (AML). However, it also has the fifth higher total population in the AML, with 175 354 inhabitants and, consequently, the highest population density in the entire AML, standing at 7 373 people per km².¹

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

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

These historical and geographic features bear heavily in the current economic, social and demographic structure of the town. With population stabilized since the 1990s, Amadora features an increasingly ageing population structure. At it 140,7, Amadora has the second highest ageing rate in the AML (after Lisbon itself) and stands considerably above the national rate of 136,0% in this regard.² Also, the proportion of residents of foreign nationality is much higher than in the rest of the country, making up 10,0% of population the municipality (compared to a total 3,7% in the country), the majority of which are of Cape Verdean, Brazilian, Guinean-Bissau and Angolan nationalities. Amadora also retains to this day a strong pendulum migration movement, with 53,7% of the residents who work or study doing so outside of the municipality (of which 68,5% in Lisbon alone).³ It also still presented relatively

¹ The average area of the municipalities of the AML is 167,5 km² and its average population density is 1 994 people per km². Year of reference is 2013.

² The ageing rate is the ratio between population over 64 years old and the population under 15 years old.

³ The proportion of residents studying or working outside the municipality of residence in Portugal is 28,1%.

high early school leaving levels in 2011, with 26,1% of 18-24 year olds not having finished secondary education – 2,4 p.p. above the general AML level.

Economically, Amadora went through the deindustrialization and terciarization processes felt nationwide from the 1990s onwards. Heavy industrial units such as the Cabos d'Ávila electrical wiring factory or the SOREFAME railway rolling stock factory, which were the largest employers in the municipality from the 1950s to the early 1990s, closed around the turn of the century (Cabos d'Ávila in 1997 and SOREFAME in 2004). By contrast, the 1990s and 2000s saw the setting up in Amadora of a large number of multinational retail outlets, such as IKEA, Decathlon, AKI, LeRoy Merlin and hypermarkets such as Continente, targeting clients not only from Amadora but also from the entire AML. Employment is nowadays overwhelmingly concentrated in the tertiary sector (encompassing 83,2% of the Amadora employed residents). Restaurants, catering and commerce make up for the predominant economic activities in the municipality (45,0% of total businesses), followed by personal and community services (12,0%) and construction (12,0%).

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

1.2. Rural Case

Santarém is a municipality located 80 km to the north of Lisbon, on the right bank of the river Tagus. The Santarém municipality covers an area of 552,5 km² and has a population of 62 200 inhabitants, with a corresponding population density of 111,0 people per km² (just slightly below the national ratio of 113 people per km²).⁴ Of these, 29 184 lived in the three parishes of the town of Santarém itself, with the other 33 016 dispersed through the municipality's rural parishes. These include the parish of Vale de Figueira, where part of the fieldwork took place. Vale de Figueira boasted a population of 1 082 in 2011 and is located on a plain on the bank of the Tagus, 15 km to the northeast of Santarém.

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

⁴ Census data referring to 2011.

have Eastern Europe and Brazil as their main origins. Thus, foreign nationals made up 3,3% of the population – a slightly lower ratio than the national one of 3,7% - of which Romanian (26,3%), Ukrainian (22,2%) and Brazilian (20,3%) nationals are the more numerous contingents. The Santarém municipality is also home to a significant community of Gypsy Portuguese.

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

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

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

2. Observations from the field

2.1. Observational strategies

The first field trips were preceded by the gathering of data on the local history, social and economic fabric and general effects of the crisis in Amadora and Santarém. To this end, the team made use of statistical data from the Portuguese National Statistical Institute, scientific literature focussing Amadora and Santarém or using these municipalities as case studies and documents produced by from the local *Municipal Council* and local institutions on the respective social situation.

Nevertheless, the first proper moment of observation on the field were provided by the expert interviews – both in themselves and regarding the context in which they took place. These interviews allowed the team to obtain a more detailed picture of the effects of the crisis and become more aware of local specificities. Aside from this, the interviews also served as occasions for visits to the premises of the institutions as well as conversations outside the formal setting of the interview. Aside from this, the researchers reserved an hour after each interview to walk around the premises of the institutions and gather first impressions on the spatial organization of the territory surrounding them.

Closer observational efforts will take around the field trips for photographic interviews. As these will take place at the interviewees' homes, they ought to provide a suitable context for contact with interviewees neighbours, family and friends, as well as the context where their everyday life takes place.

2.2. Results from observation

Amadora is a very densely urbanized city. The *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, where the first round of interviews took place (see chapter 3), is located on the slope of a large hill that encompasses the northern part of the city. The blocks around the premises consist of 2-3 story buildings which are coated with a material composed of cement and pebbles, something characteristic of much of the 1950s and 1960s construction in Portugal. The neighbourhood comprises a few small shops – a grocery, a pharmacy and a bakery – but most of the commerce that is be found is comprised by cafés and small cheap restaurants. Despite the closeness of the neighbourhood to the Train Station, Town Hall and the city park, the streets are quiet outside the rush hour.

In Santarém, most of the interviews took place near the city centre. The city centre itself is composed by a large garden boulevard, with a North-South orientation. Around this boulevard one can find a considerable number of public building, such as the Military Quarters of the local cavalry regiment, the Municipal Library, an early 20th Century Market and the city's main bus station and the police station. Two buildings dominate the roundabout at the end of the boulevard: the Church of Misericórdia – next to which the Santa Casa complex is located - and a large shopping mall, whose size feels a bit out of proportion with the surrounding area. The shopping mall is a convergent point for the movement of people in the boulevard. The city's

historic centre lies immediately to the west of the boulevard, being almost unnoticed. Walking through it, it is possible to find a number of closed shops – something that might be an effect of the crisis but also of the opening of the shopping mall.

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

3. Field access and contacting

The strategy adopted by the Portuguese team to access the field was based on two major institutional entry points - the Executive *Committees* of the *Redes Sociais* and the *Santas Casas da Misericórdia*.⁵

The adoption of this strategy is related to the specifics of the field of social intervention and the fight on poverty in Portugal. The *Redes Sociais* (RS) are fora of municipal scope for discussing, preparation, planning and coordinating social intervention between public institutions (including schools, health centres and hospitals, job centres and the social security), third sector institutions (charities, NGOs), and assorted associations (such as local sports clubs or cultural recreational or neighbourhood associations). Each RS is composed by a Local Council for Social Action (CLAS), a deliberative assembly comprising all participant institutions and an elected Executive Committee, responsible for coordinating the RS works. Although the RS do have some formal powers – for instance, new social intervention facilities that make use of public funds require approval by the assembly of the RS – its importance lies above all on the sharing of information on the social situation in the municipality, on the sharing of resources by the institutions and on the development and implementation of articulated interventions in the field.

Emerging from an experimental programme started in 1997, the RS were by 2001 generalized by law to all the Portuguese territory, with participation made mandatory for public institutions. Although the initial programme did not formally establish any preferential institution profile for leading the Executive Committees, the Municipal Councils quickly

⁵ *Rede Social* and *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* can be translated as “Social Network” and “Holy House of Mercy” respectively. We will keep the Portuguese names and acronyms throughout this document.

emerged as the main drivers for the RS. This owed to their political legitimacy, which allowed them to often act as effective mediators between the different institutions. Thus, the CLAS is formally presided by the Mayor and the Council technicians often provide the backbone for the Executive Committees work. One of the criteria for choosing Amadora and Santarém was precisely the fact that both municipalities have very active and effective RS.

The second main entry point in the field were the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* (SCM). The SCM are charities of municipal scope⁶ connected to the Catholic Church, whose origin dates back to the late 15th century. Originally created for the management of hospitals, the *Misericórdias* are nowadays multivalent institutions, offering services such as vocational training, child and elderly care and rehabilitation of disabled persons. The SCM also play an important role in the workings of *Rendimento Social de Inserção* (RSI - the Portuguese Minimum Guaranteed Income measure), with most of them having protocols with for accompanying and supporting families of beneficiaries of the measure in their municipalities

The SCM have a somewhat unique status. They are associated with the Catholic Church, with their charts defining them defined as private associations of Catholic faithful and bounding their actions to the Church's Social Doctrine. Moreover, they administer a considerable part of the Church property. However, their administrations are formally nominated by the Ministry of Social Security and the SCM are legally barred from discriminating by creed their workers and the users of their services.⁷ Given their resources and institutional networks, the SCM are effectively the main third sector institution in most municipalities.

Although these two institutional spaces were central for our strategy in both Amadora and Santarém, the way access to the field panned out in each case was considerably different. In Amadora, it followed a more hierarchical model. The first step was a formal interview with Mayor. Aside from discussing the Council's social policy, this interview was used to the purpose of, resulting in full support for the project by the Mayor. This support effectively opened up the institutional field to the RESCuE project. It led to a fruitful interview with the head of the technical unit the Executive Committee, in which the preponderant role of SCM in social intervention in the municipality was confirmed, as well as the broadness in social terms of their users. Another interview with the SCM Administrator ensured full cooperation of the institution. In the end, the SCM served as our main bridge to the field. Its technicians helped identifying potential interviewees corresponding to our sample structure (see chapter 4) and made the first contact with them. The SCM who also ceded two rooms inside one of their premises for the interviews to take place.

In Santarém, approach to the field followed a more horizontal path. Simultaneous contacts were made with both the Municipal Council and the local SCM. Interviews with the heads of the technical units of both the Executive Committee, aside from offering valuable insight in the social situation in the municipality, resulted in obtaining full cooperation by the institutions. The Executive Committee also suggested the *Centro de Bem-Estar Social* of Vale de Figueira, another third sector institution, as possible starting point for observation the rural parishes of the municipality. These three institutions helped identifying some potential interviewees – again according to the pre-determined sample structure. In the case of the SCM, the

⁶ And in some cases even of parish scope.

⁷ Through the SCM, it was possible to reach people of different religious affiliations, from muslims to evangelical protestants, and also atheists. There was no hint of any type of discrimination by the SCM on religious grounds during the interviews.

technicians contacted the potential interviewees directly and scheduled the interview, which took place inside their premises. In the case of the other two institutions, the technicians made a first contact to probe potential interviews for availability, and then provided the team with contacts. In these cases the interviews were scheduled by the team, taking place at the interviewee's home. Obtaining for interviews this way was more difficult than in Amadora, requiring a snowball sampling approach – where the team asked each interviewee for help in identifying and contacting potential participants from inside their friend or neighbourhood circles - for fulfilling the sample.

The most significant sources of bias in the first round of interviews regard: the *institutional nature* of the approach to the field; and the *physical setting* of the interviews themselves. The fact that we opted for contact using Municipal Council and SCM technicians might be seen as risking an eventual exclusion of falling outside the scope of these. We feel however, that this risk is negligible, given (a) the large number and diversity of users served by the SCM, and (b) the extension and diversity of institutions participation in the RS in each of the cases. Indeed, such risk is by far outweighed by the exhaustiveness of the information on poverty situations gathered by the RS as whole– something that is particularly adequate for theoretically-driven sampling such as the one we have chosen.

The setting of the majority the first round of interviews inside the local SCM premises could also be seen as inhibiting the interviewees, whether by casting doubts over the interviewer status or appealing to eventual feelings of loyalty or resentment towards the institution. Such eventual reactions might spill over to the subjects' narratives regarding topics such as community, religion or the welfare state. This problem was of less concern in Santarém, where only three interviews were done in the local SCM premises, but potentially more problematic in Amadora.

Although we were alerted of this potential problem, neither the unfolding of interviews nor their debriefing phase provided evidences for these kind of strong feelings regarding the SCM. On the contrary, staging the interviews in the SCM premises proved an advantage by offering a familiar ground for conversation and helped convincing interviewees who would have otherwise refused to take part in the research due either to the lack of credibility of the researchers or to an imposition for the interview to take place at home. Also, the rooms provided both in Santarém and Amadora, were removed from the main circulation spaces in the SCM premises, which also might have helped mitigating any eventual concerns on the part of the interviewees. Nevertheless, as photographic interviews are taking place exclusively at the interviewees' homes, they should also provide grounds for identifying the any effects stemming from this bias.

4. Sampling criteria and methods

The Portuguese team adopted a mixed sampling strategy for its field work. We started by devising a theoretically-driven sample, creating quotas for subjects based on socioeconomic groups that have been identified as more vulnerable to poverty by the scientific literature in Portugal.

Two subsamples, each comprising 12 cases, were devised to account for the geographical and socioeconomic characteristics of the two cases. Tables 1 and 2 present both the generic main profile and, in most cases, further specifications to account for the maximum amount of diversity within the sample. A lot of the profiles are common to both subsamples. These include pensioners, unemployed and industrial and services workers. In the case of unemployed, we wanted to ensure diversity regarding, given of educational resources but in resilience processes at large. We chose to single out the case of the poor Portuguese Gypsy, given on the one hand, the persistent higher rates of poverty and lower schooling levels among this group and, on the other, the still persistent discrimination - in accessing the labour market - of which they are still target.

A further category was put forward to allow some flexibility on the selection of families for interviews: that of “multiproblematic families”. This is a broad term applied to families which are simultaneously exposed to different factors of poverty – such as monoparentality, low qualifications or precarious insertion in the labour market. We opted also for having families with different situations regarding the RSI (the Portuguese Minimum Guarantee Income measure). Given both the importance of this measure in poverty fighting and the strong reduction on the RSI coverage brought by austerity measures in Portugal⁸, this option aimed at allowing the observation of contrasting effects of welfare policies in resilience processes.

Table 1 - Ex-ante subsample for the Rural Case (Santarém)

Profile	Specifications
Elderly Pensioners	Isolated elderly
Elderly Pensioners	Elderly couple
Farmers	Small landowner
Farmers	Labourer
Industrial workers	Worker in workshop / warehouse / factory
Services workers	Employee in local commerce
Services workers	Public servant
Unemployed	Unemployed person with basic education
Unemployed	Unemployed person with secondary or higher education
Multiproblematic family	Multiproblematic family covered by the RSI measure.
Multiproblematic family	Multiproblematic family not covered by RSI measure.
Poor Portuguese Gypsy	Poor Portuguese Gypsy

Nevertheless, care was taken to include specific profiles that are more relevant in each of the local contexts. In the case of Santarém, two types of “farmer” profiles were included, a labourer and a small landowner, This was due the importance of agricultural activities in the

⁸ Despite the deepening of the crisis between 2010 and 2013 – with negative GDP growth rates registered in 2011, 2012 and 2013- the number of beneficiaries of the RSI in Portugal fell by 31,7% in this period.

municipality and also to – particularly in the case of the small landowner – the need to ensure at least one observation point on the role of land resources on resilience processes. The presence of public servants – or, at least, people working for public institutions even if with other types of contract – also needed to be safeguarded, given the importance of the public sector as an employer in the municipality. In the case of Amadora, the option of including immigrants was obvious, given their importance in the population and goal the projects’ goal of analysing the relation between migration and resilience processes.

Table 2 - Ex-ante subsample for the urban case (Amadora)

Profile	Specifications
Elderly Pensioners	Isolated elderly
Elderly Pensioners	Elderly couple
Industrial Workers	Industrial worker with precarious labour situation
Industrial Workers	Industrial worker with stable labour situation
Services Workers	Employee in local commerce with low revenue.
Unemployed	Unemployed person with basic education
Unemployed	Unemployed person with secondary or higher education
Immigrants	Recently arrived immigrant
Immigrants	Established immigrant
Multiproblematic family	Multiproblematic family covered by the RSI measure.
Multiproblematic family	Multiproblematic family not currently covered by RSI measure.
Poor Portuguese Gypsy	Poor Portuguese Gypsy

The initial construction of the sample relied heavily on the experts input. These were asked to fill in a document listing families which had of which they had knowledge and which might be interested in participating.

The results of these approach were mixed. In the case of Amadora, the experts gathered an anonymized list of 262 possible families to be interviewed. The analysis of the families’ short descriptions provided by the experts allowed the team to narrow down cases that were *a priori* more promising from a resilience analysis point of view while the sheer size of the list made it relatively easy to replace potential interviewees when faced with refusals. Nevertheless, some profiles were considerably harder to fulfil than others due to more frequent refusals to participate in the project. This was the problem particularly with newly arrived immigrants and elderly pensioners. Also, the overlapping of categories was frequent, resulting in a high proportion of immigrants in the Amadora subsample.

In Santarém, despite the efforts of the experts, the initial list was very small in size, comprising only 9 cases. Moreover, the cases suggested concentrated in the urban parishes of the municipality. This led to the need to adopt both a snowball sampling strategy, asking the interviewees – particularly from rural parishes – for possible families in their circles that might be interested in participating in the study. One opportunity that arose in this context was the contact with local free-lance journalist, which had documented the effects of the crisis in the municipality between 2008 and 2010 and had retained many contacts in the rural parishes.

5. Conducting interviews

The strategy adopted by the Portuguese team for the narrative interviews consisted in one researcher per interview. This option aimed at adjusting this process to the need to establish trust and a close relationship between interviewer and interviewee, due to the high degree of exposure process and the sensitivity of some of the conversational topic (e.g. domestic violence, extreme shortage or problems of health). Established a positive relationship between interviewer and interviewee, the researcher that conducted the interview becomes responsible for following the same household throughout the whole fieldwork phases.

As part of the narrative interviews, representing the first stage of the fieldwork with households, the main purpose is to collect life paths, everyday practices and other coping and adaptation strategies, styles life and family traditions and their representations of the crisis, the community and expectations for the future, establishing the economic and financial crisis of 2007/8 as a reference point. The interviews also had the purpose to select families to be invited to the next phase and, in some cases, to identify other families to interview, following the snowball methodology.

Almost all interviews were individual, by choice of the interviewees. It was suggested the possibility of more household's members to join the interview, which only happened in two cases, where both adult members of the household were present. The option of individual interviews had to do mostly with families limitations in terms of availability. However, the Portuguese team is preparing a greater involvement of other members of the household for the second phase, namely in the process of taking photographs, in the photo analysis and subsequent interview.

The reaction of the respondents to the consent form was positive, not being registered situations of conflict or distrust. The conditions for participation in the study provided on the consent form were generally accepted, having only been one situation where the respondent did not allow the recording of the interview and did not want to participate in the second phase of the fieldwork.

The interview process followed a semi-directive model, which is guided by the life story of the respondent, looking from the narrative of events and paths of life of the subjects to explore the various themes of the guideline for the interview. The operationalization of the interview was supported by the calendar interview technique, with a threefold objective: first, to support the memory of respondents in surveying their practices and life paths; secondly, to establish an analytical period previous to the economic and financial crisis and a period of coping and adjustment to the crisis; and third, to prepare the WP6, dedicated to the longitudinal development and biographical resilience of households.

For the adaptation of the guidelines, we were faced with difficulties in the exploration and development of some issues, specifically on the topics of community dynamics and of expectations and preparation for the future. Given the little development given to these topics, particularly of community life, we tried other approaches and the use of other approximate terms (e.g. location, neighbourhood or borough) without achieving different results. However, the first analysis of the whole interviews suggest that the difficulties of exploration of such issues is more revealing of the structural constraints on the subjects and the community, rather than indicative of a less successful interview process.

The balance of the process and content of the interviews allowed us to identify a number of positive elements. First, the availability of the families interviewed, who fully accepted to participate in the research in its multiple phases, actively engaged in identifying other families to interview and responded positively to the many challenges arising from the interviews. In this particular aspect, it should be noted the full opening of respondents to tell their life stories and to approach the several sensitive topics in the script. In terms of positive effects regarding the information collected for the analysis, it's also important to stress the diversity of profiles and life paths, and also the discovery of new investigative leads to the research.

Some topics were particularly sensitive during the interview process, arising from the emotional impact that the interview had on respondents. They included two themes with different kinds of impacts. First, we found that religion plays an important role in the life of most respondents, being clearly a topic of investment in their respective life stories. Second, and on the opposite end, the conversation regarding the budget management tends to be very emotionally charged. In some cases the interviewees broke down, with multiple situations of respondents that started to cry. The confrontation with the extreme difficulties and the constant concern regarding the ability to reach the end of each month standing was the ultimate stressor. The fact that we interviewed more women, being on these who fall the household budgeting and the ultimate sacrifice in terms of basic needs, also contributes to this situation.

The topics where the respondents showed higher reserves to disclose information are related mainly to family conflicts or issues related with courts and justice. The issues are addressed, but not particularly developed. We also found the opposite extreme, even though in fewer cases, where the respondents are fully invested in those issues and describe the contours of the conflict in detail.

Finally, and despite the overall positive balance to the interviews, we were faced with a few small problems. The most common situations we faced were related to the interview conditions. In some cases they were not ideal, either for lack of conditions to record the interview or by the limitation of time available, which in some cases forced the shorter duration of the interviews. Another situation that occurred in two interviews was related with communication issues, due to higher difficulties of expression of the subjects. For analysis purposes some of the selected respondents are a bit too young, limiting the interview regarding the establishment of a period prior to the beginning of the crisis to contrast with the period currently lived. Thus, the interviews ended up focusing primarily on coping and adaptation practices during the crisis and representations, expectations and life projects.

With to the existing delay in beginning the fieldwork, the process of distribution of photographic machines only started in March. Despite following the process, it has not yet been possible to carry out the first photographic interviews. There was a series of interviews scheduled, however the families asked for more time to complete the task. The updated forecast is that the process of photographic interviews will be carried out between the second half of April and the first weeks of May.