

CaixaProInfancia Barcelona, Spain

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1 The initiative and its organisers

CaixaProInfancia (CPI henceforth) is a socio-educational programme aimed at promoting the development of low-income and socially vulnerable children aged 0-16 years (the target has been widened to 0-18 after the field research was conducted). It does so through the provision of economic benefits of up to 100 Euros per month bound to the purchase of goods for children (food, school material, hygiene articles) established in a specific list and to be used in specific shops, and through different types of activities: social, educational and psychological support, leisure activities, and health promotion activities. CPI aims at shifting from an assistance-oriented to a transformative social educative model, by promoting a networked approach that connects different agents and professionals in order to develop a social action focused on the specific situation of every case. The programme was initially launched in eleven Spanish cities with high prevalence of poverty and was led and entirely funded by *Obra Social de la Fundació Bancaria Caixa d'Estalvis i Pensions de Barcelona, "la Caixa"* ("la Caixa" Foundation – LCF henceforth), a particular financial institution mixing business and social purposes since its establishment. The programme was scientifically supervised by PSITIC (*Pedagogia, Societat i Innovació amb el suport de les Tecnologies de la Informació i la Comunicació*), a research group from Ramon Llull University of Barcelona, and its implementation is entrusted to around 350 third sector organisations that work with children at risk of social exclusion, with the collaboration of different city councils and the guidance of experts from eleven different Universities, one for each involved city¹.

As described in chapter three the development of the programme can be divided into three phases: start-up phase (2007-2010), revision of the model in terms of methodology of social work (2010-2012), revision of the model in terms of governance system and territorial dimension (from 2012 onwards). Despite being informed by the same methodology, from the territorial point of view two models of intervention currently coexist, one diffused around the whole city and one implemented at the neighbourhood level through pilot projects. This report mainly concentrates on phase three, with a focus on the local implementation of the programme in Barcelona, where it is particularly rooted. The new territorial model is being tested in three districts (Nou Barris, Sant Martí and Ciutat Vella), while the diffused model is operating in the rest of the city. The implementation of CPI in Barcelona is coordinated by five NGOs, with the help of 52 minor third sector organisations, delivering services to children and families. Municipal social services and schools are also involved.

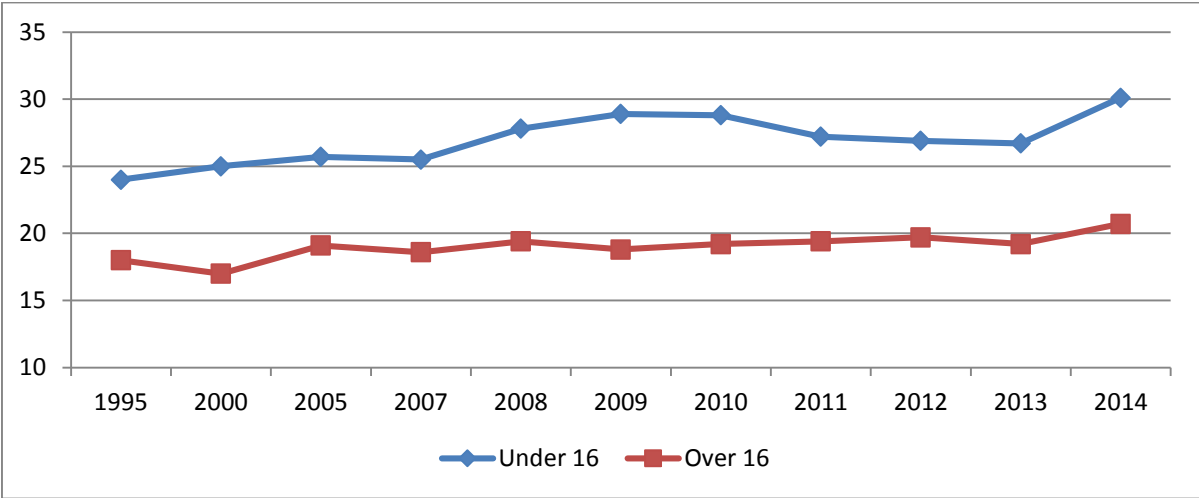
¹ Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona and Universitat Ramon Llull (Barcelona), Universidad de Deusto (Bilbao), Universitat de les Illes Balears (Palma de Mallorca), Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria), Universidad Pontificia Comillas (Madrid), Universidad de Málaga (Málaga), Universidad de Murcia (Murcia), Universidad Pablo de Olavide (Sevilla), Universitat Rovira i Virgili (Tarragona), Universidad de La Laguna (Tenerife) and Universidad de Zaragoza (Zaragoza).

2 Basic information on the (local) context and the emerging problems

2.1 Child poverty and education in Spain and Catalonia

Spain is one of the European countries with the highest levels of child poverty. The rate is 30.1% among children under 16, the third highest rate in Europe after Romania and Bulgaria. In recent years children and young people were particularly hit by the economic crisis and became, for the first time in history, the poorest group in society compared to adults and elderly (González-Bueno and Bello, 2014). The difference in the risk of poverty rate among children and adults has increased since the beginning of the crisis in 2007, as shown in figure 1.

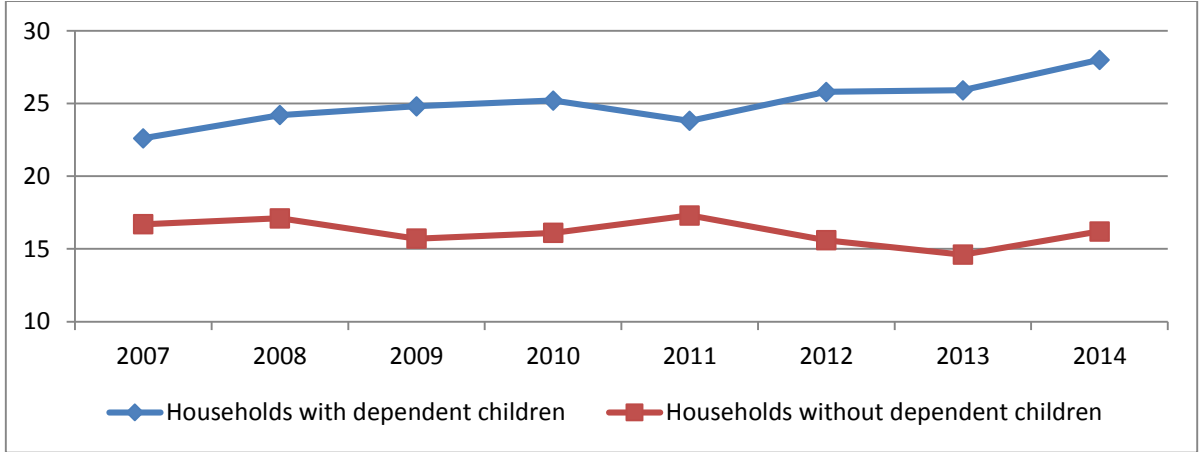
Figure 1. At risk of poverty rate by age group in Spain, 2007-2014



Source: Eurostat.

The child poverty rate is 55.1% (in 2014) including children with a migrant background, the worst rate in the whole of the EU. Catalonia, in line with the national data, has a child poverty rate of 29.5% (González-Bueno and Bello, 2014). Households with dependent children present a higher poverty risk than households without children and the gap has increased in the last years.

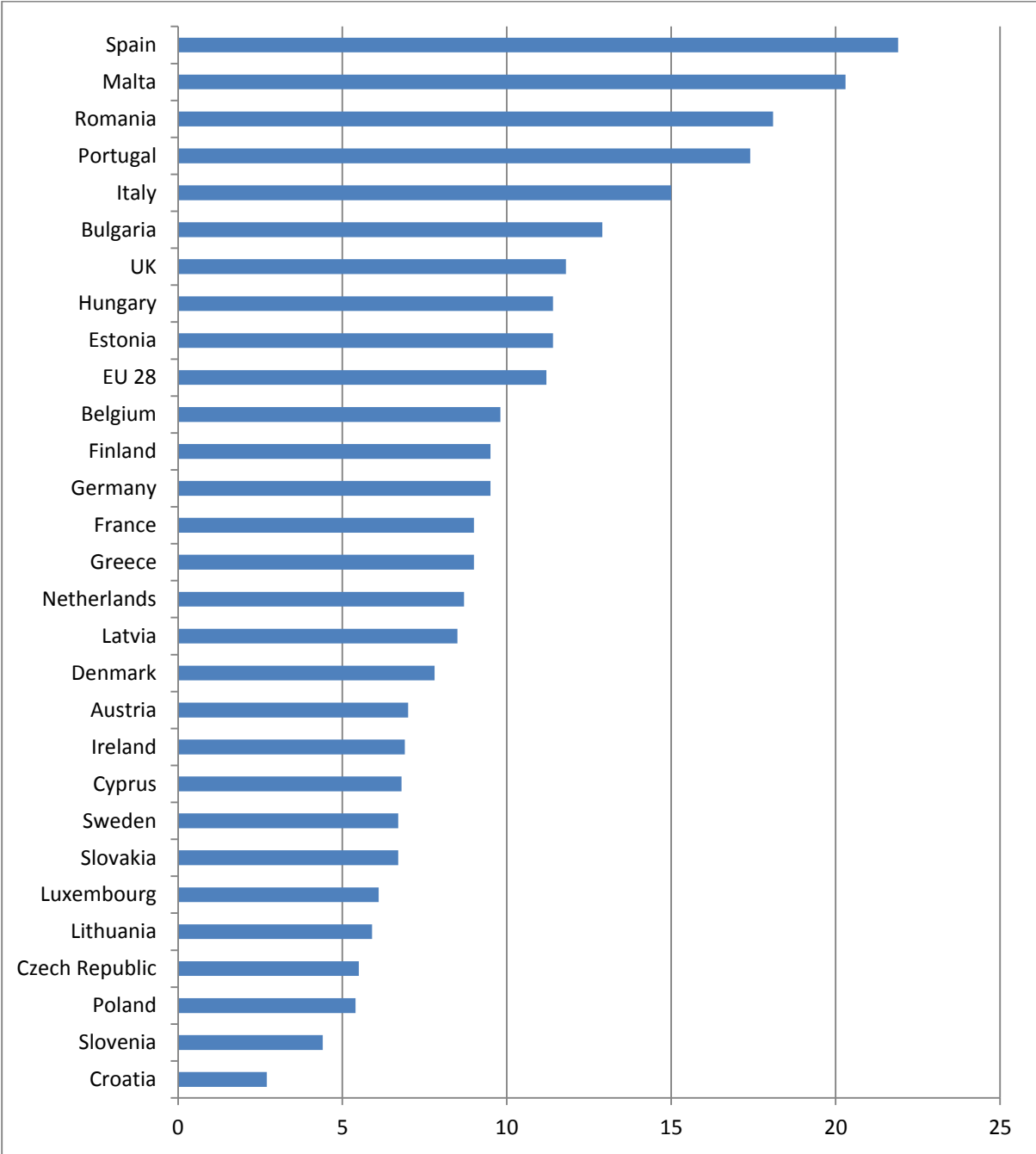
Figure 2. At risk of poverty rate by household type in Spain, 2007-2014 (%)



Source: Eurostat

Early school leaving is another huge problem in Spain. Even though it is constantly decreasing since 2008, when early school leaving rate was 31.7%. The country still has the worst rate in Europe (21.9%) almost double the average European rate, as shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3. Early leavers from education and training in EU, 2014 (%)



Source: Eurostat

The data increases to 41.6% when referring to foreign citizens (not Spanish), against an EU average of 23.4%. The early school leaving is strictly connected to the parental level of education: it overcomes 30% when the mother has no education and falls down to 4.6% when the mother has tertiary educational level (González-Bueno and Bello, 2014). The educational level is also strictly connected to poverty risk. The poverty risk of children whose parents have not completed basic schooling or are only educated to primary level is four times higher than those children whose parents have completed

tertiary education, 47.4% compared to 11.4% (González-Bueno and Bello, 2014). The data of early school leavers in Catalonia is 22.2% (Eurostat online database).

The difference in PISA results between the best performing pupils and the worst performing has increased from 18 points in 2003 to 27 points in 2012 and is, again, strictly related to the family economic situation (OECD, 2013).

In terms of public policy, Spain denotes 1.4% of its GDP for welfare policies for children, against an average of 2.2% in the European Union (González-Bueno and Bello, 2014). The capacity of the Spanish welfare system to reduce child poverty is limited compared to the performances of other European countries. Child poverty after social transfers is reduced by 6.9%, the second worst performance in the EU after Greece (González-Bueno and Bello, 2014).

2.2 Local context in Barcelona

The new territorial model of *CaixaProInfancia* is being tested through pilot projects in three districts of Barcelona: Nou Barris, Sant Martí and Ciutat Vella. The districts have been selected considering their situation in terms of child poverty and the concrete possibility to activate efficient networks by the side of the coordinating entities. Table 1 provides a picture of the three districts according to the available data.

Table 1. Nou Barris, Sant Martí and Ciutat Vella: Demographic and economic situation.

	Barcelona	Nou Barris	Sant Marti	Ciutat Vella
Inhabitants	1,602,386	164,516	232,629	100,685
Population 0-15 (%)	213,117 (13.3%)	22,868 (13.9%)	33,266 (14.3%)	11,377 (11.3%)
% foreigners	17.0%	15.7%	15.6%	43.1%
% over 16 with no education	7.0%	12.8%	8.0%	7.3%
% over 16 with tertiary education	28.4%	11.8%	23.2%	27.3%
Minimum income beneficiaries (% on total population)	5,420 (0.3%)	1,183 (0.7%)	703 (0.3%)	959 (1.0%)
Mean available income per household (BCN=100)	100	57.1	79.6	76.6

Source: *Anuari Estadístic de la Ciutat de Barcelona 2015*².

² <http://www.bcn.cat/estadistica/catala/dades/anuari/index.htm>

3 Genesis of the initiative

“La Caixa” Foundation is a financial institution owned by *CaixaBank*. It is the richest private foundation in Spain and one of the richest in the world. It has traditionally been involved in social and cultural activities. Its first social programme dates back to 1904 when a programme to support elderly people without pension was introduced. Since that moment, it has gradually increased its social and cultural commitment, also as a strategy to increase visibility and territorial proximity. In the early 2000s the foundation produced very good financial results and decided to invest a part of its profits in new lines of social intervention. In 2007 the foundation doubled the income of 2006 and decided to intervene in the field of urban child poverty, mainly for two reasons. First, statistics were extremely bad, as shown in chapter two, and there was evidence that an intervention was needed. Second, it was a highly sensitive field that was in concordance with the historical background of LCF. CPI was launched as a result of these internal decisions and its development can be illustrated by referring to three phases.

3.1 *The start-up phase: from 2007 to 2010*

The decision to launch a national programme on childhood poverty was taken at the beginning of 2007. *“La Caixa” Foundation* assigned the task to design the programme to *Deloitte*, a multinational consultancy company. Two starting points were identified by the Foundation. First, the programme should be implemented in the eleven Spanish cities which presented high child poverty rates: Palma de Mallorca, Barcelona, Bilbao, Gran Canaria, Madrid, Málaga, Murcia, Sevilla, Tenerife, Valencia and Zaragoza. Second, it had to be implemented in a very short time frame, since the Foundation had to spend the dedicated budget (around 50 million euros) by the end of the year. The programme was originally conceived as a management plan to distribute available financial resources. This did not correspond well with the educative purpose of LCF, but it was implemented nevertheless due to the need to start spending the available budget.

The initial idea was to do what the public administration did not achieve, both in terms of providing economic benefits and in-kind services. The Foundation wanted to avoid financing public institutions, which could have been considered as politically inappropriate. It wanted the funds to arrive directly at the families in need, but it did not have a direct contact with them. For this reason it issued a call to select a number of NGOs and third sector organisations, which had direct access to the families. The call was open to umbrella organisations and big NGOs (the so-called *coordinators*), which could coordinate the implementation of the programme by involving a sub-network of organisations (called *collaborators*). At the end of the process 32 coordinators were selected, each with their sub-network. In some cases the organisations applied with their already formed networks, as in the case of federations like *Caritas* or *Fedaia* in Barcelona. In other cases, new networks were created ad hoc for the call. However, the call was rather vague and did not have a clear criteria for the selection. It resulted in the building of heterogeneous networks including organisations working with different principles and methods and spread all over the territories of the eleven cities. At that moment networks were mainly intended as distributors of financial resources to the beneficiaries of the programme.

The programme started its activities at the end of 2007 and it soon became a very important device of welfare provision in the eleven cities where it was implemented, since the economic crisis started to worsen the condition of families and to erode public resources devoted to welfare services.

In 2008, the first year of implementation, CPI assisted 100,000 children but it showed serious problems, mainly related to the absence of a coherent methodology, the high fragmentation of interventions, the marginalisation of educational activities in favour of economic benefits (80% of the budget was devoted to buy food, clothes, school material to be distributed to the beneficiaries), the creation of dependency on the programme by both small NGOs and users. The result was an assistance-oriented programme, which would be economically and socially unsustainable on the long term.

3.2 The revision of the methodological model: from 2010 to 2012

A turning point came at the beginning of 2010 when the team managing CPI was removed from the assignment by the Foundation because of the problems the programme was encountering. The new team immediately decided to proceed with a deep evaluation of the programme, opening a call for an external organisation dealing with it. The call was won by PSITIC (Pedagogy, Society and Innovation), a research group of Ramon Llull University of Barcelona. In September 2010 PSITIC organised a national meeting held in Barcelona involving all the major entities participating in the programme and produced a report describing strengths and weaknesses of the programme which have emerged.

After some months LCF gave PSITIC another assignment, with the aim of re-defining the whole methodological model, in order to achieve a better coherence in the intervention overcoming the structural fragmentation of a programme involving many different entities. PSITIC designed and coordinated a participative process involving the Foundation and the organisations involved in the programme. The process lasted throughout the year 2011 and ended with the publication of the principles and the methodological model of the programme (Riera *et al.*, 2013, 2nd edition). In 2013, three more books were edited to describe more deeply the social action model and the sub-programmes of school success and psychological support (Botella *et al.*, 2013; Civís *et al.*, 2013; Puig Cruells *et al.*, 2013). Even though the innovation in terms of governance and territorial dimension of the programme occurred in phase three, the methodological model elaborated in 2011 is still effective, although continuously updated. It is extensively described in chapter four.

3.3 The revision of the governance and territorial model: from 2012 onwards

The result of phase two was also the definition of an agreement between LCF and PSITIC, so that the latter took charge of the scientific supervision of the programme for the period 2012-2015. On the request of PSITIC the agreement includes in the network local evaluators for each city, so that eleven universities³ are involved in total and PSITIC acts as the coordinating body. In these years a new neighbourhood-based governance model has been designed and tested through pilot projects. Previously there was almost no territorial concern about how CPI should distribute its resources within the neighbourhoods and/or districts of the eleven cities. The Foundation distributed the resources among the involved organisations⁴ and each organisation used them to distribute goods and to promote activities with their users, regardless of the territorial dimension. As a result PSITIC discovered that there were overlapping services provided within the programme: the same family could receive

³ See note 1.

⁴ The 32 coordinators (umbrella organisations or big NGOs) and 350 collaborators (minor non-profit organisations) selected through the initial call to manage the implementation of the programme.

services and benefits from two different networks, e.g. two different networks were in charge of one sibling. This was a clear issue of governance and organisation: there were areas where the presence of the programme was duplicated or triplicated. Furthermore, there were cases where CPI was bringing resources to already overwhelmed neighbourhoods. It was the case of *El Raval* in Barcelona, considered as one of the poorest neighbourhoods of the city, which indeed had a concentration of economic, social and cultural resources since there were many funds dedicated to services and projects to be implemented in this context. The result was that it had five times the number of social services than any other neighbourhoods in the city. All the five coordinating entities working in Barcelona for the programme were actually working in *El Raval*. CPI was thus adding further resources to a neighbourhood, which was already widely covered by social services and other facilities.

PSITIC proposed a change in the territorial organisation of the programme that should result also in an important change in the governance system, with the aim to act in districts and neighbourhoods which were suffering from lack of services and to avoid overlapping provision of benefits and services. This represented a relevant change for the programme since the governance system and, consequently, the distribution of financial resources, should involve only those entities working in the districts and neighbourhoods selected by LCF. This transition commenced in 2012 and is still ongoing. The new neighbourhood-based model has been tested through pilot projects in two or three districts or neighbourhoods in each of the eleven cities. The contexts to be involved in the pilot projects were selected on the basis of two criteria: severe child poverty and perceived possibility to easily promote a strong territorial network. The new model entails the activation of a local worktable and the involvement of schools and municipal social services. It is extensively described in chapter six. Meanwhile the previous diffused model is still operating, not to interrupt the activities with the involved children and not to drastically break up with entities that partially depend from the entrances provided by their participation to the programme. To reduce the risk of overlap, the new model only works with new families, while the old model only works with the already assisted families. Both models are working in Barcelona too, where three pilot projects have started in 2013 and coexist with the previous diffused model. If the evaluation of the pilot projects will give satisfying results the new model could be generalised in other areas from 2016.

4 The activities and organisation

As described in chapter three, in the current phase of the programme two models of intervention coexist: the neighbourhood-based one and the diffused one, both sharing the same methodology. This chapter will first describe the methodology and the activities of the programme and then provide a focus on the implementation of CPI in Barcelona.

4.1 The methodology of CaixaProInfancia

CPI is described by its promoters and by documents produced within the programme as adopting a “methodology of social action”, defining social action as “the process that introduces planned external factors in the personal and social dynamics of the users with the aim to produce changes and improvements in their life conditions and in their personal development” (Riera *et al.*, 2013). Despite a commitment towards the respect of each entity’s principles and methods, the programme has developed a methodological proposal, defining some minimal common aspects that should be present

in all the actions implemented as a guarantee of quality and coherence. In particular these common aspects regard: general principles regulating social actions, criteria that regulate the access and risk analysis, and phases and procedures of social action.

4.1.1 General principles and guidelines

General principles and guidelines regulating the action within the programme are the following: each individual and family situation is unique; the inclusion in CPI implies the draft of a social action plan establishing objectives and activities to be agreed by families and social workers of the different organisations operating on the territory; the social action plan must be the guideline for every intervention of every social worker of every organisation on that case and any variation should be included in the plan; children and families should rely on a single and stable contact person as the person ultimately responsible for their action plan; the adopted strategies and techniques should in any case promote the empowerment of children and families, so that the family understands its needs and resources to actively participate in the process of change; the impact of the social action with each child and family should be continuously assessed, both on quantitative and qualitative side, and the evaluation should produce changes in the plan, if needed; all the entities should hire highly skilled professionals to work in the programme; professionals who act as referent for the users should have a stable contract with their entity.

4.1.2 Criteria regulating the access

The demand of access to the programme can be direct or mediated. In the first case the family directly applies to an entity involved in CPI to be included in the programme. In this case a contact person should be immediately identified and should be in charge of assessing the demand and eventually proposing a social action plan. A mediated demand occurs when it is submitted by an intermediate actor, like social services or entities as a complement to a social action that is already ongoing using other public or private resources. In this case the final contact person remains the one who is already in charge of the situation and the activities of CPI are included into a broader action plan.

In any case, before including children and families into the programme a needs and risks assessment should be done considering the following factors: economic situation, familial and relational network, health, health assistance, position in the labour market, housing situation, educational situation of the children, educational level of the family, relationship with the local community. This analysis should result in the positioning of each user in one of the following three levels:

- Very high risk level: families in situation of extreme poverty and social exclusion with a high risk of establishing relationships of dependence with public or private benefits and services. Social action should in this case be planned on a long term and with an intensive evaluative approach.
- High risk level: highly vulnerable families with relevant shortcomings in their economic situation, educational level and familial networks but showing a capacity in identifying needs and risks. Social action should in this case be planned on a long term, be addressed especially to children but allowing the family to be aware of all the decisions being taken and to co-assess the implementation of the plan.
- Middle risk level: families with some, albeit unstable, economic resources, which show stability in some areas but need support in others. Social action should in this case take a preventative

approach, concentrate on some specific attainments and rely on a high level of participation from the families.

4.1.3 Phases and procedures of the social action

The social action as intended within the framework of CPI should include the following phases: pre-assessment, planning, implementation and evaluation. The pre-assessment phase includes all the procedures to be followed when receiving a demand: interviews with the child and the family, exchange of information among professionals, collection of information aimed at verifying if the demand complies with the requirements of the programme in terms of age, economic and territorial criteria. If the demand is accepted, a first report should be drafted including the following information: territorial localisation of the family and of the entity and professional referent taking charge of the situation, age, composition of the family, economic situation, position of the parents in the labour market, educational level of the parents, educational position of the child, health information, housing, public or private programmes and resources already accessed by the family, a description of the social action plan already in place (in case of mediate demands), a first assessment of the main needs and possible expected improvements coming from the participation to the programme.

In the phase of planning the social action plan is defined. It includes objectives regulating the participation to the programme and the activities to be implemented. The type of activities, the intensity and the length of the support depend on the needs and risks assessment. In any case the plan should be negotiated with the family which should be in the position to clearly understand what is at stake and to actively participate in its formulation. The negotiation takes place during dedicated interviews conducted by the contact person. The extent to which families actually perceive this process as an opportunity of having a voice and actively deciding about their own life was not clear from the field research.

The implementation phase does not simply mean doing the activities established in the social action plan, but also continuously assessing the process incorporating the needed changes and defining the results of the action in place. This should be done by the contact person in a continuous exchange with all the involved entities and professionals, the families and the children. The proposed methods to do this are meetings among professionals of different organisations and services, periodic meetings with children and families, periodic revision of the social action plan.

Finally the evaluation is made at the end of the period established by the action plan (usually one academic year) and includes an evaluation of the results and of the objectives. The evaluation should include the opinion of the family and should make proposals on if and how to continue the action.

4.2 The activities of CaixaProInfancia

The activities of CPI are organised in five sub-programmes, within which a wide range of benefits, goods and services are provided by the involved entities. The possibility to gain access to benefits and material goods is conditional on the participation to the other activities designed in the individual social action plan. The benefits can be used only in specific shops and only to buy items established in a specific list. The participation in the different sub-programmes and the peculiar combination of

benefits, goods and services provided to the beneficiaries is defined in the social action plan of every user.

4.2.1 Educational support

It includes all the strategies and actions aimed at improving the educational level of the children. It addresses children between 3 and 16 years-old and includes early school leavers, children with special educational needs, children with difficulties in basic learning (language, communication, and mathematics), and children with difficulties in organising their homework, immigrant children with late integration in the local school system, children with specific social needs. The educational support is mainly provided in schools (by the school itself or by an external third sector entity), youth/community centres (by third sector organisations), and residential centres for children in particular situations, professional centres (in case of psycho-motion activities and speech therapy). In any case a high level of coordination with the school is required as a basic principle of the educational support in CPI. As described in chapters 6 and 7.2, this remains a weakness of the programme, since no formal agreements with the schools have been hitherto signed. The support is provided for a minimum of one hour per day during four days a week (for primary school pupils) or one hour and a half per day during three days a week (for secondary school students). The specific activities provided within this sub-programme are:

- Study rooms to do homework, borrow and consult books, use computers; a professional is present to maintain a good learning climate, fast answers to questions, provide general support.
- Study groups: children with similar level and needs work together in small groups (3-5 people) assisted by a professional.
- Individual support on the basis of the child's specific needs. It is always provided together with other services, like study groups and study rooms.
- School material: benefit provided to low-income households for the purchase of school material.
- Speech therapy: it is provided to children showing language and communication disorders.
- Psycho-motion support: reconstruction of the basic motion functions of the body that have not been adequately acquired during the previous stages of development.

4.2.2 Non-formal education and leisure time

It includes all the activities developed out of the school time. They aim at promoting a healthy lifestyle, developing the potential of the children and their social skills. These activities aim for promoting social mix and should thus not be targeted only at vulnerable children participating in CPI but being addressed to children in different social and economic conditions. They should be conceived also as a potential service favouring the conciliation between life and work time. The specific activities provided within this sub-programme include sport, gaming, art, culture and are divided into:

- Day-time social, cultural and sport activities offered by social centres of different type.
- Urban holiday camps: intensive leisure time activities including successive days (2-5) in the surroundings during school holidays.
- Summer camps: intensive leisure time activities including successive days in a natural environment for a period of 5-15 days.

4.2.3 Family support

Family support is aimed at promoting healthy lifestyles, developing parental skills and supporting the construction of positive social relations among the members of the family. The support model aims to provide specific attention to the individual needs of every family, without any reference to an ideal family model and starting from the needs of the children. The specific activities provided within this sub-programme are:

- Family centres 0-3: they propose activities addressed to children 0-3 years old and their parents.
- Family groups: stable groups of parents and children (8-16 people), which meet regularly for two-hour sessions. In the first hour parents and children work in separate groups each guided by an educator. In the second hour the two groups merge and work together on concrete activities (games and other leisure activities) trying to use what has been learned in the first hour.

4.2.4 Psychotherapeutic support

This aims at supporting the relational welfare within the family and does not deal with cases of mental illness, sexual abuse, drug addiction, and domestic violence. The specific activities provided within this sub-programme are:

- Psychological assessment: related to other specific necessities of the programme to assess processes that affect the learning processes and outcomes of the child.
- Individual psychotherapeutic support: addressed to children or other members of the family.
- Familial psychotherapeutic support: addressed to parents and other members of the family involved in the process of growth of the children, the latter being participants or not on a case by case basis.
- Therapeutic groups: promoting dynamics oriented to improve the relational and emotional capacity of the people involved.

4.2.5 Health promotion

It includes all the strategies and actions aimed at improving the health conditions of children and their families, through prevention and promotion of healthy lifestyles. The specific activities provided within this sub-programme are:

- Nutrition and hygiene: benefits for the purchase of food and hygiene products for children under 3 years old (around 100 euros per month if the income of the family is below an established threshold).
- Glasses and audiphones: benefits for the purchase and maintenance of glasses and audiphones for children who need them.

4.3 Data and figures

From 2007 to 2013 CPI assisted 222,167 children and 130,664 families in Spain. In 2013 it assisted 58,207 children and 37,585 families. Table 2 provides a picture of the families included in CPI in 2013.

Table 2. Features of the families assisted by CPI in 2013.

Feature	% of families
Living below the poverty threshold	100%
Experiencing two or more social exclusion factors	78%
Experiencing unemployment	61%
Adults having completed no more than primary education	57%
Immigrant families	50%
Having difficulties in fulfilling basic social needs	50%
Lone-parent families	42%

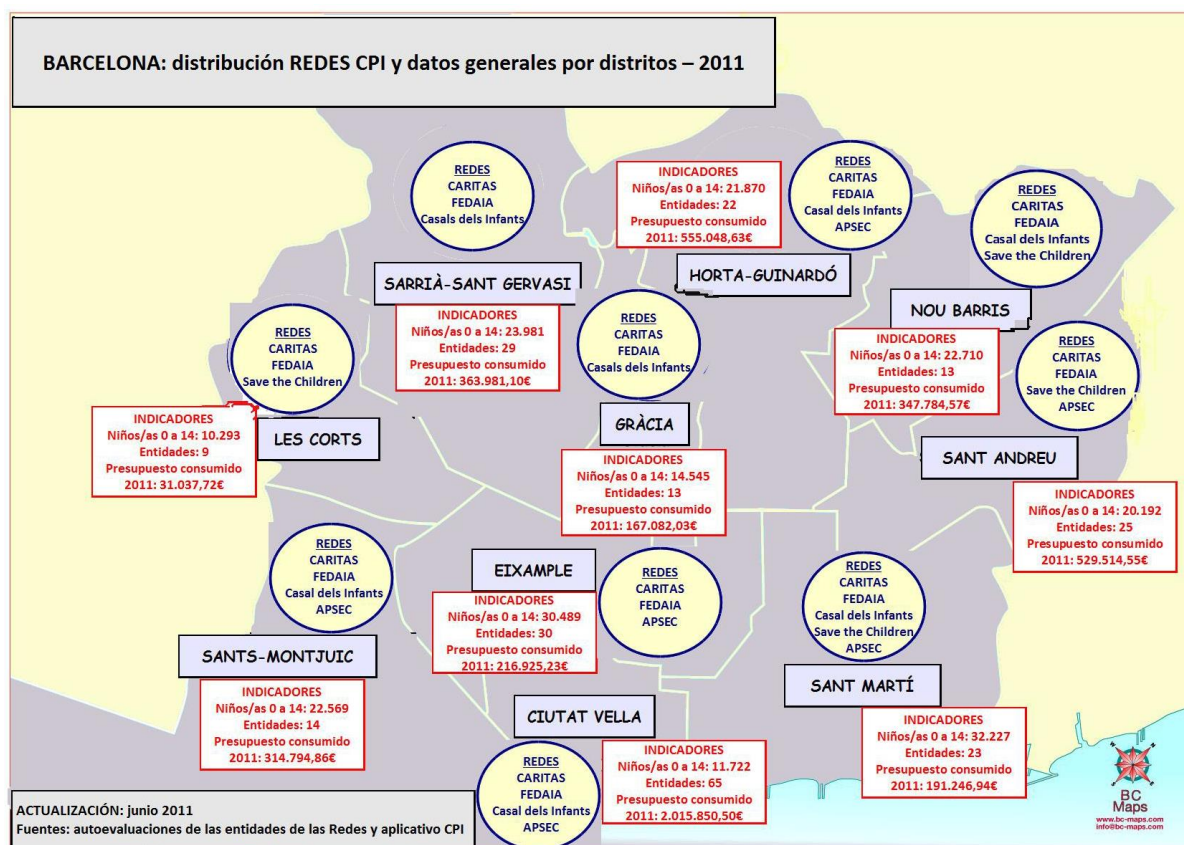
Source: our elaboration from CPI internal documents.

In the first phase of the project, until 2010, 80% of the budget was used for benefits and material goods. In 2014 the situation is almost the opposite: 70% of the budget is used for the provision of services and 30% for benefits and goods. This was an explicit aim of the new management of CPI installed in 2010 and strongly supported by PSITIC, which guided the shift from a managerial assistance-oriented model to a socio-educative one (see chapter 3.2). The annual total budget is 50 million euros.

4.4 CaixaProInfancia in Barcelona

All the activities described above are implemented in Barcelona with the methodology described above. Consistent with the processes described in chapter three, also in Barcelona the two models of intervention, (diffused and neighbourhood-based), coexist in this transition phase. Figure 4 provides a picture of the diffused model as it was in 2011. It is an analytical tool that shows the outcome of the programme in terms of territorial distribution within the city. Resources were distributed on the basis of the number of children assisted by each organisation, without a territorial coordination; as aforementioned, this created overlaps and a distribution of funds which did not consider inequalities in the distribution of poverty within the city.

Figure 4. CPI in Barcelona, 2011⁵



Source: Boadas and Ricciardelli, 2012.

The programme was present in all the ten districts of the city, with the different networks (in blue in the figure), and included 8,543 children (4% of the total population 0-14) and 5,930 families (Boadas and Ricciardelli, 2012). The distribution of services and funds of CPI among the districts depended on the number of organisations operating in each district and the number of children they were able to include in each district. CPI is still present in all the districts of Barcelona but no new users are being included in the diffused version of the programme.

The new neighbourhood-based model has been tested in three districts of Barcelona since 2013: Nou Barris, Sant Martí and Ciutat Vella. The pilot projects followed a three-phase process. The first phase is devoted to the establishment of the new model in the territory. It represents the real innovative aspect of the new model and it receives specific attention. For this reason the districts have been selected considering not only the indicators related to child poverty but also the foreseen concrete possibility of being successful in the establishment, through the assessment of the potential for networking in each district (e.g. existence of already established collaborations, perceived responsiveness of local social services and school). The organisation in charge of coordination has the task to map and organise all the actors working with children and families in the district, starting from the public administration. A local worktable, called *Mesa de Infancia* (Worktable on childhood), is activated and involves local social services, schools and other organisations and groups dealing with children, no matter if they are involved in CPI or not. The worktable defines goals, priorities and methods starting from a shared need analysis. In this way the benefits and services provided by CPI

⁵ Redes: Networks; Distritos: Districts; Niños/niñas: children; Entidades: organisations; Presupuesto consumido: budget

are coordinated with the ones already existing in the territory. The resources to guarantee the coordination of the worktable are provided by CPI, although the formal leader is the public administration, namely the local social services. In phase two the strategies, methods and activities designed in the first phase are tested on 50 families and then, after an evaluation, are extended to all the families of the district in phase three (Cussó-Parcerisas *et al.*, 2015). The pilot projects will be evaluated in 2015 for a possible definitive implementation in 2016.

5 The innovative dimension of the initiative

Drawing on social innovation literature the innovative dimension of CPI is analysed using three basic dimensions (Gerometta, Häußermann and Longo 2005; Moulaert *et al.* 2005a,b; Oosterlynck *et al.*, 2013): a) the satisfaction of basic social needs (content dimension); b) the transformation of social relations (process dimension); c) the empowerment and socio-political mobilization (linking the process and content dimension).

5.1 Content dimension

The social needs of children and families were already addressed by public welfare policies, although in an insufficient and fragmented way. In this sense the innovative aspects regarding the content dimension of CPI are two.

First, its capacity to broaden the satisfaction of children's and families' needs to a wider range of population, creating and promoting a privately organised integrated system of benefits, goods and services. This systemic approach is able to support pathways out of poverty integrating interventions in different fields: economic support, education, social inclusion, psychological support, health promotion, and family care. Such a wide, systemic and integrated intervention enables a private actor to compete with the welfare state in the definition and interpretation of social needs. As an example, CPI provides benefits for the purchase of goods whose need is pre-determined by the programme and whose access is conditional on the participation to the educational activities established in the social action plan. In the case of public benefits the specific needs are freely determined by the families that can choose how to spend them.

Second, the adoption of a transformative social educative model to overcome the traditional assistance-oriented approach. This second aspect has been achieved through a learning process occurred during the implementation of the programme. In the first phase CPI was not able to challenge the traditional model, due to the managerial approach given to the programme by the private consultancy company *Deloitte* and adopted by "*la Caixa*" *Foundation*. 80% of the budget was used for benefits and material goods, and only 20% for educational activities. In 2014 the situation is almost the opposite: 70% of the budget is used for the provision of socio-educative services and 30% for benefits and goods. The innovative player driving this radical shift has been PSITIC, which was selected to evaluate, reshape and supervise the programme in 2010. The Foundation changed its attitude towards the methodological approach to be used in the program, showing openness towards the adoption of the new methodology of social action designed by PSITIC. A much stronger emphasis have been put in the provision of socio-educative services with the aim to support pathways out of poverty

and social exclusion of poor children and families, trying to break the intergenerational transmission of social inequalities.

5.2 Process dimension

CPI puts a great deal of effort into the promotion of innovative processes of governance, need analysis and service provision. A turning point in this sense has been the involvement of the PSITIC research group of the Ramon Llull University, which coordinated a participative and knowledge-based process involving all the 350 entities taking part in the programme to produce a shared methodology and a new governance model. This new approach represents a radical shift with respect to the initial phase of the programme, centrally managed by “*la Caixa*” Foundation and based on a design made by the consultancy company *Deloitte*. As described in chapter 3.1, this managerial approach allowed to reach a great number of beneficiaries but proved not to be suitable to pursue the socio-educative aims of the intervention. A completely new knowledge-alliance was built in 2010 involving LCF, PSITIC, and the non-profit organisations that, in the previous approach, were considered mainly as executors and distributors of resources. The results of these efforts are, among others, the following:

- A wide knowledge and operational alliance between a great number of actors, both at local and at national level: public institutions, bank foundation, universities, big NGOs, small third sector organisations.
- Shared need analysis and strategic planning through a participative approach.
- Optimisation of the resources, avoiding overlapping interventions within CPI and between CPI and other public and private services.
- Promotion of an integrated social action with families.
- Changes in professional cultures towards collaboration, sharing of information, understanding each other’s resources and limits.

These results are even more relevant after the implementation of the new neighbourhood-based model, with the activation of the local worktables on childhood. The tables include all the relevant local actors working with children and families (but not the families themselves), recognising the strategic role of the public sector. They are activated with the support of the financial and human resources of CPI but its formal coordination is left to local social services. Schools, NGOs and third sector organisations are also involved, no matter if they are participating in CPI or not. According to the interviewees, this represents an important innovation in a context dominated by fragmented and self-centred services, but at the same time this private-sector driven coordination jeopardises democratic governance (see chapters 6 and 7.6). The beneficiaries of the programme are involved only at the street-level, when it comes to negotiate their own social action plan, but are not directly participating in the governance of the programme.

5.3 Empowerment dimension

The personal empowerment of all the members of the family is one of the declared transversal strategies that is promoted through all the activities of CPI. The family should be able at every step of its participation in the programme to understand its needs and resources and fully exercise its agency on its future, sharing with the professionals’ steps and goals. This approach finds an important

exception in the management of benefits, which are bound to the purchase of specific products. In this case CPI takes away a part of the families' autonomy and decides about their concrete needs.

Collective empowerment is not a goal of the programme, whose focus is on personal needs and resources, and on the actions and methods to satisfy them. Still, CPI inevitably raises public awareness on the issue of child poverty.

6 Institutional mapping and governance relations

CPI is led and entirely funded by "*la Caixa*" Foundation. It avails itself of the scientific supervision of PSITIC, a research group of Ramon Llull University of Barcelona, and its implementation is entrusted to around 350 third sector organisations that work with children at risk of social exclusion, with the collaboration of different city councils and the guidance of experts from eleven different universities, one for each involved city⁶.

This extended privately dominated governance network is organised on three different levels:

- The national network is directly managed by "*la Caixa*" Foundation, whose nodes are the entities coordinating the various local networks;
- The local networks are managed by the coordinating organisations, whose nodes are the minor organisations collaborating in the direct provision of goods and services and other public and private actors;
- The micro networks that surround each child and family, composed by their social relations, including the entities directly involved in the case.

The national network operates through national meetings involving the coordinating organisations organised at least once a year. Different national working groups operate on specific aspects. The national level supports the local implementation of the programme through different resources:

- Informatics management device: it has been developed by "*la Caixa*" Foundation to support the management of the provision of goods and services and the exchange and updating of information.
- Development of a common protocol: the national level continuously works on the updating and sharing of common standards and guidelines for the local implementation of the programme.
- Training: a continuous training is provided to the staff of the entities involved in the programme.
- Assessment and supervision provided by external experts when needed by the local networks.

The local networks are composed by a coordinating organisation and a number of sub-organisations. The coordinating organisations can also act as service provider. Each local network has three functions: the coordination of professionals and organisations working on each case; the provision of goods and services as established by the programme; and in the new neighbourhood-based model the coordination of all the local organisations working with children and families (including public and private actors not involved in CPI) through the activation of a local worktable on childhood. The worktable defines goals, priorities and methods starting from a shared need analysis. In this way the benefits and services provided by CPI are coordinated with the ones already existing in the territory. The resources to guarantee the coordination of the worktable are provided by CPI, although the formal leader is the public administration, namely the local social services. This represents a radical shift with

⁶ See note 1.

respect to the initial phase of the programme, when LCF decided to avoid the intermediation of public institutions. Yet, the programme was showing to have an important impact on the whole welfare system, at least in the eleven cities where it was implemented. The risk that the resources of CPI would have competed with the ones provided by the welfare state without having a democratic legitimisation was high. When it officially took the role of scientific supervision, PSITIC raised the issue and LCF proved to be open to change the programme's approach. The new model is based on territorial networks aiming at promoting collaboration between public and private resources. According to CPI's promoters, such a high level of territorial coordination could have been achieved only leaving the leadership to the public sector, due to its authority and legitimisation.

This governance system is managed and funded by "*la Caixa*" Foundation, a particular financial institution which has combined since its establishment business and social purposes. Since 1904 it has been committed to social purposes, initially aimed at encouraging savings and retirement planning to support working poor to achieve financial security. In 1917 it started to allocate part of its earnings to social projects and integrated them into its organisation to ensure that they would be managed efficiently and professionally, thus overcoming the idea of charity to embrace the one of improving people's quality of life through social, cultural and civic services. The bank also developed a strong model of proximity, opening a great number of branch offices in Catalonia and, since the 1980s, in all of Spain. It currently has the largest network of branch offices in the Spanish financial system. "*la Caixa*" Foundation is the first private foundation in Spain and one of the most important in the world. Its highest level of spending for social projects was reached in 2008, with a budget of 500 million euros. The five social priorities of the Foundation are currently childhood, labour market insertion, elderly, cultural diversity, health vulnerability, for a total budget of around 300 million euros.

Since 2012 the programme is supervised by PSITIC (*Pedagogia, Societat i Innovació amb el suport de les Tecnologies de la Informació i la Comunicació*), a research group of the Ramon Llull University. It is a non-profit private university with humanist and Christian inspiration founded in 1990 by different institutions operating in the field of education in the city of Barcelona and it currently comprises eleven higher education and research institutions.

There are 32 organisations, selected through a call, coordinating the local networks all over Spain. Each organisations entered in the programme with its own network of sub-organisations or created an ad hoc one. In Barcelona five coordinating organisations are involved in the programme⁷:

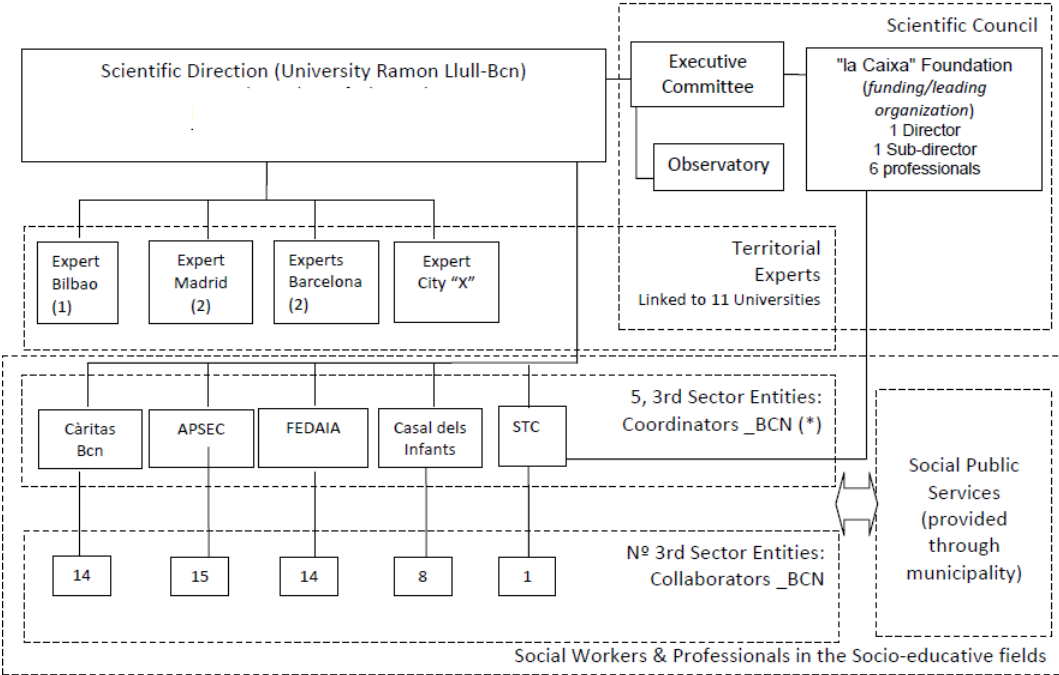
- *Fedaia (Federación e Atención a la Infancia y a la Adolescencia)* is a Federation that includes 88 entities working on childhood, youth and family in Catalonia. Within CPI it coordinates 14 sub-entities in five districts of Barcelona.
- *Caritas Diocesana de Barcelona*, which coordinates 14 sub-entities in five districts of Barcelona.
- *Apsec (Asociació Professional Serveis Educatius de Catalunya)* is a network composed by private Christian-oriented schools that coordinates 15 sub-entities in five districts of Barcelona.
- *Casal dels Infants per a l'Acció Social als Barris* is an association promoting social action in different neighbourhoods of Barcelona. It coordinates 8 entities in 5 districts of the city.
- *Save the Children* is an international non-governmental organisation committed to the improvement of children's life all around the world. In CPI it operates in two city districts but without a proper network of sub-entities.

⁷ Number of sub-entities (data from 2012) collected in Boadas and Ricciardelli, 2012.

Beyond the network of organisations formally involved in CPI, the programme, especially since 2012, has promoted a wider public-private partnership, which is now formalised in the establishment of the local worktables on childhood. In most cases special agreements have been signed with the municipal social services, so that they are formally leading the workgroup, which gives more power and credibility to the operations of the table. Beyond social services, schools are considered as crucial actors to be involved in the worktables, as long as other third sector organisations, whether they are part of CPI or not. For a discussion about the effects of such a model on public and private responsibilities on welfare state see chapter 7.6.

A general agreement has been signed with the Division of Social Rights of the Municipality of Barcelona establishing general purposes of improvement of childhood conditions in the city. In the three Districts where the pilot projects have been implemented – Nou Barris, Sant Martí and Ciutat Vella – specific agreements for the activation of the worktable on childhood have been signed with the district social services. There are no agreements with the schools, since they are managed at the regional level and the programme does not have any agreement with the Catalonia Region. Therefore schools participate in the worktables for childhood on a voluntary basis, which has been reported as a weakness of the programme.

Figure 5. The governance system of *CaixaProInfancia*: actors and relationships.



(*) Càritas Diocesana de Barcelona; Associació Professional Serveis Educatius de Catalunya. (APSEC); Federación y Atención a la Infancia y la adolescencia (FEDAIA); Casal dels Infants per a l'Acció Social als Barris (Casal d'Infants del Raval); Save the Children (STC).

Source: PSITIC, internal document, data 2012.

7 Governance challenges

7.1 *Mainstreaming social innovation*

CPI was set up as a mainstream programme to be implemented at the national level (although not in all of Spain but in eleven selected cities), involving a great number of non-profit organisations and beneficiaries. This configuration has been made possible by the economic and political resources made available by “*la Caixa*” Foundation, a very wealthy and powerful actor in Barcelona and Spain. This support made it possible to establish a wide network of organisations, operating both at national and local level.

The support of PSITIC, in terms of scientific supervision and evaluation, was also important to build a knowledge alliance capable of operating both at national and local level and to make the model transferable, through the definition of a model of social action with vulnerable children and families, which includes a coherent methodology of social action and a structured governance system. Five books have been published detailing the methodology of the programme and providing a rich framework model.

Another important driver of possible mainstreaming is the continuous exchange among social workers and organisations. The operation of the worktables on childhood is a particularly fertile context to extend goals and method of CPI also to other organisation and professionals, starting from the public sector.

7.2 *Governing welfare mix: avoiding fragmentation*

One of the strengths of CPI is the way it has addressed the fragmentation of the welfare mix. The creation of a network acting with the same macro purposes and with a shared methodology to combat child poverty is one of the main aims of the programme. As described in chapter six, the complex governance system allows different actors to join at different levels: the Foundation, the Municipality, local social services, schools and a great number of private non-profit actors. This is a result of a learning process occurred during the implementation of the programme. In the first phase the programme was experiencing problems with fragmentation: it had built large networks involving various actors but it had many difficulties in giving coherence to the action of organisations working with different methods and starting from different methods. The networks were operating with a very low degree of coordination, and this produced the provision of overlapping services with the same families and in the same neighbourhoods. Furthermore, the public sector was completely and deliberately excluded. LCF, with the support of PSITIC and the increasing involvement of the non-profit organisations, has been able to recognise these issues and promote consistent shifts in the design of the programme. The effort towards a common action has been strongly reinforced in phase three with the implementation of the neighbourhood-based pilot projects. The local worktables on childhood have been enlarged also to non-CPI entities, so that the coordination of the action on the territory is as effective as possible. The public institution manages the table, calling the meetings and the entities, although the practical coordination tasks are in charge of the coordinating entity of CPI, which lead the shared need analysis and the shared territorial projects where each organisation has its own role. An important player that is still out of the integrated system created through CPI is Catalonia Region.

Signing a formal agreement with the regional Department of Education would provide a more favourable framework for the participation of the schools in the activities of the programme, which currently works on a voluntary basis.

7.3 *Governing welfare mix: developing a participatory governance style*

CPI has made a great effort in the direction of a progressive involvement of all the organisations in the governance network. From its beginning it was intended almost as a network for the distribution of resources, in which non-profit organisations were considered by the Foundation as a necessary step to reach children and families and hence were afforded a more operational role. After the involvement of PSITIC as scientific supervisor the entities started to be considered as actors co-governing the processes and designing local interventions together with other public and private actors. In this sense CPI now adopts a participatory governance style as regards the organisations and professionals involved. At the national level participation is promoted through national meetings involving all the coordinating entities to re-shape methodology of social action and governance processes. At the local level the concrete degree of participation highly depends on the professionals involved. The local worktables on childhood are de facto work teams involving members of different organisations. Each professional has to give up part of its autonomy to act in a shared territorial project. This requires a shift in the paradigm of social action for many of the involved professionals, and some territories prove to be more “ready” than others. Despite a general participative approach, some interviewees report that the shift from the diffused to the neighbourhood-based model has been decided top-down, without real involvement of the entities, apart from a generic consultation.

As for the beneficiaries of the programme, they have a voice only at the street-level. They can negotiate with their contact person the specific mix of benefits and activities to be included in their social action plan, and they have to be actively involved periodically, and in any case every time there is the need, reported by them or by professionals, to introduce changes in their plan.

Finally, CPI contributes to weaken democratic public institutions that have suffered from austerity measures. They are forced into public-private partnerships due to the large amounts of money available in the private/philanthropic sector.

7.4 *Equality and diversity*

CPI addresses to all the low-income and vulnerable children aged 0-18 years old (0-16 years old at the time of the field research) and their families, regardless of their gender and ethnic origin. As regards gender, around 50 per cent of the beneficiaries are female and 50 per cent are male. 50 per cent of the beneficiaries have a migrant background.

In general, the principle of diversity is moving the action of the programme. Social and educative action should take in consideration this diversity and provide flexible, different and complementary tools. This attention towards diversity is manifested in the personalised social action plan, which is drafted with every child and family participating in the programme.

7.5 Uneven access

Access to CPI is dependent on an assessment made by the referent of the coordinating entity and considering the following factors: economic situation, familiar and relational network, health, health assistance, position in the labour market, housing situation, educational situation of the children, educational level of the family, relationship with the local community. All the demands meeting the requirements have been hitherto attended, at least in Barcelona, following a chronological order. There have been some waiting lists but thus far the Foundation has provided the necessary resources to satisfy also the surplus of demands. The key issue regards the effect on the public system, considering the broadness of the programme that in some territories is the main service provider for children and families in need. Requirements to access such a fundamental welfare resource are decided by a private actor but have effects on the whole system. A similar issue emerges when considering the territorial dimension of the initiative. CPI is now implemented in two or three neighbourhoods/districts in each of the eleven cities. This means that the inhabitants of the other districts are not covered by its services. This can represent a relevant disadvantage since the programme can count on huge financial resources that substantially complement, and in some cases exceed, ordinary public resources. The selection of the neighbourhoods and/or districts to be involved in the programme have been made with the aim to grant resources to deprived territories, in terms both of child poverty diffusion and lack of other public and private resources⁸, nevertheless it opens a reflection on the principle of equal opportunities for all citizens that should characterise welfare provision.

7.6 Avoiding responsibility

CPI is a huge programme in terms of financial resources, activities, and number of beneficiaries. In times of retrenchment of the welfare state this opens an issue of public responsibility and governance of the welfare system. At the beginning of the programme, the Foundation was not fully aware of this situation. In the long term this strategy was giving rise to some problems, since there were neighbourhoods where CPI was the most relevant actor providing welfare services to children and families. As described in chapter 6, a new concern towards the importance of involving public institutions emerged in the promoters of the programme since 2012. CPI had an important impact on the whole welfare system and an issue of democratic legitimisation and political responsibility. The idea is now that CPI has to complement, and not substitute, the welfare state. Within this framework the new neighbourhood-based model was designed since the beginning to include the public sector. The activity of the local worktables on childhood are supported with the financial resources of CPI but its coordination is in the hand of the local social services, which have the task to approve the territorial projects implemented by the worktable. Anyway, the operations of the worktable is entirely financed by CPI and this still leaves room for ambiguity.

⁸ According to a "poverty and social resources mapping", a research carried out in 2012 in all cities (see reports for all territories in: <http://observatoriperlapobresacaixaproinfancia.org>)

7.7 Managing intra-organisational tensions

CPI has been a disruptive initiative for many of the involved organisations, in particular:

- *“la Caixa” Foundation.* The implementation of the programme entailed various moments of tension within the Foundation. In the first two years the Foundation was proposing an assistance-oriented initiative showing a preference towards money transfers more than towards educative services and activities. The management of the Foundation was thinking to close the programme but decided to give it another chance by installing a new team and starting a deep evaluation process. The results of the process created further tensions between conservative and progressive stances, since they suggested to take a new and uncertain direction towards a new methodology of social action, a direct involvement of the entities in the governance of the programme and, in the third phase, even a planned loss of control over the activities supported by the programme in favour of the activation of territorial projects negotiated with organisations not involved in CPI.
- *PSITIC.* The involvement in CPI has been a great challenge for the research group of the Ramon Llull University. At the beginning the programme was not oriented towards the promotion of a network as PSITIC intended. The Foundation intended the network as a distributive network in which the involved organisations played an operational role (distributing resources) while PSITIC had a clear idea of a governance and participative network in which the involved organisations played a more active role in co-designing the project and its approach. After some years the programme is now more in line with the principles of social work of PSITIC, although one issue is still open: the risk of substituting public welfare state with private initiative that is something that PSITIC absolutely wants to avoid. On the contrary, one of the challenges is the promotion of co-responsibility in developing socio-educative actions.
- *Third sector organisations.* CPI has represented a turmoil for many involved entities, especially for the small ones. It has been a great opportunity of collecting financial resources and broadening their activities but some of them have developed a serious dependency on the programme. The dependency ratio is in most cases around 10-20 per cent but there are some entities with a dependency ratio of 50-60 per cent. For this reason, CPI is shifting towards a territorial model of action.
- *Public institutions.* Their role as the ultimate responsible body for welfare provision is jeopardised by a programme like CPI based on huge financial resources and on a strong network of many service providers. This becomes more evident at the local level and particularly in some specific neighbourhoods where CPI has more resources than the local social services. The new configuration based on local worktables of childhood is trying to give back centrality to the public sector, which is the formal coordinator of the table, although some degree of ambiguity is still present since the activities of the worktables are financially supported by CPI.

7.8 Enabling legal framework

No issues related to the national or local legal framework emerged from the research.

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Appendix

In November 2014, the Urbino team conducted:

- analysis of documents concerning the innovative experience (e.g. project, agreements, reports, web sites of the actors involved), analysis of institutional documents and data, and researches to describe the local context (e.g. laws, public strategies, reports);
- 5 qualitative interviews involving the director of the Social Area of *"la Caixa" Foundation*, the director of the scientific supervision of CPI from Ramon Llull University, the executive director of the scientific supervision from Ramon Llull University, the referent of the programme for *Fedaia* (coordinating entity) and a social worker of an entity involved in the pilot project of Ciutat Vella;
- a focus group involving 6 participants: a professional from *"la Caixa" Foundation* working in the programme, the expert responsible for the assessment of the programme in Barcelona, a researcher of PSITIC involved in the scientific supervision of the programme, the coordinator of the pilot project in Nou Barris, the coordinator of the pilot project in Sant Martí and a social worker participating in the worktable on childhood of Nou Barris.

ImPRovE: Poverty Reduction in Europe. Social Policy and Innovation

Poverty Reduction in Europe: Social Policy and Innovation (ImPRovE) is an international research project that brings together ten outstanding research institutes and a broad network of researchers in a concerted effort to study poverty, social policy and social innovation in Europe. The ImPRovE project aims to improve the basis for evidence-based policy making in Europe, both in the short and in the long term. In the short term, this is done by carrying out research that is directly relevant for policymakers. At the same time however, ImPRovE invests in improving the long-term capacity for evidence-based policy making by upgrading the available research infrastructure, by combining both applied and fundamental research, and by optimising the information flow of research results to relevant policy makers and the civil society at large.

The two central questions driving the ImPRovE project are:

How can social cohesion be achieved in Europe?

How can social innovation complement, reinforce and modify macro-level policies and vice versa?

The project ran from March 2012 till February 2016 and received EU research support to the amount of Euro 2.7 million under the 7th Framework Programme. The output of ImPRovE will include over 55 research papers, about 16 policy briefs and at least 3 scientific books. The ImPRovE Consortium will organise two international conferences (Spring 2014 and Winter 2015). In addition, ImPRovE will develop a new database of local projects of social innovation in Europe, cross-national comparable reference budgets for 6 countries (Belgium, Finland, Greece, Hungary, Italy and Spain) and will strongly expand the available policy scenarios in the European microsimulation model EUROMOD.

More detailed information is available on the website <http://improve-research.eu>.

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