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PINTO CONCEIÇÃO**

**Intentional Communities in Portugal: Effects on  
Social Capital Development**

**Comunidades Intencionais em Portugal: Efeitos no  
Desenvolvimento de Capital Social**



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Dissertação apresentada à Universidade de Aveiro para cumprimento dos requisitos necessários à obtenção do grau de Mestre em Ciência Política, realizada sob a orientação científica do Doutor Luís Filipe de Oliveira Mota, Professor Auxiliar Convidado do Departamento de Ciências Sociais, Políticas e do Território e da Doutora Maria Luís Rocha Pinto, Professora Associada do Departamento de Ciências Sociais, Políticas e do Território da Universidade de Aveiro

À minha mãe pela sua determinação, coragem e alegria perante as adversidades, algo que me servirá sempre de modelo a seguir.

## **o júri**

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**Palavras-chave**

Capital social, comunidade intencional, exclusão social, benefícios socioeconómicos, Portugal

**Resumo**

O trabalho aqui desenvolvido propõe-se a analisar de que forma as comunidades intencionais em Portugal são promotoras de capital social com a potencialidade de mitigar situações de desigualdade e exclusão social.

Numa fase inicial, procura-se abordar a literatura que versa sobre o cariz estrutural de problemas sociais como a desigualdade e exclusão social, os quais continuam a assolar as várias sociedades à volta do mundo e visa-se explorar novos caminhos para os combater. Neste sentido, procuramos analisar o potencial do capital social – debatendo o seu significado e concebendo-o em alinhamento com autores como Bourdieu, Lin e DeFilippis – para a resolução destes problemas, nomeadamente, no contexto de comunidades intencionais.

Através de um estudo de caso de duas comunidades intencionais – relativamente semelhantes em vários domínios – num contexto à partida desfavorável para o seu estabelecimento (Portugal), procuramos oferecer pistas para um futuro alargamento do leque de opções para criação de uma sociedade igualitária.

Em geral, foi possível concluir que, de forma mais ou menos eficiente, ambas as comunidades intencionais se revelaram capazes de inserir os seus membros em redes sociais potenciadoras de acumulação, a curto e/ou longo prazo, de capital económico e humano; e propícias para a construção de uma identidade social. Deste modo, o potencial destas comunidades para contribuir para a solução de condições de escassez de recursos e de bases identitárias, que tendem a ser experienciadas por aqueles socialmente excluídos, parece sair confirmado.

**Keywords**

Social capital, intencional community, social exclusion, socioeconomic benefits, Portugal

**Abstract**

The present work intends to analyse how and to which extent intentional communities in Portugal enhance the generation of social capital capable of mitigating social inequality and social exclusion.

We thus begin by approaching some of the existent literature on the structural dynamics of social problems such as social inequality and social exclusion, with which societies all across the world still struggle today. After reaching some understanding regarding these problems, we seek for potential solutions. In this endeavour, we focus on social capital and try to understand – while debating its meaning and aligning with the contributions of authors such as Bourdieu, Lin and DeFilippis – to which extent it can be perceived as a useful tool for fighting social inequality and exclusion. In this work, social capital's potential will be studied in a specific context, that of intentional communities.

Aiming to provide valuable answers that could contribute to the quest for a more equal society, we have conceived our research as a case study of two intentional communities – similar along several variables – in a context that, according to some literature, appeared to be unfavourable for their establishment (Portugal).

Overall, it is possible to conclude that both intentional communities have proven themselves, more or less effectively, capable of including their members in social networks with the enhancing potential for the accumulation, in the short or long run, of economic and human capital; and for the construction of a social identity. In this way, it appears to be confirmed these communities' potential to contribute to the mitigation of conditions faced by individuals that struggle in their daily life due to their lack of resources and of a basis for social identity

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

Societies all across the world still struggle today with inequality, poverty and social exclusion (Eurostat, 2017; OECD, 2011, 2017; Hardoon, 2017; Central Intelligence Agency, 2017). These social problems seem to be part of the expected outcomes generated by an economic system based on competition, which is fated to produce *winner*s and *loser*s that tend to accumulate (dis)advantages overtime (Beaud, 1981; Castel, 1999; Stiglitz, 2014; Varoufakis, 2011, p.18). In the last four decades, this scenario has become more evident, since economic growth has been detached from the promotion of social equality and inclusion (Wacquant, 1999, p. 1641) and it has even started to coexist with the worsening of these problems (Lockyer et al., 2011, p.2; Stiglitz, 2014, p. 1-5). Being home to the world's largest number of upper-class citizens and, at the same time, to one of the largest *armies*<sup>1</sup> of homeless people, New York, for example, reflects very well this new reality (Wacquant, 1999, p. 1641; Coalition for the homeless, 2017b).

In order to solve this growing (extreme) social inequality (Blyth, 2013, p. 43; Hardoon, 2017; OECD 2011) some literature has pointed to the role of the State in promoting better health and education policies (See, e.g., Stiglitz, 2014) and in redistributing wealth (see, e.g., OECD, 2014). Nonetheless, even if essential (Blyth, 2013; Silva, 2012, p. 127-137; Valadas, 2013, p. 105), it has proven to be somehow ineffective in solving these problems and its actions have shown to generate unattended side effects (Atkinson, 1998, p. 18; Castel, 1999, p. 508, 509, 556; Iannelli & Paterson, 2005; OECD, 2011, p.37, 38; Pordata, 2016; Wacquant, 1999, p. 1644, 2007; Van Zanten, 2005). A group of authors has come to believe that this goal can also be achieved through the promotion of social capital among the poor and disadvantaged (See, e.g., DeFilippis, 2001, p.798-801; Lin, 2000, p. 793; Putnam, 2000, p. 319, 321, 322,411). However, having been conceptualised in many distinct ways, social capital's meaning has been drowned in confusion. We, in this work, aim, by debating past contributions, to reach a useful notion of social capital so that it can be of any value in this task of social inequality and exclusion mitigation. Here it will be understood as: *the quantity and quality of resources embedded in social networks, which result from more or less continuous intentional or absentminded investments made by individuals who compose the latter, allowing for those within it (acting individually or – if the social network is characterised by a relatively strong cohesion and closure and by*

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<sup>1</sup> Expression used by Loïc Wacquant (1999, p. 1641)

*the sharing of more or less institutionalised ties – as a group) to have privileged access to such resources and to potentially mobilise them – more or less effectively - to obtain certain instrumental or expressive returns that may result, sometimes, from frequent and unspecific interactions.*

In this study, social capital will be analysed in a specific context, that of *intentional communities*, which are tightly related to an intention to create a better world (Sargisson and Sargent, 2004, p. 159).

The disagreement with the way society works and organizes itself and the life of its members has led, over the past centuries, people to try to create their own alternative living projects outside or distanced from the mainstream society, through the establishment of intentional communities (Lockyer et al., 2011, p.3; Lockyer, 2007, p.16; Meijering, 2006, p. 15-21; Sargisson, 2010b, p.24). As a communitarian solution to such discontentment, intentional communities present themselves as a place where a group of people seeks to develop its own lifestyle, fulfil shared values and objectives and to promote a better society and way of life (Mulder, Costanza & Erickson, 2006, p. 14; Lockyer et al., 2011, p. 3; Meijering, Huigen & Van Hoven, 2007, p. 42; Sargisson, 2010b, p. 24, 27, 28; Torres-Antonini, 2001, p. 8). Having the development of a *community* as their main objective, some studies associate these projects with the generation of social capital (Mulder, Costanza & Erickson, 2006; Lockyer et al., 2011; Ruiu, 2015; Torres-Antonini, 2001; Sargisson, 2010a, p. 9) and with the production of interesting socio-economic benefits (Lockyer et al., 2013, p. 9, 11, 12; Meijering, 2006, p.86; Sargisson, 2010b). However, even if some strongly hint to the potential of intentional communities in solving social inequality and exclusion (see Lockyer et al., 2013, p. 9; Sargisson, 2010b, p. 27), they do not conceive it in a (social capital) theoretical framework capable of encompassing and integrating the production and accumulation of the benefits generated by its members. We believe that by analysing intentional communities regarding a theoretical structure provided by social capital it can become possible to understand their potential in mitigating social inequality and exclusion through the engagement of their members in resource-wise relevant ties that are part of an empowering social network. As DeFilippis (2001, p. 798-801) suggests, these empowering social networks not only allow for their members, based on previous investments, to produce and attract capital (e.g., economic capital) – that is, to attain

certain benefits - but also to maintain some control over them. In this way, it becomes possible for those gains to be reinvested in these social networks (and relationships) in order to attain further benefits (i.e, use them to further enlarge their social capital). In this way, these communities may award capital deficient individuals (e.g., individuals target of social exclusion) with the means to break free from the alienating situation they are in.

In short, this research aims to contribute to the sparse literature on socio-economic benefits generated by intentional communities (Lockyer et al., 2011, p. 20) and integrate it in a social capital theoretical framework in order to understand if and how intentional communities are able to integrate their members in resource-wise relevant social networks and relationships.

As to reach our goal, we have selected the Portuguese reality as background, since, as it is explained in section 3, it appears to be unfavourable for the establishment of intentional communities (Borio, 2003, p.736). In this way, if Portuguese intentional communities manage to successfully establish themselves and to offer relevant social networks to their members, then, others in more favourable scenarios can come to do the same (Levy, 2008, p. 12).

Since there is little investigation on this issue or others related to it regarding the Portuguese reality (for some of the few examples, see Esteves, 2010<sup>2</sup>; Vale Pires, 2012<sup>3</sup>), we have conceived this research as an exploratory investigation that seeks to determine intentional communities' potential in providing its members with access to social capital and, therefore, to socio-economic benefits. Thus, we will focus on the social relationships within and outside the community, as well as on access and mobilisation of resources embedded in them at the individual and group level. Potential answers resulting from this study may provide us with some hints on new and empowering ways of fighting social exclusion, poverty and social inequality.

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<sup>2</sup> A study that fails to provide new data (see Esteves, 2010, 93-96).

<sup>3</sup> A case study on two ecovillages - a Portuguese (Tamera) and a North American one (LAEV) - that tries to understand if and how this form of intentional community can provide an economic and ecologically sustainable alternative way of living (see also Vale Pires & Lima, 2013).



## **2. LITERATURE REVIEW**

In this chapter, we will attempt to address some of the existing literature on the three main themes that compose our research – social problems such as social inequality and exclusion; social capital; and intentional communities. We believe that in order to deal with a problem, one must first try to fully understand it. Therefore, we will start by addressing the structural causes of social inequality and exclusion, which will lead us to analyse the (new) functioning of the capitalist system (section 2.1). Afterwards, we will present the concept of social capital, its effects in a context of high social inequality and, finally, its potential in eliminating social inequality and exclusion (section 2.2). Having finished this part, we address the current knowledge on intentional communities and on its capacity of providing its members with social capital and socio-economic returns (section 2.3).

### **2.1. Capitalism's harmful dynamics and the reshaping of social problems**

#### ***2.1.1. Basic functioning of the capitalist system***

Capitalism has, over time, been seen in multiple ways. On the one hand, it has been regarded as a virtuous system by some (See, e.g., Debroy, 2005, p.7-20; Martínez, 1998, p.744-752; Norberg, 2005, p.71-77; Hunt, 2002, p.287-298; 302-308; Samuelson & Nordhaus, 1999, p.354; Smith, 2007 [1776]), who overall agree that a market economy - marked by competition among people free to own and accumulate property and use it, as well as their capacities, to satisfy the needs of others (consumers or employers) and to thereby obtain profits – generates, not only win-win exchanges and more efficient outcomes but also allows for a generalised growth that brings about social equality and the rising of living standards<sup>4</sup>. On the other hand, it has also been perceived as the source and/or enhancer of social problems such as poverty, social inequality and exclusion (see, for example, Marx,1974[1872]; Beaud, 1981; Castel, 1999; DeFilippis, 2001, p.793; Miliband, 1977 [1969], p. 24-33; Stiglitz, 2014; Varoufakis, 2011, p.18, 19; Wallerstein, 1998 [1995]), even if some, as Stiglitz (2014, p. 1, 5, 6), believe that it can be solved by State intervention through policy making in key areas such as education, health, and tax laws

It is not our intention to provide a thorough debate between both perspectives as there is little space for such endeavour. However, the latter perspective seems to get strengthened by some information that points to a (growing) extreme social inequality and exclusion (see, e.g., Coalition for the homeless, 2017a; 2017b; Fuentes-Nieva & Galasso, 2014;

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<sup>4</sup> Some authors argue that this *state of grace* is, however, only achievable with state intervention (see Hunt, 459-462; Samuelson & Nordhaus, 1999, p.352-365)

Hardoon, 2017; OECD, 2011; Stiglitz, 2014) even during times of economic growth (Stiglitz, 2014, p.2; Wacquant, 1999, p. 1641). We choose, therefore, to address it, as it may provide us with some insights on the origins of these social problems. We should thus start by analysing the system itself and its way of functioning.

Before anything else, it is important to define *capitalism*, because by doing so, it will be possible to shed some light on how it works. Bruce Scott presents it as:

“(…) *an indirect system of governance based on a complex and continually evolving political bargain in which private actors are empowered by a political authority [the State] to own and control the use of property for private gain subject to a set of laws and regulations*” (Scott, 2006, p.4)

Under this context, *capitalism* is, at its basic level, associated with an economic reality, where, on the one hand, those who own *capital*, here understood as money, machinery and other forms of “*crystallized wealth*” (Varoufakis, 2011, p. 18) – will seek to invest it in the production of goods and services, answering the demand for these products, in order to gain *profit*. On the other hand, those who have but their labour, be it skilled or unskilled, are free to offer it to the capitalists, who need it in order to proceed with their quest for profit, in return for a wage (Scott, 2006, p.4; Wallerstein, 1998 [1995], p.14, 15).

The functioning of this economic system is fuelled by *competition* between economic agents: be it enterprises (capitalists), which compete with each other, in the market of goods and services, in order to satisfy the demand for these products and to proceed with their accumulation of capital (Scott, 2006, p.4; Vindt, 1999, p.10; Wallerstein, 1998 [1995], p.16-18, 62); or workers, who also compete with each other, in the labour market, for job opportunities provided by the demand of enterprises (Marx, 2010[1844], p. 14; Sánchez & Vos, 2010, p. 345).

Just like every competition, capitalism produces *winners* and *losers* and tends to perpetuate social inequality, since, over time, winners will accumulate advantages, and losers will be dragged down by disadvantages which tend to be inherited by their descendants (Castel, 1999; Samuelson & Nordhaus, 1999, p.348-350; Stiglitz, 2014, p.4-6; Van Zanten, 2005). Therefore, we can unsurprisingly observe that capitalism, guided by an “*endless accumulation of capital*” (Wallerstein, 2004, p. 5), is able to produce, simultaneously, extreme levels of wealth and poverty (Varoufakis, 2011, p. 18).

This trend has always been present throughout the history of the capitalist system (Beaud, 1981; Miliband, 1969, p.26-33; Wallerstein, 1998 [1995], p.105, 106). So, the critiques addressed to it, in the pre-industrial world, by authors like Jean-Jacques Rousseau or

Diderot (Rousseau, 1995 [1754]; Beaud, 1981, p. 70, 71) could, in general, be applied nowadays to denounce the extreme social inequalities expressed in cities like New York, home to the largest number of upper class citizens and, at the same time, to the largest *army* of homeless people<sup>5</sup> (Wacquant, 1999, p. 1641).

Capitalism can be seen, according to Varoufakis (2011, p.18), as a system in which capital uses humans as pawns in its own game. It is then normal to expect capitalism, having profit as its ultimate goal, to be responsible, for making consumers pursue false needs (Ago, 2015, p. 91) and material wealth (Varoufakis, 2011, p.18), in order to expand itself (Vindt, 1999, p. 10). At the same time, capitalism proves itself incapable of providing any kind of solidarity system (Boyer, 1999, p. 132; Greider, 1997, p. 334). This was already stated by Adam Smith (2007 [1776], p. 16), when he stressed that, in a context of a relationship between consumer and producer, one could not rely on the good will of the butcher or baker to obtain one's dinner. Even the beggars, said Smith (2007[1776], p. 16), could not rely on it completely. Thus, the solidarity system responsible for attending to the needs of the poor (i.e., losers of capitalism's game) and for promoting equality of opportunity lays outside the economic system, namely in the hands of the State (Stiglitz, 2014, p. 5; OECD, 2014) and, more or less effectively, of Civil Society (Banks & Hulme, 2012; Ibrahim & Hulme, 2010, p. 5; Mitlin, 2001, p.1007).

Lastly, since capital awards their holders with strength and power (DeFilippis, 2001, p. 790; Bourdieu, 1987, p. 4; 1997, p. 47; Marx, 2010[1844], p. 149), one can expect for those who accumulate it the most to be more powerful and capable of influencing government policy making in their favour and weaken the state's redistributive policies (Cagé, 2016, p. 100; Fuentes-Nieva & Galasso, 2014, p. 11-18) or use them in order to further polarise distribution of capital (Wallerstein, 1998 [1995], p. 53-55). In one briefing paper, Oxfam presents us the example of the pressure over the US state from the wealthy financial and banking sectors, during the 1980s, in order for it to undo the regulations that were responsible for restraining the actions of the agents within these sectors, and that were put into action to avoid another financial crisis like the Great Depression of 1930 (Fuentes-Nieva & Galasso, 2014, p. 12, 13).

The resulting deregulation led to the accumulation of wealth by the corporate executives associated with these sectors and, later, also led to the Great Recession of 2008. The consequences of this financial crisis left those responsible for it wealthier and those at the middle and at bottom of the income pyramid considerably poorer (Stiglitz, 2014, p. 2, 7). In this way, Capitalism does generate the means for the wealthier members in society to take over institutions like the State, who are responsible for attending to capitalism's

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<sup>5</sup> This situation has gotten worse since the time Wacquant wrote about it. New York faced a steady growth of homelessness since then and reached in the past years the highest levels since the 1930s. At the same time, we can also observe a 76% growth, when compared to 2007, in the number of people sleeping in municipal shelters (Coalition for the homeless, 2017a; 2017b)

harmful effects, use it to their own advantage, perpetuating social inequalities (Wallerstein, 1998[1995], p. 56).

### ***2.1.2. What's New in Capitalism?***

Having presented the basic functioning of capitalism, we must address the shape and dynamics it has acquired over the last decades, as it is believed that they led the way to further promotion of social inequality and exclusion. It tends to be accepted that, since the late 1970s, capitalism has entered a new phase that arose from deep economic, social, political and technological changes (see, for example, Castel, 1999, p. 513-516; DeFilippis, 2008, p. 224; Gee, 2000, p. 517; Paulré, 2008, p. 78; Sennett, 1997, p. 161; Wacquant, 1999, p. 1639, 1640). As Gee (2000, p. 515) affirms, 'the old industrial capitalism', mostly related to mass consumption, standardization of production or to an economy where the nation-state had the major role, has now been replaced.

In its new phase, capitalism has globalized itself, supported by information and communication technologies and by deregulatory and liberalization policies, and it is now capable of working, in real time, as a whole at a global level (Castells, 2010, p. 101; Gee, 2000, p. 516; Liagouras, 2005, p. 22, 27). The existence of a global economy implies that enterprises are now capable of relocating jobs and units of production to low-wage regions - the so-called *South* (Saeger, 1997, p. 585) - in order to reduce costs of production, thus generating worldwide competition between workers (especially between the unskilled ones), who depend now from worldwide supply and demand for labour (Kollmeyer, 2009, p. 1650; Gee, 2000, p. 516).

The labour market of the western countries suffered profound changes, partially due to the expansion of relations between the *West* and the developing *South*, which generated the outsourcing of the industrial production based on the intensive use of unskilled labour from the *West* to the *South*. This happened because these developing countries, when compared to the developed ones, were (and still are) relatively abundant in this type of labour and, therefore, were able to offer it at a lower price allowing, consequently, to lower costs of production and the price of products intensive in this sort of labour (see Kollmeyer, 2009; Krugman & Obstfeld, 2003, p. 76; Saeger, 1997, p.585-587, 605).

Forced, under these circumstances, to contract its production of unskilled labour-intensive goods (generating deindustrialization, which meant widespread unemployment of unskilled workers), the western countries shifted their production towards skilled labour-intensive goods (i.e., knowledge-based industry), in which they were relatively abundant

and could, therefore, offer at more competitive prices<sup>6</sup>. It is this shift that, along with other factors, will generate the vicious-cycle of growing social inequality and exclusion in western societies (Castel, 1999, p. 513-530; Wacquant, 1999, p. 1642).

### ***2.1.3. La nouvelle question sociale<sup>7</sup>: the reshaping of social problems***

Before going any further, we should take some time to define *social inequality* and *social exclusion*, not only because these concepts should not be considered as given, but also because their definition may contribute to a better understanding of the next paragraphs.

Social inequality has been conceptualised by Jean-Jacques Rousseau as an inequality “*established, or at least authorized, with the consent of men* [i.e., acknowledged by the members of society] (...) [which produced] *the different privileges enjoyed by ones at the expense of others*” (Rousseau, 1995 [1755], p. 23). In this way, some are richer, more powerful or honourable and enjoy more authority over the others (Rousseau, 1995[1755], p.23).

Despite its antiquity, this notion presented by this French philosopher does not differ much from other ones offered more recently. Habibis and Walter (2009, p. 1, 2) state that social inequality has to do with differences, in terms of political, cultural, social and economic resources, between groups of people which are hierarchical in nature. Also perceiving social inequality as a socially constructed phenomenon, which generates inequality of conditions among individuals in the access to resources, Blackburn (2008, p. 250, 253-256) believes that *inequality* is not the opposite of *equality*. He, thus, argues that equality does not correspond to a situation where two units are identical (i.e., where two units are exactly the same), but instead to a situation where both units are equivalent (i.e., where both are different but share the same value) (Blackburn, 2008, p. 251). Equality is, then, just one more degree in inequality’s scale and is thus attainable (Blackburn, 2008, p. 251-253).

Social inequality is closely tied to the concept of *social exclusion* since the latter cannot exist in the former’s absence. Social exclusion is, however, a complex phenomenon that tends to be misused (Atkinson, 1998, p. 9) and whose conceptualization has been largely debated (Atkinson, 1998, p. 13; Drever et al., 2000, p. 1; Mathieson et al., 2008, p. 21; Levitas et al., 2007, p. 18-24). Even though there have been different approaches to it, we can still identify some common ground among them.

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<sup>6</sup> According to Stolper-Samuelson theorem (see, for example, Krugman & Obstfeld, 2003, p. 69-72), this raises the wage of skilled labour and reduces the wage of the unskilled workers.

<sup>7</sup> Term used by Robert Castel (1999) to describe the social changes generated by the new version of capitalism.

Mathieson et al. (2008, p. 12-14) present the concept of social exclusion as a multidimensional, dynamic and relational concept. Social exclusion is perceived as a phenomenon that has different dimensions (social, economic, cultural and political), being, in this way, more than just a condition of poverty (Drever et al., 2000, p.2). This multidimensionality is stressed in the definition presented by Levitas et al., who claim that “*social exclusion (...) involves lack or denial of resources, rights, goods and services, and the inability to participate in the normal relationships and activities (...) in economic, social, cultural or political arenas*” (Levitas et al., 2007, p. 25). Therefore, we can clearly observe that social exclusion is not only about the lack of resources, goods or access to services – due, for instance, to an exclusion from the labour market (Atkinson, 1997, p. 10) - but it is also about a “*shut-out*” (Levitas et al., 2007, p. 22) from relevant social and political relationships and activities (see also Mathieson et al., 2008, p. 12). This rupture between the individual - or group of individuals - and the society reveals the *relational nature* of this concept and it tends to express itself through inadequate levels of participation, lack of power or social protection (Atkinson, 1998, p.14; Mathieson et al, 2008, p. 13). Lastly, given the fact that social exclusion varies throughout time and space and that it is not experienced in the same way by the same groups, we can say that social exclusion has also a *dynamic nature* (Mathieson et al., 2008, p. 13, 14).

To complete our definition of social exclusion, we need to introduce two other important characteristics, which Atkinson (1998, p. 14) names as *agency* and *dynamics*. *Agency* means that this phenomenon implicates at least an action that is carried out by one or more agents. One’s condition of social exclusion may result either from one’s self-exclusion, for example, from the labour market - just by simply rejecting job offers - or from someone else’s action. For instance, someone can be thrown into a condition of social exclusion as a consequence of the behaviour of the employers (i.e., enterprises) (Atkinson, 1998, p. 10). By *dynamics* the author means to draw attention to the fact that this condition is not temporary, it corresponds instead to a condition that tends to extend itself through time (Atkinson, 1998, p. 14). Therefore, it is now possible to affirm that social exclusion refers to a non-ephemeral phenomenon or condition produced by one or more actions carried out by one or more agents and experienced by an individual or a group of individuals. It expresses itself in different dimensions of life in society and can acquire different shapes and configurations throughout time and space. Its relational nature indicates that for an individual to be socially excluded there must be a deterioration of the quality and quantity of ties he establishes with the rest of society (Drever et al., 2000, p.2; Mathieson et al., 2008, p. 13).

These and other social problems have begun to gain new shapes in the 1970s. This decade gives birth to what Robert Castel (1999) named as *la nouvelle question sociale* or to what Loïc Wacquant (1999) called *advanced marginality*. Both designations refer to the new dynamics of social exclusion that were brought about by the new way of functioning of

the labour market (Wacquant, 1999, 1640,1642); by the perverse effects of the (reformation of the) Welfare State and the inefficiency of social care policies (Castel, 1999, p. 507-509, 519; Wacquant, 1999, p. 1642, 1643); and by the new dynamics of territorial concentration and stigmatization of poverty (Wacquant, 1999, p. 1643, 1644).

According to Castel (1999, p. 513-516) and Wacquant (1999, p. 1640, 1642), the seventies marked a deep transformation of the labour market. In the first place, it is possible to observe a rupture with the paradigm of a stable, homogeneous and social rights supplied work contract (Castel, 1999, p. 516; Sennett, 1997, p.161). This paradigm started to be replaced by another one based on short-time and precarious work contracts and on unemployment. It is this new paradigm that continues to shape the labour market in Portugal and in other European countries (Pereira & Silva, 2012, p. 136). This new reality arises, essentially, from two factors: the establishment of employment strategies based on the *flexibility of the labour force* (a qualitative transformation of the labour market) (Wacquant, 1999, p. 1642); and the *deindustrialization*, automatization of production and deproletarianization of the workforce (a quantitative transformation of the labour market) (Castel, 1999, p. 513-530; Wacquant, 1999, p. 1642).

In the first case, these strategies that aim to enhance enterprises' competitiveness drove them to adapt their labour-force to their needs, which are dependent on demand fluctuations in the market for goods and services<sup>8</sup>. In order to attend to these ever-changing circumstances, the use of short-term contracts and underemployment became widespread, both 'awarding' the workers with very little social benefits (Castel, 1999, p. 517; Wacquant, 1999, p. 1642). As Wacquant (1999, p. 1642) asserts, the wage-labour relation, which during the era of Fordism's expansion (1945-1970) had affirmed itself as a main element of social inclusion, stopped granting "*foolproof protection against poverty even to those who enter it*" (Wacquant, 1999, p. 1642), since enterprises started to operate as a "*machine of weakening, and even (...) excluding [its unskilled workers]*" (Castel, 1999, p. 519) – something that Valadas (2013, p. 106) recognises in her analysis of the Portuguese labour market. In this sense, it became rather common, especially after the Great Recession of 2008, to observe in-work poverty situations among part-time and underemployment workers (see, for example, Baley, 2015; Eurostat, 2017; Horemans, Marx & Nolan, 2016).

Simultaneously, a quantitative transformation of the labour market has also occurred driven, as we have already hinted, by a post-industrial modernization of the economies of the western countries – which have started to turn themselves towards knowledge and innovation-based industries – that has polarized the access to the labour market. When compared to other European countries, this transformation occurred in Portugal with

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<sup>8</sup> Less demand generates a lesser need to produce more goods, which reduces the need for labour-force. The opposite also stands true.

some delay, as it only started expressing itself in the 90s and the 00s (Queirós, 2012, p. 221, 222). If, on the one hand, the number of job opportunities for highly qualified workers with technical skills has risen, on the other hand, millions of unskilled work posts were eliminated due to the process of deindustrialization. These unskilled workers will not be absorbed by the innovative industries, and will, thus, be thrown into unemployment (Silva, 2012, p. 123). When joining both transformations, we get a *deficit of places to occupy in the social structure* – if such places are to be perceived as positions of social use with public recognition (Castel, 1999, p. 529) – which leaves out a group of individuals that cannot fully integrate themselves in the labour market. This context perpetuates social inequality in the long term since the lack of income undermines the opportunities of obtaining higher educational degrees and of moving upwards in the social ladder (OECD, 2014, p. 3). This is why Robert Castel mentions the following:

*“These [persons] occupy a position of supernumeraries<sup>9</sup>, fluctuating in a sort of a social no man’s land, not integrated and, without doubt, not integrable. (...) they are not connected to the networks of productive trade, they missed the modernization train and were left in the railway platform with very little luggage”* (Castel, 1999, p. 530).

The mentioned social uselessness, resulting from long-term unemployment, disqualifies those citizens from the political and civic life, thus sending them to a condition of marginality and social exclusion (Wacquant, 1999, p. 1641). Since they tend to be characterized in a negative manner and to, generally, be aware of it, these people may find it troublesome to speak out for themselves, when they lack the basis (a stable job) upon which social identity is built (Castel, 1999, p. 531).

Along with the new exclusionary dynamics of the labour market, it is important to stress the unintended effects of the mechanisms responsible for promoting social inclusion. Among them, one can find the individualisation effect produced by the Welfare State, which was responsible for weakening and replacing solidarity and proximity ties between the poor for protection ties between those in need and State (Castel, 1999, p.507-509). In this sense, the individual started relying mostly upon an *abstract and impersonal collectivity*, which draws him away from physical groups where he used to belong. This reality proves to be quite worrisome when the State, due to austerity measures, discards the responsibilities it assumed earlier, abandoning those who were dependent from its support (Castel, 1999, p. 508, 509; Blyth, 2013, p. 43). Therefore, it is possible to

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<sup>9</sup> Castel (1999, p. 529, 530) identified these supernumeraries as being composed of long-term unemployed, young people searching for a first job and ‘aged’ workers (50 + years old)

understand that austerity does not ‘hurt’ all levels of society in the same way (Blyth, 2013, p.43, 44).

If the functioning of the Welfare State presents unexpected effects, we can say the same about financial social assistance policies themselves, since those who benefit from them tend to be target of social stigmatisation (Atkinson, 1998, p. 18; Castel, 1999, p. 556) and not to be socially included (Castel, 1999, p. 556). The Portuguese reality reflects perfectly this inefficiency as we can verify a high risk of poverty (19,5 % in 2014) even after financial social assistance is provided (Pordata, 2016). But if it may be true that these policies prove to be somewhat inefficient in paving the way to social inclusion, their absence can generate more problems for those in need, because they are often the only source of income of those who benefit from them (Blyth, 2013, p. 43; Pereira & Silva, 2012; Silva, 2012, p. 127-137; Valadas, 2013, p. 105).

In recent years, as a result of the Great Recession and of austerity measures, we have observed a trend to reduce the range of financial social assistance policies (Blyth, 2013; Dubois, 2008; Pereira & Silva, 2012; Valadas, 2013). Blaming this kind of social policies for promoting unwillingness to work among the unemployed, governments have recurred to active employment measures, which aim to *make work pay* (Dubois, 2008, p. 20). As Valadas (2013, p. 97) puts it, we are observing a transition that has individualised the risk of unemployment that was once shared by the society. This new political orientation seems to ignore that, in a context of mass unemployment, a *job* has become something rare, mostly for those with low educational degrees and that it has stopped granting financial safety for those employed unskilled workers. Governments are, thus, ignoring a vicious cycle of social inequality and exclusion, since those who are poor tend to present lower educational degrees and that the unskilled workers tend to be shut out from the labour market (and, therefore, estranged from sources of income). The poor seem condemned to a condition of marginality that even *public* schools, which are usually seen as a mean for promoting social mobility, are incapable of solving (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 414; Cingano, 2014, p. 52; Iannelli & Paterson, 2005, p. 2; Van Zanten, 2005).

In order to complete the description of the new dynamics that have reshaped the way through which social problems are produced and perceived, we need to address one of the most striking changes, which is the tendency for territorial concentration and stigmatisation of poverty (Wacquant, 1999, p. 1644; 2007). New poverty reveals a tendency to concentrate in neighbourhoods perceived as problematic<sup>10</sup> by outsiders and even by its inhabitants. Social stigmatisation is normally accompanied by a drastic reduction in the sense of community, which tended to be a characteristic of traditional

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<sup>10</sup> The neighbourhoods in the Parisian suburbs or the, now demolished, Bairro de São João de Deus in Oporto can be presented as examples. Targeted by sensationalist social media, they tend to gain a certain stigma from which it proves difficult to escape (Wacquant, 2007, p. 69)

neighbourhoods of the working poor (Wacquant, 1999, 1644). Being aware of such social stigma, those who live within these problematic neighbourhoods try to prove to the outsiders that they are not like their neighbours. In this way, they produce strategies of differentiation, which only contribute to a continuous degradation of solidarity ties within the neighbourhood and of its reputation (Wacquant, 1999, p. 1644).

We have chosen to take some time and space to address social inequality and exclusion, because these are not only a moral problem (Rawls, 2013[1971]; Stiglitz, 2014) or factors that undermine democracy (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 399-414; Castel, 1999, p. 531; Fuentes-Nieva & Galasso, 2014, p. 11-18; Stiglitz, 2014, p. 1; Wallerstein, 1998[1995], p.110), but also because they are responsible for an anaemic economic growth, as it is being shown recently (Berg & Ostry, 2011; Cingano, 2014; Dabla-Norris et al., 2015; Hakura et al., 2016; OECD, 2014; Stiglitz, 2014). This paradoxical reality leads us to conclude that, left alone, capitalism, nowadays, renders itself inefficient, since both inequality and exclusion, inevitably produced by its functioning, undermine medium and long-term economic growth.

We should, therefore, find - even for Capitalism's sake - ways of reversing these social problems. Stiglitz (2014) points towards more inclusive education and health public policies for such solutions, while the OECD (2014) suggests wealth redistribution policies. Some other literature has seen the promotion of social capital among the more fragile members of society as a potential solution to such problems (DeFilippis, 2001, p.798-801; Lin, 2000, p. 793; Putnam, 2000, p. 319, 321, 322,411; Portes & Vickstrom, 2011, p. 462; Ruiiu, 2015, p. 4; Wilson, 1997), which can and, in cases of great socio-economic polarization, must be applied without abdicating from the solution presented by Stiglitz and the OECD (Mogues & Carter, 2004; Ferragina, 2009).

## **2.2. Towards a useful understanding of social capital: can social capital produce a more equal society?**

### ***2.2.1 – Social Capital: what does it really mean?***

The term *social capital* has been largely debated, “*used and abused*” (Ostrom, 2009, p. 19) and it is drowned in confusion generated by the number of distinct conceptualisations (Portes, 2000, p.1). Even if this concept has been used before with different meanings (see Loury, 1977; Bourdieu, 1980, 1987; Coleman, 1990), it was through Robert Putnam's work that it attained considerable popularity (see, e.g., Portes & Vickstrom, 2011, p. 462; DeFilippis, 2001, p.782). Nonetheless, as we will see, his notion of social capital is far from being consensual among researchers and from capturing the essence of

the concept it aims to describe (DeFilippis, 2001; Lin, 2000; Mogue & Carter, 2004, p. 4, 5; Portes, 2000, p.3, 4; Portes & Vickstrom 2011; Solow, 2001).

Putnam's notion of social capital is, since his first work on this issue (see Putnam, 1993, p. 167-170), strongly connected with the vague and "fuzzy" (DeFilippis, 2001, p.784; Portes, 1998, p.5) version given by James Coleman (1990, p.302, 305-313), which defines social capital as certain, non-privately owned, features of a social structure (i.e., social network) - mostly produced by individuals or small groups- that facilitate (mutual beneficial) action and the attainment of one's goals. Under the name of social capital, Coleman includes the following elements: mechanisms that allow for the existence of social capital itself<sup>11</sup>, such as norms of reciprocity (i.e., a norm that establishes that if I am to do something for you, you will be obliged to do something for me at a given time) and trust (see Coleman, 1990, p.306, 310, 311); outcomes of possessing social capital, such as privileged access to information circulating through the network, if we perceive it as networks of mutual trust and reciprocity (Coleman, 1990, p.310); and also authority (Coleman, 1990, p.311) or the capacity to use associations for attaining goals other than those they were created for (Coleman, 1990, p. 303, 311, 312).

Coleman's conception of social capital is, later, summarised by Putnam (1993, p. 167) in three mutually-reinforcing forms of social capital – trust, norms and networks (of civic engagement) – that are seen as features of a social structure responsible for fostering mutually beneficial actions<sup>12</sup>. Social capital is, in this way, seen as a solution to the problems of collective action. In other words, social capital appears as a key to solve contexts in which collaboration among individuals is seen as socially desirable but too risky for them, since they do not communicate, trust each other and are not able to rely on the others to do their part in order for them to reach their shared goal. If one works for the common good and others choose not to do so, others profit the most from the former's decision to refrain his individual interest. The former would have been relatively better off, had he chosen not to collaborate, and even better if others had collaborated (Putnam,1993, p.163-165).

Putnam's social capital assumes, nevertheless, a dimension that is not conceived by Coleman (1990, p.306, 307), that of it being something that is owned by cities, regions or states (see Putnam,1993, p. 181-185; 2000) which can be expressed, for example, through the notions of *generalised and impersonal trust and reciprocity*<sup>13</sup>. In the first, individuals place trust upon others they know little about and expect them to comply with their obligations (Putnam, 1993, p. 168, 170) and, on the second, they do a favour for someone

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<sup>11</sup> If we take it as a 'credit slip' (see Coleman, 1999, p. 306).

<sup>12</sup> Which are seen as an investment in social capital (Putnam, 1993, p.169).

<sup>13</sup> Which he later uses as an item to measure social capital (see Putnam, 2000, p.291).

expecting nothing specific in return but hoping that in the future someone will do the same for them (Putnam, 2000, p.21).

In Putnam's following studies (e.g. Helliwell, Huang & Putnam, 2009; Putnam, 2000; Putnam & Goss, 2002, p.6-8), this connection with Coleman's definition does not wear out, as social capital is still seen as features of a social structure, even if described as "*social networks and the associated norms of reciprocity*" (Putnam, 2000, p.21; Putnam & Goss, 2002, p. 8) that enhance collaboration and provide 'private' and 'public' benefits. Trust disappears from the conceptualisation and, if in *Bowling Alone* it is still conceived as an essential form of social capital (Putnam, 2000, p.288), in a more recent work (see Helliwell, Huang & Putnam, 2009, p.87,88) it starts to be perceived as something that is not social capital but that is connected with it through the norm of trustworthiness<sup>14</sup>.

Despite this uncertainty surrounding trust, it is important to mention that, now, social capital encompasses more 'things', such as: a system of obligations and expectations – a "*favour bank*" – and the mechanisms that allow for it to exist, namely norms of reciprocity (Putnam,2000, p.20); networks of civic engagement (i.e. formal – Parent-Teacher Associations - or informal groups – friends or colleagues that meet up regularly at a bar) (Putnam, 2000, p.21, 22); and its outcomes which, contrasting with what is mentioned in the book *Making Democracy Work* (Putnam, 1993, p. 170), can be either public (e.g., externalities<sup>15</sup> in the form of, for instance, neighbourhood safety) or private gains (e.g., access to information on job opportunities, emotional support or an helping hand) (Putnam, 2000, p.289). Thus, the notion of social capital, as a public good, shifts to one where it is conceived as a public and a private good at the same time (Putnam, 2000, p. 20). This broader concept creates more harmony between Putnam's concept and the one presented by Coleman, who also categorised social capital regarding the nature of its effects and believed that some forms of social capital had a more private nature than others (see Coleman, 1990, p.316, 317).

Additionally, social capital is transformed into 'something' that not only creates the desirable conditions for individuals to engage in mutually beneficial collaborations – eliminating time and money spent on penalising or making sure others comply with their obligations (Putnam,2000, p.288) –, but also in the mutual collaboration itself, since it is described as something that acts more efficiently than pills or medical advice against emotional/psychological problems and also as a channel that allows privileged access to information (e.g., job opportunities) (Putnam,2000, p.289).

We believe that we are faced with a conceptual problem. Since social capital is defined (and measured) by its consequences, it cannot be separated from them, as they are also

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<sup>14</sup> However, it was later reintroduced (Sander & Putnam, 2010, p.9)

<sup>15</sup> Meaning benefits or negative effects that affect other individuals than those involved in the production process (Callon,1998, p.244-247; Putnam, 2000, p.20)

perceived as social capital itself, which generates confusion surrounding the process through which the added value of social capital is produced (see Portes, 2000, p.4, 5; Portes & Vickstrom, 2011, p. 463). A causal loop occurs when social capital, taken as civic engagement, is said to lead to ‘public benefits’ (e.g., lower economic inequality and crime rates or higher level of school attainment), since it is not clear if it is civic engagement that generates these outcomes or if, as Ferragina (2009, p.13) and Portes and Vickstrom (2011, p.464-469) show, it is these phenomena (such as absence of delinquencies in a certain neighbourhood) that allow for neighbours to trust more in one another – as well as in unspecific *others* - and engage in civic action. We are, thus left wondering if social capital is capital at all. To solve these problems surrounding social capital, we need to address the concept itself.

First, in our effort to define *social capital*, we should start, as Lin (2000, p.4) suggests, by its name and understand what sort of capital we are talking about. Although we have already defined *capital* in its traditional and economic sense (see section 2.1.1), we should approach it again in order to understand this new kind of capital. In its original sense (see Lin, 2001, p. 4; Marx, 1974[1872], p.242-253), capital is produced through a process where an individual owning a sum of money (e.g., 100€) invests it on the purchase of a commodity (e.g., cotton), only to sell it at a higher price (e.g., 110€). In this process of transactions (Money – Commodity - Money), money (100€) is, in the end, traded for money (100€ + 10 €), which was the initial aim of the individual, who made the investment (Marx, 1974[1872], p.245). The amount resulting from this process will be then invested again on an M-C-M process, and, if the process is successful, turned into capital, allowing the capitalist to continuously expand the amount of money he owns (Marx, 1974[1872], p.250-253). Money is thus only transformed into capital if included in this process that, beyond conserving its initial value, adds a surplus value to the original sum invested at the end of the process – which consists in the *exchange-value* (Marx, 1974[1872], p.246). Drawing from this theory of capital, capital can be understood as *a surplus value* - generated by an investment made in a productive process with expected returns - that joins the invested value at the end of the process and enables an individual to keep on investing and collecting further surplus values (Lin, 2001, p.4).

The concept of *capital* has been lately applied in different senses other than this Marxist perspective, being no longer conceived as something that can only be accumulated by the bourgeoisie (see, for example, Bourdieu, 1979; 1980; 1984, p. 409; 1987, p. 1997; Lin, 2000, p. 785, 786; 2001, p. 4-6; Ostrom, 2009, p. 21, 22). We can, for instance, quickly address the case of human capital, which is conceived as a result of an investment made by workers in education, training or research, adding knowledge and know-how to their manual and/or brain power stock. This investment contributes, later, for example, to a higher wage paid according to the worker’s qualifications (Lin, 2001, p. 4; Solow, 2001, p. 6, 7).

When it comes to social capital, if we are to follow Coleman and Putnam's definition, we may find some trouble, even if we leave aside the causal loop problem, explaining why *capital* in social capital is nowhere to be found (DeFilippis, 2001, p. 791, 798; Lin, 2001, p. 9, 10; Solow, 2001, p. 6, 7). For something to be conceived as capital, it must involve an investment that, when submitted to a productive process of transactions, manages to capture an added value at the end of the process.

The struggle thus starts, as Solow (2001, p.7) questions, right at the beginning, leading us to ask: what is it that is invested? To say that civic engagement (collective action/mutual aid) is an investment is somewhat vague, since, as seen above, it is an aggregate of transactions made by individuals only achievable by norms of reciprocity that allow for individuals to trust one another. It could be argued that such *trust*<sup>16</sup> is the value which is invested - or "*lent*" (Putnam,1993, p.168, 170)- by individuals and transformed in a collaboration for a common goal, which ends up producing added trust, reinforcing norms of reciprocity and, consequently, making it easier and cheaper to collaborate. However, as it can be observed in plenty of the examples given by Putnam himself (e.g., 1993, p.167, 169, 172; 2000, p.288-290), trust is not what is 'invested', but rather individuals' *resources* - be it their money on rotating credit associations (RCA)<sup>17</sup>, their time, skills or work in associations or when helping friends or neighbours-, only to gain access to others' resources (be it others' money invested in an RCA or their skills, work or time). Trust generated by norms of reciprocity only enables individuals to invest their resources, without fearing misappropriation from those they 'lend' their resources to, since misappropriation is seeded in this type as well as is in other types of capital (Bourdieu,1997, p.55). Trust and norms, therefore, play the same role here that they play in other (potentially) capital-generating processes<sup>18</sup>, which is to allow for individuals to invest their resources in '*commodities*'<sup>19</sup> that they believe will help them to accumulate more resources (see, e.g., Bento,2011, p.92; Varoufakis, 2011, p. 6). Trust as well as norms of reciprocity are, thus, important, but external to this process (see Lin, 1999, p.33).

The closest Coleman and Putnam came to describe these investments and expected returns is when they speak of social capital being a sort of 'favour bank' or a system of obligations and expectations, where if one does something for someone else, the former gains a "*credit slip*" (Coleman, 1990, p.306) that can be used to obtain a favour in return (Coleman, 1990, p.306, 307; Putnam, 2000, p.20). However, as it will be seen ahead, even this idea is inaccurate (Bourdieu, 1997, p.54; Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2005a, p.158). If

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<sup>16</sup> Which Lin (1999, p. 33, 34; 2001, p.9, 10) dismisses immediately, since he believes (social) capital must not be taken by a collective or public good.

<sup>17</sup> Rotating credit associations consist of groups of individuals that invest a regular sum of money in a shared fund, being a part or the total amount gathered given alternately to one member until everyone has received it once. Afterwards the cycle restarts (see Coleman, 1990, p.306; Putnam,1993, p.167).

<sup>18</sup> Which is somewhat acknowledged by Putnam (see 2000, p.288)

<sup>19</sup> A 'commodity' may be also conceived in human capital (as education, training and research) or, for instances, in financial capital (as shares, stocks and bonds) (Bento, 2011, p.92)

they fail to provide a theoretical framework to conceive social capital as an effective form of capital, then we need to look for it elsewhere.

The solution seems to be provided by some literature that conceives social capital as being resources (e.g., economic, human, social and cultural capital<sup>20</sup>) owned by members of an individual's social network that he is entitled to access and mobilise in order to obtain certain returns (e.g., goods, services, wealth, power or status), which results from the relationships' history of past investments made either absent-mindedly or thoughtfully with the purpose of maintaining useful and durable social relationships (Bourdieu, 1980, p. 2; 1997, p.51; Bourdieu & Wacquant, 1992, p. 95; Conrad, 2008, p.55; DeFilippis, 2001; Lin, 1999; 2000, p. 786; 2001; Mogues & Carter, 2004, p. 2, 6, 15; Portes, 2000, p. 2; Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2004, p.154, 155). Nonetheless, even among these authors, social capital has been conceived differently. Thus, for us to reach a clear understanding of social capital, we must address the contributions made by these authors.

Among this group of authors that we consider to have achieved a better understanding of social capital are the French and Chinese sociologists Pierre Bourdieu (1980, 1997) and Nan Lin (1999, 2001). Both these authors, even if sharing some important differences in their conceptualisations, have developed sound theoretical analysis of social capital (see DeFilippis, 2001, p. 783; Portes, 1998, p.3; 2000, p. 2; Van der Gaag, Snijders & Flap, 2008, p.27), which, especially on Lin's case, have been used as theoretical frameworks in more recent studies on social capital (see, e.g., DeFilippis, 2001; Hällsten, Edling & Rydgren, 2015, p.59; Peña-Lopez & Sánchez Santos, 2017; Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2004, 2005a, 2005b; Van der Gaag, Snijders & Flap, 2008). The presentation and discussion of both theses will pave the way that will lead us to what we believe to be a *useful understanding of social capital*.

Pierre Bourdieu was one of the first to address the concept of social capital. In his perspective, it figures, along with cultural capital, among the types of capital that tend to be often perceived as *non-economic* or operating in the *realm of disinterestedness* (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 46, 47). This idea allows for it to act in disguise, in order to produce and reproduce the *status quo* that benefits the dominant class and alienates the dominated class from *capital*, which is perceived as an equivalent to *power* (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 47). It is within this theoretical framework that social capital, as conceived by Bourdieu, must be understood. Having as ultimate effect the conservation of groups of the dominant class

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<sup>20</sup> Cultural capital addresses the same notion of human capital, that is, investments made in education (which comprises the embodied form of cultural capital) in order to attain a higher wage in the labour market (which springs from its institutionalised form) (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 47, 48, 50, 51). However, Bourdieu conceives it as being integrated in an investment strategy favouring the dominant class, who is more capable of spending not only economic capital, but also time and abdicating longer from working in order to invest more in these institutionalised education degrees, to which are attached a certain degree of conversion to economic capital in the labour market (Bourdieu, 1997, 47-51). This is also seen as a mean for the *status quo* to be inculcated among the masses (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 47-49).

(as well as the amount of economic, cultural and symbolic capital<sup>21</sup> they possess), social capital is defined as the total amount of actual and potential resources tied with membership in a group of individuals (e.g., a family, clan or club) - which are bound together by lasting and useful ties – that each one of them as a *member* is entitled access to (Bourdieu, 1980, p.2, 3; 1997, p.51, 52). It should be added that an agent’s volume of social capital depends not only on the size of the network of connections he is capable to mobilise, but also on the volume of capital (economic, cultural or symbolic) owned by the individuals he is connected to and that he is allowed access to (Bourdieu, 1980, p.2; 1997, p.51).

According to Bourdieu, these ties (and network of contacts) are not naturally or socially given (not even kinship ties) nor established “*once and for all by an initial act of institution*” (e.g., a cousin needs to be acknowledged as such, which is being a member of the group called ‘family’) (Bourdieu, 1997, p.52). For these *useful and lasting ties* – which have also been named as *strong ties*<sup>22</sup> (Granovetter, 1973, p.1361) – to be maintained as such, the individuals need to engage in endless material and symbolic exchanges. In other words, ties and networks of contacts are a product of unceasing efforts of sociability carried out individually or, as it will be seen, collectively, in order to establish and maintain them, which consist of emotional ‘investments’ (caring and showing concern) along with material gifts (offering goods or services). These are also *symbolic exchanges*, since they act as signs of acknowledgement of the *other’s* membership (i.e., the other’s entitlement to access and use the group’s resources) and establish at the same time the limits of the group (that is, the limits of these continuous investments and exchanges, forming a certain group solidarity) (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 52). The group and its resources are, in this way, preserved and kept away from adulteration and misappropriation (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 52).

At this point, it is also important to address how social capital can be produced, mobilised and accumulated (including its profits) by individuals and the group to which he belongs to (Bourdieu, 1997, 52, 53). Individuals invest intentional or absentmindedly their resources in these, at first, potential (networks of) ties - such as neighbourhood, kinship or workplace ties<sup>23</sup> - as to be provided with profits from those investments in the long run - i.e., after such ties have been transformed into strong ties (Bourdieu, 1997, p.54). An example of such profits may be provided by the efforts made by the family, especially among the dominant class, to transmit its cultural capital (through cultivation, instruction)

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<sup>21</sup> Symbolic capital stands for ability to generate social (mis)recognition of capital – in any of its forms-accumulation (recognition may be associated with a status such as nobility) (Bourdieu, 1997, p.46, 49, 56).

<sup>22</sup> A strong tie connects individuals (e.g., friends) who invest a great amount of time in that relationship and share considerable intimacy, emotional intensity and mutual services (Granovetter, 1973, p.1360, 1361).

<sup>23</sup> Potential networks of contacts are not reduced to these groups that may share a certain geographic and socio-economic proximity, however, some homogeneity between members is needed, according to Bourdieu (1997, p. 51), for social capital to be preserved and accumulated.

to their younger members, allowing for them to later acquire this type of capital more easily (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 48).

One's capacity to accumulate social capital is also connected with investments made in sociality<sup>24</sup>, which are tied with one's knowledge on contingent ties (e.g., family's genealogy) and skills on how to mobilise effectively those social ties, which appears to imply investments in cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1997, p.57). What differentiates social capital from a mere M-C-M process in its economic sense, is that it involves not only an initial set of investments but also asks for the individual to establish emotional closure with those he is connected with, thus engaging in an "*endeavour to personalise*" (Bourdieu, 1997, p.54) the initial investment. This endeavour is expected to provide a solid support for the investments made in the form of a gift, transforming "*a pure and simple debt into that recognition of non-specific indebtedness which is called gratitude*" (Bourdieu, 1997, p.54). By relying on *gratitude*, the returns may not necessarily provide the individual with an equivalent to the investments made and if it is true that the success of an investment may depend upon it being seen as *disinterested* (Bourdieu, 1997, p.57), it is also true that it risks being faced either with the other's misunderstanding of his level of indebtedness or with his ingratitude (i.e., misappropriation) (Bourdieu, 1997, p.54, 55). Nevertheless, if the investment is successful, the individual will be granted with profits (money, goods, services and also status), and potentially with symbolic capital, if he manages to become a member of a rare group (Bourdieu, 1997, p.54). This perspective of profit is the reason for individuals to invest and assure the solidarity these ties comprise (Bourdieu, 1997, p.51).

At the group level, the mobilisation and accumulation of social capital are mostly seen in a somehow institutionalised process of delegation – in the hands of one or a small group of persons - of the power to represent and act in the name of the group in official occasions (Bourdieu, 1997, p.53). This mechanism allows for the group to act as one (group mobilisation of social capital<sup>25</sup>), thus overcoming constraints such as time and space. However, this empowers the representative(s) with the groups' capital and power, who is (are) awarded with the capacity to "*expel (...) or excommunicate (...) the embarrassing individuals*" (Bourdieu, 1997, p.53). As this may also lead to misappropriation, it is on the groups' responsibility to establish how and under which circumstances someone may establish and affirm himself a member of the group or as its representative (Bourdieu, 1997, p.53). On a last remark, it is also the group that manages to establish with whom connections are worth being established, which happens either by holding events, establishing places or practices that gather homogeneous contacts and ensure the group's

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<sup>24</sup> Which by implying spending time and economic capital, seems, therefore, to be unevenly distributed along social classes (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 57).

<sup>25</sup> Which may be seen as the total amount of capital available among group members (Bourdieu, 1997, p.53; Lin, 1999, p.33).

and its resources preservation. We are therefore led to believe that the group could otherwise lose control over its resources, as the effort of mutual acknowledgement through exchanges implies a certain homogeneity (resource-wise) (Bourdieu, 1980, p.2; 1997, p. 51, 52).

Bourdieu's notion of social capital – whose accumulation depends on individuals' engagement in groups characterised by high cohesion (i.e., all members connected through strong ties) and clear barriers separating it from the outsiders – does not share some ideas expressed by other authors, who have stressed the value of *weak ties* (one's acquaintances) and *bridges* (a tie appearing as the only connection between two different networks) in facilitating access to more and different potentially valuable information (e.g., information on finding a job) (Burt, 2001, p.35; Granovetter,1973, p.1364; Lin, 1999, p. 33, 34; 2001, 10 Lin, Fu & Hsung, p.75). The comparative value of a closed and dense network or of a more opened network relies mostly on the outcomes one wishes to attain: the former may be better at reproducing and preserving resources one has already access to (which can be the case of the dominant class' groups); while the latter may prove to be useful if one aims to capture new resources (such as finding a better job) (Lin, 1999, p.34; 2001, p. 10). It should, nevertheless, be added that if a bridge provides access to a certain resource, which the individual does not perceive as valuable, it may serve little use (Lin, 2001, p.13, 14).

While not criticising the idea of social capital being mobilised by groups of individuals (as, in part, Bourdieu has proposed), Lin (1999, p. 31, 33, 39-43; 2001, p. 17, 19-23) has chosen to focus his study on the individual level and to develop a theoretical model explaining how social capital is accessed and mobilised by individuals for them to reach their goals. We thus believe that Lin's contribution is worth being addressed, as it seems capable of, after some adaptations, being combined with Bourdieu's approach and offer us the possibility to reach a sounder concept of social capital and how it works.

Conceiving social capital as an “*investment in social relations by individuals, through which they gain access to embedded resources to enhance expected returns [from purposive actions]*” (Lin, 2001, p.17), Lin establishes that for social capital to exist some overall conditions must be gathered: embeddedness of resources in a social structure (network); accessibility to those resources by individuals; and, finally, the capability of individuals to mobilise such resources to attain certain goals (Lin, 1999, p.35; 2001, p. 12). In a more specific sense, social capital implies three elements: an investment; access and mobilisation of resources; and returns resulting from the investment made (Lin, 2001, p.19).

Resources are, according to Lin (1999, p.36; 2001, p.13), embedded either in the ego's network (i.e., network resources, which consist of resources embedded in the ties connecting the individual with those he is directly related to) and in the contacts used to

attain new resources (contact resources), which not only implies the contact's position in a given hierarchical structure and associated wealth, power and status, but also his contacts. It can, then, be understood that these different types of embedded resources may serve different purposes. Therefore, one should address what purposes (goals) lead individuals to access and mobilise resources attached to their networks and contacts.

Purposive actions - which are only possible due to past investments that allow, at least, for accessibility (Lin, 1999, p.41) – may have two different natures: an *instrumental* one, where the individual mobilises embedded assets to reach for resources he does not currently possess; and an *expressive* one, where the individual acts in order to strengthen his claim over resources he already has access to (which, as we have seen, is thoroughly described by Bourdieu) (Lin, 2001, p. 19).

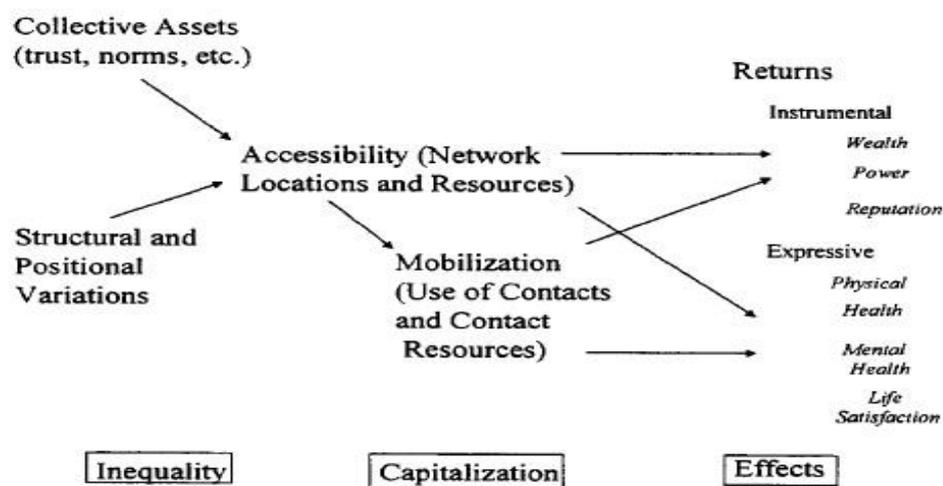
Returns to instrumental actions consist of gains that have either an economic (e.g., wealth), political (e. g, power/influence associated with reaching a certain position in a hierarchical structure) or social (e.g., reputation inside a network that an individual obtains when he provides someone with access to a certain resource) nature (Lin, 2001, p. 19, 21). Social gains have a distinct dynamic since they are the product of a favour an individual is able to do for someone else by mobilising or providing access to certain resources or contacts in his network. This thus generates a debt of the latter to the former, which, if acknowledged by both in public, may award the one providing the favour with reputation in a network. This public recognition – i.e., spreading of the provider's reputation - may enlarge his network (as the provider may be seen by others in the network of the indebted individual as a valuable contact) and 'social credit', making it potentially easier for him to access certain resources later on (Lin, 1999, p. 40; 2001, p. 19). He may thus become someone "*worthy of being known*" (Bourdieu, 1997, p.52). In his theory of structural holes, Burt (2001, p. 35, 36) seems to offer a good example of such social gains, which may occur when an individual provides those in his network with valuable opportunities and information circulating in another social network to which he is (the only one) directly connected.

Expressive actions do not intend to lead to new resources, which makes their returns quite different from those presented above (Lin, 2001, p.19, 20). In actions of this nature, one accesses and mobilises contacts in one's network (with whom he is directly connected with) who share control over similar resources (i.e., resources the individual already possesses). By allowing access to such assets, the *others* – with whom he is connected - engage with him in a way that preserves each other, as well as their legitimate claim over those resources (Lin, 2001, p. 19). This is no different from what Bourdieu names as unceasing exchanges to maintain one's useful ties, which produce mutual acknowledgement. An example of such resources mobilised through expressive actions is *emotional support* or more precisely: finding understanding, sharing feelings and

frustrations (Lin, 1986, p.20; Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2005b, p.21). Its returns are, thus, connected with physical and psychological health and life satisfaction. It is possible then to state that, in this case, relationships are, at the same time, the means and the end to a certain action (Lin, 1986, p.20)

It should be added that both instrumental or expressive returns to social capital may not be produced immediately. For example, expressive returns, in the form of behavioural confirmation and subsequently life satisfaction, may result from a group of unspecific exchanges and interactions with people one knows (Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2004, p. 155, 156). The same can be argued for instrumental gains, as, for instances, when one reaches for cultural capital among his contacts, added *wealth* may be achieved in the long run, through the conversion of such capital in economic capital in the labour market, as Bourdieu (1997, p.47-51) has argued.

As a last point to Lin's theoretical approach, it should be briefly addressed how and under which conditions individuals access and mobilise resources in order to reach their instrumental or expressive goals.



**Figure 1: Lin's theoretical model of (individual) social capital**  
Source: (Lin, 1999)

Lin (1999, p. 41) has divided this process into three phases: first, he identifies the preconditions of social capital - which comprise collective assets, such as norms or trust and, especially, the individuals position in the hierarchical structure (along which resources are unevenly distributed) - that are responsible for fostering or constraining investments in social networks; second, it is shown that accessible resources ( that is, available resources in one's network) do not necessarily correspond to mobilizable resources (resources one can or will effectively use) , since it depends not only on what kind of assets one values and aims to obtain, but also on how close one is from valuable

contacts (i.e., one's *weak ties* and how close one is to a valuable bridge); third, network and contact resources are perceived as possible means to reach instrumental and expressive returns, even if it is believed that the former are preferred to attain expressive returns (as they gather somewhat homogenous resources) and the latter to reach instrumental returns (Lin, 1999, p.34).

By joining Bourdieu's and Lin's theoretical contributions, we are led to believe that social capital may be defined as: the quantity and quality of resources embedded in social networks, which result from more or less continuous intentional or absentminded investments made by individuals who compose the latter and who allow for those within these networks (acting individually or as a group, if the social network is characterised by a relatively strong cohesion and closure and by the sharing of more or less institutionalised ties) to have privileged access to such resources and to potentially mobilise them to obtain certain instrumental or expressive returns. Such returns may result, sometimes, from frequent and unspecific interactions. Depending on the individual's (non-)membership to a relatively cohesive and closed group and on the nature of his ties (which may be (non-)institutionalised), access and mobilisation may rely either on the *other's gratitude*, *investment strategies* or on *institutionalised obligations* (rights and duties of membership) (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 52, 54; DeFilippis, 2001, p. 799, 800).

We can, therefore, conclude that the volume of social capital an agent possesses depends not only on the affluence (in terms of economic, social, human, symbolic and cultural capital) and commitment of those that compose his network (gratitude, investment strategies and institutionalised obligations), but also to some degree on his reputation and position in the network (his weak ties and nearness to bridges). It should be added that an agent's past investments are influenced by collective assets (norms of reciprocity and trust) that enhance or refrain them, and by the individual's position in a hierarchical social structure which dictate the quantity and quality of resources he may make available to others.

Before explaining more precisely the two levels of resource access and mobilisation (an individual acting on his behalf or as part of a group), we want to draw attention to the fact that, even if ties are a distinct element that allows for social capital to exist, some ties/social contacts may hinder goal achievement. This may happen either by having foes (see Moerbeek & Need, 2003) or, for example, by excessive demands of relatives or ethnic community members on successful family or community members, which can turn successful businesses in "*welfare hotels*" (Portes, 2014, p.18407).

This being said, we should now address and make clear the theoretical framework for both levels of access and mobilisation of social resources.

At the individual level of access and mobilisation, we take Lin's model as a framework. It is thus conceived as being the possibility of an individual to access and use (based on his needs and the other's commitment) resources embedded in his network (and/or in his contacts' network) - as a result of past investments which are influenced by his position in a social structure and by collective assets such as trust and norms of reciprocity – in order to reach certain instrumental (wealth, power, reputation) or expressive gains (physical and mental health, life satisfaction) that may appear immediately or in the long run.

For access and mobilisation of embedded resources by individuals acting as a group, Bourdieu's notion needs to be adapted for it to understand some level of group openness if the aim is for its members to achieve new resources. An example seems to be provided by DeFilippis<sup>26</sup> (2001, p.799, 800) who, seeking to redefine social capital in a way that it can be turned into a useful tool for mitigating social inequality, affirms that for social capital to bear any meaning it needs to lead to the production of economic capital. This, for him, is only conceivable within a group of individuals characterised by the capacity to attract capital (which implies a certain degree of openness) and to allow their members – bound by institutionalised ties - to establish control over possessed capital<sup>27</sup> (comprehending, thus, some level of cohesion and closure). The access and mobilisation of members' resources by the group is also institutionalised (by membership obligations and rights) and aims to benefit them through instrumental actions. This may be conceived as another mobilisation of embedded resources by individuals acting as a group along with the delegation process referred by Bourdieu (1997, p.53). DeFilippis (2001, p.799,800) provides interesting examples, which will be addressed in the next subchapter. We, nonetheless, believe that returns from these instrumental actions can generate more than immediate economic returns and that these returns are only possible due to initial investments made by members in this network (DeFilippis, 2001, p.799).

By making these adaptations to Bourdieu's theoretical model, we do not abandon his idea that social capital, given its tendency of connecting individuals sharing the same background, may be used intentionally or absentmindedly by privileged individuals acting in a way that preserves the resources they already have access to through the engagement in dense, cohesive and closed groups. This idea, which is also supported by other authors (see, e.g., Lin, 2000, p. 790; Mogue & Carter, 2004), shows that social capital can serve the purpose of perpetuating social inequality, especially in a context of high socio-economic polarisation (Letki & Mierina, 2015; Mogue & Carter, 2004), like the one described in *subchapter 2.1*. For us to understand if social capital can be, after all,

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<sup>26</sup> Even if conceiving social capital as social networks, he provides interesting hints and clear examples of how social capital should be understood at the group level of mobilisation as a solution to the problem of asset-deficient networks (DeFilippis, 2001, p.799, 800).

<sup>27</sup> Which is managed by establishing conditions under which individuals can enter or exit the group.

conceived as a useful tool against social exclusion and inequality, we need to attend to this issue more carefully.

### ***2.2.2. Social capital and social (in)equality: problems and potentialities***

As we have already stated, in a context of social inequality and economic polarisation, social capital is, just like other forms of capital, unequally distributed between the individuals that compose the society, and may potentially act in a way that perpetuates such inequality (Bourdieu, 1997, p. 46, 47, 51, 57; Lin, 2000, p. 793; Mogues & Carter, 2004). Since an individual's stock of social capital is dependent on the quantity and quality of resources one accesses through his relationships, if we consider the tendency for one to establish ties with others with whom he shares the same background (Bourdieu, 1997, p.51; Lin, 2000, p.793), the ties established by those deprived of capital will be then characterised by a lack of relevant resources, when compared with the networks created by the wealthier individuals. This condition is hard to change, because those at the bottom of the social pyramid accumulate disadvantages, which they are not able to change through their asset-deficient social networks, while those at the top benefit from privileged, exclusive and resourceful social relationship, perpetuating and gathering further advantages (DeFilippis, 2001, p. 797, 801; Letki & Mierîna, 2015; Lin, 2000, p. 793; Mogues & Carter, 2004, p. 25-30).

As to solve the mentioned problem of inequality in social capital, we could perhaps take the side of authors such as Ferragina (2009, p. 12-14), who believes that income inequality (and social inequality, at large) hinders social capital<sup>28</sup> and that the solution lays in changing the structural dynamics by promoting equality of income, instead of social capital, since it is the former that produces the latter and not the opposite. Even if Ferragina's notion of social capital is not the one adopted in this work, this is an accurate remark, since as we have shown (see subsection 2.1.3), income and social inequality seem to undermine, not only economic growth (therefore reducing the amount of potential resources available to the members of a certain society), but also the capacity of those at the bottom to attain relevant economic, social, political and cultural resources. Thus, the amount of potential assets embedded in social relationships (social capital) is reduced. We intend, however, to show that he is wrong to assume that social capital lacks the capacity to promote income and social equality (Ferragina, 2009, p. 12).

According to DeFilippis (2001, p. 799), it is possible to revert or ease social inequality by creating social networks capable of empowering individuals with the ability to generate *economic capital* and, at the same time, by allowing them to maintain, to some

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<sup>28</sup> Even though he is conceiving social capital as Putnam does (Ferragina, 2009).

extent, control over the created capital. In this way, those inside such network must become capable of attracting and controlling capital, thus aligning individual and collective gains (DeFilippis, 2001, p. 799). The author provides us with some examples: community land trusts, mutual housing associations, micro-enterprising lending circles and community development credit unions (DeFilippis, 2001, p. 799, 800).

Due to lack of space, we address here only the community land trusts (CLTs) and mutual housing associations (MHAs). Both present themselves as community organisations, which aim to award their members with the capacity to access housing at affordable prices (economic capital) (DeFilippis, 2001, p. 799), since members buy the land as a group and manage it through the community organisation, maintaining then some control over their investments<sup>29</sup>. The main difference between both is that in CLTs the land is owned in a trust<sup>30</sup> and the housing units are individually owned, while in MHAs the community possesses both, as a result of an investment made by members, which is, over time, paid back (plus interest) by the community (DeFilippis, 2001, p.799). Since the latter promotes more interconnectedness (for it implies work and commitment to the governance of the community residencies) and it tends to present a more mixed income group of individuals, it has a bigger potential to promote - at an individual access and mobilisation level - ties that may generate better returns for disadvantaged members. This happens because those members may get access to better mobilizable resources for their instrumental actions – at least potentially and as a function of investments made in the relationships with these high-income individuals – which, with time, leads to more social equality between members (DeFilippis, 2001, p. 799; Lin, 1999, p.34; 2000, p.793).

Drawing from these examples, with this research we intend to figure out whether intentional communities are capable or not of creating empowering ties as the ones DeFilippis has described. In other words and to a wider extent, if they are able to create the conditions for the individuals to invest in a network of ties and be granted (either acting individually or as a group) with privileged access and mobilisation of valuable resources, in order to reach their goals of accumulating further resources (which may be converted, sooner or later, in wealth, power and reputation) and of maintaining control over those they already have access to through expressive actions (leading, sooner or later, to expressive returns). This may be likely as we will see in the next subsection, as intentional communities share some characteristics with the networks mentioned by DeFilippis and, in some cases, may offer an even deeper communitarian experience.

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<sup>29</sup> For the community to maintain some control over the investment made, it establishes restrictions over the ways through which its members can exit the group (see DeFilippis, 2001, p. 799).

<sup>30</sup> A trust consists on “*an arrangement in which a group of people or an organization (the trustees) have legal control of money and property for another person or group of people (the beneficiary/beneficiaries)*” (Parkinson, 2005, p. 579)

By suggesting the equalizing potential of social capital, we are not shying away from the necessary State action in wealth redistribution, which may eventually be used to raise the means for those at the bottom to create and engage in these empowering networks. This is, however, a complicated issue (Ferragina, 2009, p. 12) in a conflictual social reality as the one we have described. In this sense, we believe that we may find more efficient, non-conflictual and empowering ways to achieve the same ends, in which social capital may play an important role.

## **2.3. The intentional communities' reality as an alternative to mainstream society**

### ***2.3.1. Defining intentional community***

*Intentional community* entails a complex definition, which we will conceptualise step by step like we did with social capital. As its name suggests, it refers to a community that is intentionally created by a group of people, who desire to live together (Sargent, 2013, p. 55; Shenker, 1985, p. 6). Yet, as Sargent (2013, p. 55) advises us, *community* is a term that needs to be addressed carefully.

At its basic and traditional sense, community stands for a “*relatively homogeneous and closed social system*” (Carmo & Santos, 2011, p. 88), which is composed of individuals that establish strong ties between themselves and share a common way of thinking and a sense of belonging (Carmo & Santos, 2011, p. 88; Meijering, 2006, p. 18). According to Cohen (2001[1985], p.98), a community does not derive from a material structure, it is rather a symbolic construction based on meaningful social ties that lives in the minds of its members. Communities are not, however, a straightforward outcome generated by those who compose it (Liepins, 2000, p. 29, 30; DeFilippis, 2001, p. 789). As Carmo and Santos (2011, p. 88, 89) affirm, in contemporary societies, communities have lost a sense of “totality” and became more open to the outside, being, in this way, involved and influenced by “*a [more] complex set of power-laden relationships*” (DeFilippis, 2001, p.789) that connects them to the rest of the world.

In a broader sense, a community can be seen as a social construction that understands four major elements: people, practices, meanings and spaces/structures, being the first a central one (Liepins, 2000, p. 29, 30). In this way, it does not only refer to a shared culture but also to common practices – be it social rituals or the exchange of goods and services – and to “*material and metaphoric spaces*” (Liepins, 2000, p. 32) where such practices occur and social relationships and the meanings they carry are “*negotiated (...) maintained and contested*” (Liepins, 2000, p. 32). It must be also understood that these elements influence each other and are not disconnected from the outside world (power relationships and discourses) (Liepins, 2000, p. 29 – 32). A community is also an

everyday reality (DeFilippis, Fisher & Shragge, 2010, p. 16) where a *primary socialisation* is produced, which prepares its members for a *secondary* one (composed of impersonal and formal relationships of different natures) (Pulcini, 2010, p. 91).

Having defined *community*, we must now understand in which way it can be applied to intentional communities. What seems to be common to all of them is that they arise from the gathering of a group of individuals, whose *main objective* is to establish a *community* (primary socialisation), where (place/structure) they can develop a certain lifestyle (meanings and practices) (Meijering, 2006, p. 17). As we may observe, these communities are *intentionally* created, a factor that tends to be stressed by the existing definitions. For instance, Meijering, Huigen and Van Hoven (2007, p. 42) identify an intentional community with a deliberate attempt to build a different lifestyle apart from the mainstream society. In a similar fashion, Lockyer et al. (2011, p. 3) see it as a community in which people willingly engage in order to create, with some distance from the mainstream society, “*new and different lives for themselves*”.

While both definitions stress the willingness of the members, they also draw attention to a certain withdrawal from mainstream society that leaves them in a context of liminality (i.e., the condition of not being outside the mainstream society, neither inside it) (Meijering, 2006, p. 20). It suggests that those who create these communities, do it based on a discontentment with (at least in certain topics) the mainstream society and also on the will to attain what they perceive as a better life (Meijering, 2006, p. 20; Mulder, Costanza & Erickson, 2006, p. 14; Sargisson, 2010b, p. 24; Sargisson & Sargent, 2004, p. 162).

According to Sargisson (2010b, p. 24), this reveals the *utopian* nature of intentional communities. Utopia is perceived by this author as a continuous search and effort to reach a better place: “*the utopian ship sails ever onwards*” (Sargisson & Sargent, 2004, p. 159). The quest for this *utopia in progress* (Sargisson and Sargent, 2004, p. 159) drives also those inside the community to intervene in the broader society, addressing the problems they criticise (Lockyer et al., 2011, p. 3, 4; Meijering, Huigen & van Hoven, 2007, p. 43). In her study, Meijering (2006, p.90, 93) provides examples of such engagement and desire to improve society, as two of the intentional communities she studied tried with some regularity to reach outsiders through courses (e.g., in organic gardening) or other activities organised at the community.

This perspective is, however, the target of some controversy, since some authors like Shenker (1986, p. 7) refuse to see it as a key characteristic of these communitarian living projects. In their typology of intentional communities Meijering, Huigen and Van Hoven (2007, p. 45-46) include, for example, *practical intentional communities*, whose members are drawn together not because they share a common vision of a better society (i.e., in some extent ideology), but due to practical matters like paying lower rents. Furthermore,

some communities, that may be perceived by outsiders as intentional communities, refuse such *label*, since they see themselves neither as utopian nor as ideological (Sargent, 2013, p. 57; Sargisson, 2010b, p. 4; C. ScottHanson & K. ScottHanson, 2009, p. 5). In this sense, it is important to take into account how *community* is felt and experienced by those inside it, because they may be just as right as those outside it (Sargent, 2013, p. 55-57, 72).

Moving on to the presentation of the specific factors that allow us to identify intentional communities, one may state that an intentional community implies, at its basic level, a group of at least four or five persons, who willingly join each other in order to live together in a certain locality, so that they can join forces to improve their lives and, at the same time, intervene in the mainstream society (see, e.g., Lockyer et al., 2011, p. 3; Sargent, 1994, p. 15; 2013, p. 72). This intervention may range from the establishment of the intentional community as a model for outsiders to, for instance, the engagement in social movements (Meijering, Huigen & van Hoven, 2007, p. 43). Their *essence* thus lays beyond personal relationships and extends to a “*collective endeavour*” (Sargisson, 2010b, p. 34 [note no. 6]), which motivates the creation of the community and must be, at least in some points, at odds with the larger society’s paradigm, since it requires a certain withdrawal from the latter (Meijering, 2006, p. 20; Meijering, Huigen & van Hoven, 2007, p. 42, 43; Lockyer et al., 2011, p. 3).

When we speak of *practical intentional communities*, we are not talking about an actual intentional community, as they are not based on a critique to the mainstream society’s paradigm and their members remain highly integrated in it (Meijering, Huigen & van Hoven, 2007, p.46). There seems to be also an agreement that for one intentional community to exist, its members cannot be all connected to each other by familiar bonds (Graber & Barrow, 2003, p. 9-15; Lockyer et al., 2011, p. 3; Sargent, 1994, p. 15), otherwise, there would be no true intentionality in becoming a community (Sargent, 2013, p. 71). Finally, this communitarian living is associated with some degree of economic sharing (e.g., partial or complete collective ownership of property) (Lockyer et al., 2011, p. 3; Meijering, Huigen & van Hoven, 2007, p. 42), with property-holding tending to vary from community to community (Sargent, 2013, p. 58). Even though we may establish these common characteristics, intentional communities are far from being all the same.

### **2.3.2. A heterogeneous reality: types of intentional communities**

The concept of intentional community comprises a variety of types of intentional communities that share some differences between themselves. Sargisson (2010a, p. 34, [note no. 6]) speaks of communes, eco-villages, religious communities or residential co-operatives, to which Sargent (1994, p. 15-17; 2013, p. 56 – 61) adds co-housing,

communities of squatters, Kibbutz, New Age Travelers or therapeutic communities. In some cases, some of these may or may not be intentional communities.

In order to cope with this diversity, Meijering, Huigen and van Hoven (2007) - drawing from Meijering's (2006, p. 44-47) past work - have proposed a typology comprising four types of intentional communities, according to location, ideology, economic situation and social position regarding mainstream society: religious communities; ecological communities; communal communities; practical communities. Even though we have already dismissed from our analysis the last type, this typology may be of some use.

The first type includes communities focused and united through religious beliefs, that are characterised by a more or less strong rejection and withdrawal from mainstream society (see also Meijering, 2006, p. 69-71), as connections with the outside are, for example, made by members who want to help those in need; a development of strong relations inside the community - which are reinforced by shared ceremonies or common meals - and also with like-minded groups, sometimes, through international networks (see also Meijering, 2006, p.69, 71); and a limited economic sufficiency (Meijering, Huigen & van Hoven, 2007, p. 45).

The second one comprises communities like ecovillages whose major concerns are related to an ecological and economically sustainable living. They withdraw to remote locations, aiming to reduce economic exchanges with the society by refraining from using consumers goods or working outside the community, and to achieve economic self-sustainability, namely regarding food and energy (Meijering, Huigen & van Hoven, 2007, p. 45).

The third understands communities whose main focus is interpersonal relationships and which are characterised by sharing some common facilities which work as meeting places, such as a garden, a kitchen or a common house, and by establishing strong ties inside the community but, nonetheless, maintaining also an outward orientation relationship-wise.

Lyman Sargent (1994, p. 17) offers us a complementary taxonomy. He not only differentiates religious from secular intentional communities, and rural from urban ones, but also intentionally temporary communities from intentionally permanent ones, authoritarian or charismatically governed ones from those which are democratically/consensually ruled. Moreover, he suggests a categorization according to how property is owned (communally, cooperatively, privately, mixed) or, for example, sexual orientation (lesbian/homosexual communities, communities based on celibacy or on free love or standard marriage or polygamy, etc.) (Sargent, 1994, p. 17).

For the purpose of this study, even if we acknowledge other categorisations, we will settle for the one advanced by Meijering, Huigen & Van Hoven (2007) - leaving aside the “practical community” category - as it manages to cope with the great diversity existing among intentional communities and offer a workable and useful categorisation.

### ***2.3.3. Intentional communities as individual empowering social networks: What do we know so far?***

Even though the number of intentional communities has been growing worldwide in the last decades (Lockyer et al., 2011, p. 3) and that they tend to be perceived as important everyday laboratories where social experiments are conducted (Sargisson & Sargent, 2004; Shenker, 1986), there are only a limited number of studies about the benefits generated by these communities (Lockyer et al., 2011, p. 4). In this section, we will address some of these studies, who are mostly related to the promotion of social capital (even if not necessarily perceived in the way we have conceptualised it). It is, however, important to stress that different types of intentional communities can provide a more or less intensive communitarian living. Some of these studies focused on different types of intentional communities, while others have only addressed the case of co-housing communities, which tend to be pointed out as a type that promotes a more tenuous and balanced communitarian experience (Durrett, 2009, p. 14, 19, 27; Sargent, 2013, p. 58; Sargisson, 2010b).

#### *2.3.3.1. Social capital in co-housing communities*

Co-housing communities (which can be perceived as *communal communities*) were first created in the 1960s in Denmark with the intent of providing their members with a neighbourhood which was physically designed to generate a greater sense of community (Durrett, 2009, p. 19; Ruiu, 2015, p. 3; Sargisson, 2010a, p. 3). It appears therefore as a participatory experience, as it implies the participation of members in designing process and management of the neighbourhood, to avoid alienating contexts where no one knows their neighbours (Ruiu, 2015, p. 9). Nonetheless, property holding is less communal than in other intentional communities (Sargent, 2013, p. 58) since it is based on a shared ownership of certain common facilities, goods or buildings but on a private ownership of houses and of incomes (Durrett, 2009, p.19; C. ScottHanson & K. ScottHanson, 2009, p. 5; Torres-Antonini, 2001, p. 12). If incomes were to be shared, according to Charles Durrett (2009, p. 23), this would generate a whole new level of community that is beyond that intended in co-housing.

In his participant-observation investigation of one cohousing community in Atlanta, Torres-Antonini (2001, p. 202) suggests that these communities may be able of generating a “*virtual favour bank*” in which every member invested and from which everyone could benefit in the form of emotional or practical support (e.g., access to goods like the neighbour’s bicycle, car or ladder). Finally, he asserts that the engagement in community’s construction, shaping and management tends to empower its residents (Torres-Antonini, 2001, p. 203).

More recently, Maria Laura Ruiu (2015), adopting a Putnam notion of social capital, affirms that co-housing communities are capable of promoting all forms of social capital. Based mostly upon her previous fieldwork in various communities of this kind in England and Italy, she describes the ways through which they generate bonding (which stand for *strong ties* that lead to access resources one already has access to), bridging (which stand for *weak ties* that generate access to diverse resources) and linking social capital (which consists of ties with people in a position of power) ( see also Putnam, 2000, p.22, 23; Ruiu, 2015, p. 2, 5-11; Schmuecker, 2008, p. 15; Szreter & Woolcock, 2003, p. 6). According to her, bonding social capital arises not only from the engagement of members in the process of the project’s physical designing – the long periods they spend working together promotes more intimate ties between them – but also from the usage of a consensus decision-making system in the management of the community, since it implies a decision that satisfies all members and forces them to find common ground and strengthen their relationships in order to make their community work (Ruiu, 2015, p. 5-7). The community’s management also depends upon mutual help between members (Ruiu, 2015, p. 7).

Williams (2004, p.211, 224) argues, however, that involvement in the design process may also generate strong disagreements and, at least, short-time withdrawal from communal spaces or events, and reduction of interaction between members within the community. Furthermore, failure to upkeep communal spaces may hinder also the social interactions within the co-housing communities (Williams, 2004, p. 211). The social interaction enhancing potential can be undermined if the members do not share pro-socialisation attitudes since, according to Bouma and Voorbij (2009, p. 5), the current set-up of these communities proves to be incapable to promote social capital in this context.

Co-housing communities tend to build bridging social capital through their efforts to establish ties with the surrounding community, which can be created through the inclusion of outsiders in certain events (Ruiu, 2015, p. 8, 9). However, this may prove a difficult task if the surrounding community shows hostility towards the co-housing members, which in some cases derives from the association of co-housing communities to hippie communities (Ruiu, 2015, p. 9). When it comes to linking social capital, which, following this author opinion, is related to the capacity of obtaining advantages from

institutions (Ruiu, 2015, p. 10), it can be generated through the establishment of partnerships with, for example, non-governmental organisations (Ruiu, 2015, p. 10).

### 2.3.3.2. Social capital in intentional communities at large

Although the mentioned studies referred only to the context of co-housing, most of their findings can be applied to intentional communities at large and can be connected to the results of the studies that we will now present.

Lockyer et al. (2011) have led an ethnographic research in five different intentional communities in St. Louis (Missouri, USA) with the main aim to identify the reasons that led people to engage in intentional communities and the benefits or disadvantages associated with that choice. First, they have found out that these communities were characterized by an unintended ethnic and socio-economic homogeneity<sup>31</sup> (members were mostly middle-class whites with a satisfactory level of educational attainment) (Lockyer et al., 2011, p. 7). This, however, was not associated with the costs of living at the communities<sup>32</sup>, which were frequently pointed out as lower than those that the members faced before (Lockyer et al., 2011, p. 8). It was rather a result of other factors like unawareness of the benefits associated with a communitarian living by those from lower socio-economic backgrounds or the risk associated with the withdrawal into an intentional community since it would imply also a certain withdrawal from the labour market, which may prove to be harder for those who have trouble finding a job (Lockyer et al., 2011, p. 8, 19). Along with this, Lockyer et al (2011, p. 15, 16) identified other undesired effects associated to the living within an intentional community, such as the lack of privacy in a context of a highly populated community, the hardships related to decision making or the incapacity of establishing ties beyond the community.

In terms of benefits of belonging to an intentional community, these authors noted that, in general, the members felt that their social relationships gained in depth and width (Lockyer et al., 2011, p. 11). Gains in social capital were also mentioned, with those inquired highlighting especially the capability of accessing common resources without feeling in debt with other members and noting also a strong level of support in times of need (Lockyer et al., 2011, p. 11). In terms of economic benefits, even though the inquired members affirm that they have not seen their incomes raised, they have felt that their living costs were reduced (Lockyer et al., 2011, p. 12).

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<sup>31</sup> Ruiu (2015, p. 10) has also noted a certain socio-economic homogeneity in the case of resident-led co-housing communities.

<sup>32</sup> In opposition to these findings, Vale Pires (2012, p.38) in her study argues that due to a situation of economic non-self-sufficiency, ecovillages may prove to be an *eco-chic* reality, that is, a reality only available for more affluent individuals (see also Vale Pires & Lima, 2013).

It is important to state that Lockyer et al. (2011, p. 9), perhaps after considering these benefits, do suggest the empowering potential of intentional communities among underprivileged people. This potential can be seen in one case studied by Lucy Sargisson (2010b, p. 25-30) in New Zealand, where property holding and income sharing was rethought in an egalitarian and empowering way. This community owns the land, houses and businesses developed in its name and any new member abdicates from his/her assets in favour of the community when he/she joins it (Sargisson, 2010b, p. 27). Each member is expected to work the same amount of hours for the community and receives an equal amount of 'pocket money' as a payback (households with kids receive some extra money). Besides this pocket money, individuals are also granted with, for example, retirement, paternity and maternity or sick leave (Sargisson, 2010b, p. 27). In this way, competition between individuals is eliminated, generating, at least potentially, a more egalitarian and community-supported living.

Another example has been provided by a German communal community (housing cooperative) studied by Loise Meijering (2006, p. 86), which – desiring to provide access to affordable land and housing – allows for families to build and own their houses on collectively owned (by the community having a non-profit organisation legal status) land plots that are leased by the families (through hereditary lease contracts issued by the community). Having its land taxed for agricultural purposes (and therefore paying less) – which is a result of all members being 'obliged' to grow a vegetable garden - the community is able to lease the land for a yearly low price (500 €) (Meijering, 2006, p. 86).

A generalised well-being was captured by Mulder, Costanza and Erickson (2006) in a quantitative study that intended to compare the quality of life of those living in intentional communities and the inhabitants of Burlington (Vermont, USA) – one of the American cities that ranks the highest in terms of quality of life (Mulder, Costanza & Erickson, 2006, p.20). Recurring to a distribution of inquiries (84 among 30 different intentional communities and 588 among Burlington's residents), the authors gathered information that revealed that members of intentional communities attained higher levels of quality of life while consuming fewer resources than the residents of Burlington. This may be justified by a tendency of intentional communities to replace other types of capital with social capital (here understood as interpersonal relations), as intentional community member showed to value more communitarian ties (Mulder, Costanza & Erickson, 2006).

As a last remark, it should be added that, as Meijering (2006, p.23) argues, rural intentional communities and their members may be inserted in conflictual contexts, where they may be perceived as outfits and potentially see their presence contested by other groups with different lifestyles. This may potentially be a case where '*unfriendliness*'

(i.e., foes) may hinder intentional community members' goal achievement, as stated in chapter 2.2.1.

Our study aims to add to the literature produced so far by including these potential socio-economic benefits (returns) in a social capital theoretical framework in order to offer a more integrated approach to their process of generation. It intends also to understand if it can take place within a potentially unfavourable context, as it seems to be the Portuguese case.

#### ***2.3.4. The Portuguese scenario***

According to the literature produced to the date of our study, this type of communities is still rare in Portugal, unlike the German or North American reality, where hundreds of intentional communities exist so far (Borio, 2003, p. 736; Meijering, 2006, p. 29). In 2003, Lucilla Borio (2003, p. 736) argued that the number of intentional communities in Portugal, Spain and Italy was low and not higher than ten for each country. Some years later, Meijering (2006, p. 28) identified a total amount of five communities in Portugal and a high contrast between northern and southern Europe. More recently, Yaacov Oved (2013, p. 232) has pointed to a total amount of 23 intentional communities in the Iberian Peninsula, from which only four were located in Portugal. The latest edition of Eurotopia (2014, p. 338-344) suggests the existence of six intentional communities in Portugal, although one of them does not fit our definition since all members were connected by family ties (Eurotopia, 2014, p. 341, 342). Given the uncertainty about the total number of intentional communities established in Portugal and since no updated data had been presented since 2014, we underwent a process of identification and mapping of intentional communities in Portugal (see chapter 3.1), through which we managed to find 11 intentional communities

Lucilla Borio (2003, p. 736) advances some reasons for such a low number of intentional communities in Portugal and in the rest of southern Europe. First, young people share a low-income situation, having no access to financial support mechanisms such as a student's wage that, for instance, is received in Germany, where college attendance is tuition free. Second, the author points out the legal constraints one must face in order to get a building permit, especially for those personalised building with low ecological impact and with high energy efficiency desired by members of ecovillages. These obstacles may prove even harder to be overcome by foreigners who do not master the Portuguese language. A situation like this may lead individuals interested in founding an intentional community to buy new houses or rebuild existing ones, what may prove to be more expensive and to reduce their freedom in house-designing (Borio, 2003, p. 736).

However, one aspect that may motivate the establishment of such communities is the inexpensive price of rural land in southern Europe (Borio, 2003, p. 736).

In the following chapter, it will become clear why this scenario appears to offer interesting conditions for the development of our study and how we have chosen to approach the intentional communities' reality in order to gather valuable information that will allow us to answer our research questions.



### 3. METHODOLOGY

Along this chapter, we will reveal and briefly discuss the research strategy and methods that have been selected to guide our data collection and analysis processes.

Aiming to answer the questions that originated this study – *(how) can intentional communities provide their members with empowering social ties?* – we have chosen a multiple case study research strategy to supply the guidelines for our endeavour.

The choice for a case-study methodological strategy over others relies on the fact that this is a strategy that, as Yin (1994, p. 13) argues, is especially adequate to answer ‘why’ and ‘how’ questions and when the researcher’s intention is to cover (freely) the contextual conditions, as it is believed to be important for the issue under analysis. Likewise, the case-study strategy can be understood as the most adequate for our research since it allows for a wide and simultaneous application of data collection and analysis methods on an intensive empirical study of one, or a small number, of phenomena<sup>33</sup>(cases) within their real-life context, with, at least partially, the purpose of casting some light on the features of a larger class of phenomena (Gerring, 2007, p.20; Vennesson, 2008, p.226; Yin, 1994, p.13).

As our study is not only a matter of mapping the individuals’ social network and embedded resources but also to understand the influence of the context over the individuals and their capacity of accessing and/ or mobilising relevant resources, to introduce the latter in our analysis is necessary. In our research, it should be said that the context can be conceived at two levels and our *case* appears as an *embedded case*, which means that the *case* is observed as a reality comprising subunits of analysis (Yin, 1994, p.41). At the subunit level (members of the community), the context can be seen as the community’s (power) structure and organisation – as it has been shown in Lin’s theoretical model, a position in a given social and power structure may influence the individuals capacity to access resources - while at the *case* level (intentional community) it appears as the physic and social surroundings, as well as (potential) extra-communitarian power structures that may influence its capacity to attract new resources.

Furthermore, when facing a subject with no, or only a few previous studies (*exploratory study*) – as it is our situation –, a more in-depth study encompassing different methods of data collection is preferable, since it reveals more dimensions of the subject and consequently tends to leave space for a wider generation of hypothesis and insights (Baxter & Jack, 2008, p. 544; Gerring, 2007, p. 38, 39). Consequently, this kind of study

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<sup>33</sup> Which can be understood as *cases* or *units of analysis* like Vennesson’s (2008, p. 226) definition shows: “A *case* is a phenomenon, or an event, chosen, conceptualized and analysed empirically as a manifestation of a broader class of phenomena or events”. Yin (1994, p. 21,22) also perceives as being individuals or other identities less well defined.

leads to an observation of the analysed reality through different lenses, thus contributing to the study's reliability (Yin, 1994, p.33).

After the selection of the case study strategy, it was important to choose which case study design (*single* or *multiple case study*) would fit better our research objectives. Basing ourselves on the hypothesis-generating potential of a comparative approach pointed out by some authors (see Levy, 2008, p.6) and on the opportunity to recur to a replication logic<sup>34</sup> (Yin, 1994, p. 46), a multiple case-study design was adopted. The replication logic reason needs some explaining: according to Yin (1994, p. 36), a case study cannot obey to a *sampling logic* – where the chosen case is seen as representative of a population - or provide a *statistical generalisation*, but only to an *analytical generalisation*, which is achieved by a replication of findings on other cases of the same population. Regarding this case study, if its aim is to find out, in the first place, whether intentional communities are able to provide their members with empowering social ties, then by repeating the analysis in other intentional communities, we are able to observe if the outcomes are similar or distinct and, through a comparative analysis of the results obtained, try to advance with a number of hypotheses that could explain these outcomes.

With this problem solved, another one appeared: the need to establish which and how many cases would be studied. For us to determine the number of cases, we needed to be aware of the level of heterogeneity among the population of cases (i.e. intentional communities), which could undermine a comparative approach and our capacity of generating a more precise set of hypotheses (Gerring, 2007, p.51, 52; Levy, 2008, p.10). Another subsequent and relevant decision consisted of settling to which level we were willing to trade in-depth for a comparative analysis (Gerring, 2007, p.48). As it can be perceived, at least the first of these decisions can only be made when facing accurate information about the overall population of cases (i.e. an updated and complete database of intentional communities in Portugal), which was inexistent when we started this study.

The first task of our research was, therefore, a process of identifying and mapping intentional communities in Portugal, which will be described in the next section.

### **3.1. First data gathering stage: mapping of intentional communities**

The process of mapping intentional communities in Portugal extended from October 2016 to April 2017 and enabled us to identify 42 potential communities. This list of potential communities (See Appendix 1) was then contacted, mostly through email or Facebook<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>34</sup> Even if Yin seems to perceive it as technique mainly to be used in a hypothesis-testing objective.

<sup>35</sup> Only one of the communities (Ananda Kalyani) was not reached by these sources, as community members were met directly during a preliminary visit to another intentional community (Mount of Oaks).

(see Appendix 2), from which we obtained 22 answers, although only 11 of them answering positively and/or providing full requested information.

This process consisted of contacting intentional communities featuring either in at least one of four intentional communities-related networks which are based on a voluntary registration by the communities themselves (Global Ecovillage Network; Fellowship of Intentional Communities; Ecobasa; and Rede Convergir), on WWOOF<sup>36</sup> network, or at the fifth and most recent edition of Eurotopia (2014), which consists of a European database of intentional communities, created in 1996, and published since then by Sieben Linden's (a German ecovillage) members. Additionally, some of the contacted potential communities, were asked about if they knew other similar projects. This phase, preceding the case selection process, aimed at creating a reliable database of the population of cases.

This preliminary process of mapping was complemented with a first phase of more detailed observation and data gathering, whose main objective was to attain a more precise overview of the population of cases, before selecting the ones to be studied. This process of data gathering was completed through informal and unstructured interviews taking the topics at *observation table 1* (see Appendix 3) as guidelines and on field observations on 6 out of the 10 identified communities<sup>37</sup> (see chapter 4.1), which implied a visit of these communities for a short period of time – from half a day to two days –, in some cases, during events organised by the community.

This process of visiting enabled the identification of other intentional communities that were stated as active by members of the visited communities, which were added to our database.

The outcome of both preliminary and first phases of data gathering process revealed a fairly heterogeneous reality (as it can be seen in chapter 4.1), in terms of number of members, their nationality and socio-economic status, geographical distribution – even if all were located in rural areas - and financial sustainability of the project, as well as its inner and outer organisation and dynamics. Taking into account the typologies described by Meijering, Huigen and van Hoven's (2007) taxonomy, the most represented type of was that of ecological communities (7), even if some presented, such as Mount of Oaks, typical traces of a religious/spiritual community (e.g., common spiritual practices) or, as CentoeOito, communal community (e.g., strong concern with sociability) characteristics. The second most common typology is the religious/spiritual community one (3), there is

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<sup>36</sup> Standing for World Wide Opportunities on Organic Farms, it consists of a network where volunteers (wwoofers) contact WWOOF hosts and agree upon a period during which volunteer will stay with the host, helping with daily work and being offered in return with free accommodation and meals. This detailed information is necessary, because, as it will be seen ahead, some of the intentional communities studied in more detail were integrated in this network.

<sup>37</sup> Note that CentoeOito community was only reached after this first effort to map communities.

also some diversity within this group as, for example, Ananda Kalyani members share strong ecological and sustainable living concerns. Finally, we were able to find one example of a communal community, Artlife, who also shares particular characteristics, as will be seen in chapter 4.1.

Even if our main task is to understand if and how intentional communities manage to insert their members in resource-wise relevant social networks, it is also our aim to provide some evidence for further studies to be able to answer the question ‘why?’. Thus, the case selection had to allow for a method of data analysis that could help us in spotting hypothetical causal links justifying the potential results obtained. By selecting two somewhat similar cases – i.e., cases that are similar along a considerable number of variables – sharing, nonetheless, some differences, we could manage to control, to some level, the degree of variation between cases, which was important for a comparative analysis. Additionally, it could also give us leeway, in the event both cases produced distinct results<sup>38</sup>, to opt for a *most-similar systems design*, which consists of a method of analysing cases that, despite being similar along several variables, produce different results (Gerring, 2007, p. 90, 131-133; Levy, 2008, p. 10, 11). It should be added that a more practical criterium was also taken into account, which was the accessibility to the field, that is, the perceived availability of community members to collaborate with the study.

On a final note to this process, the selection of the Portuguese reality is not only connected with practical matters, such as time and resource limitation but also, as it is debated in subchapter 2.3.4, with the fact that, before entering the field, this reality appeared to provide an adverse context for the successful establishment and development of intentional communities. Therefore, if this was confirmed, it would have allowed for a *Frank Sinatra inference* (Levy, 2008, p. 12), that is, if intentional communities enabled their members to be integrated in resource-wise relevant networks in this context, they could do it anywhere (i.e., in more favourable scenarios).

The two selected cases were Ananda Kalyani and Cabrum, considering their perceived similarities regarding their social composition (number - of Portuguese - members, school attainment level and socio-economic background) and organisation (as both were integrated in a wider social structure – i.e., association/organisation) but also the fact that they had, nonetheless, one major difference – Ananda Kalyani can be considered a predominantly religious/spiritual community, while Cabrum may be perceived mainly as an ecological community. Drawing from Meijering (2006, p. 45, 46, 62, 64, 71, 90, 91) and Meijeiring, Huigen and Van Hoven (2007, p. 45, 46), this difference between the two communities could suggest that they would adopt different strategies of interacting inside

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<sup>38</sup> This could mean one community showing a strong capacity to include their members in relevant networks, while other revealing more difficulty or even failing to do so.

the community and with outside world (by engaging in different networks, leading to distinct levels of local to international integration). Some data gathered in the first phase of data collection gave strength to this proposition. First, Ananda Kalyani's appeared to be integrated in a wider (nation to worldwide) network of like-minded individuals and groups<sup>39</sup> – Ananda Marga network – and had established and scheduled daily spiritual practices. Even if Cabrum appeared to also have a certain spiritual dimension, its common practices seemed to be less strict or unifying. Furthermore, as also stated by Meijering's (2006, p. 45, 46) typology, they both provided different balances between private and communitarian life and space and also a distinct manner of entering the community: in one (Cabrum) members entered as a 'household' and in the other (Ananda Kalyani) as an 'individual'. Nonetheless, Ananda Kalyani's ecological concerns - expressed by its embracing of techniques such as Permaculture - and focus on agriculture production, which figure in the ecological communities' characteristics (see Meijering, 2006, p. 46; Meijering, Huigen & Van Hoven, p. 46), could lead to some similarities in the end. A more detailed comparison of both cases will be provided in chapter 4.4.

### **3.2. Second data gathering stage: the case studies**

Having presented and justified our choices on research strategy and design and the case selection process, we must now address the adopted field data collection methods. Even though we agree with Yin (1994, p. 2, 10, 11) and other authors (see Levy, 2008) that a case study research can be developed without an ethnographic methodological approach, we have decided to base and guide our approach by it, being fully aware that our research aims do not match those of an anthropologic or ethnographic study, as we do not intend to provide a fully-detailed description of the fieldwork experience (Davies, 2008, p.5).

This decision emerges as a result of a broader understanding of ethnography and on how its developed knowledge on field data collection methods could be a useful tool, as we will see ahead, for supporting our study and for guiding action on the field. If we perceive ethnography as presented by Charlotte Davies (2008, p.5) - "*a research process based on fieldwork using a variety of mainly (but not exclusively) qualitative research techniques but including engagement in the lives of others being studied over an extended period of time*" – then, it becomes a potentially useful tool to structure our fieldwork approach allowing for an in-depth and *in vivo* observation of the studied reality. In this sense, we have settled for a *participant-observation* technique, which consists of gaining access and establishing for a certain period of time<sup>40</sup> – through participation in the life of those being

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<sup>39</sup> Which was also the case for the two in-depth religious communities studied by Meijering (2006, p.69-71)

<sup>40</sup> This is somehow flexible since it has been used, as we intended to do, for shorter periods than what is typically used in Anthropology (Guest, Namey & Mitchell, 2013, p. 100; Heyl, 2007, p.369).

studied – a place inside a natural setting in order to observe its aspects of interest for the research (Davies, 2008, p.81; Emerson, Fretz & Shaw, 2007, p.352; Guest, Namey & Michell, 2013, p.100). Despite not being a “*major data-gathering technique*” (Davies, 2008, p.81), participation not only facilitates observation of certain events, behaviours or other phenomena happening on the field – which are later converted into field notes -, as it also potentially enriches information provided by those at the field through the establishment of relationships between the researcher and them (Davies, 2008, 81, 88, 89; Guest, Namey & Mitchell, 2013, p.100; Heyl, 2007, p.369).

However, one must choose the level of participation in the informants’ (i.e. those studied by the researcher) lives, which is provided by adopting one of four participant-observer roles (for information on roles see Takyi, 2015). Considering the practical advantages of participation, we have selected a *participant-as-observer* role achieved by assuming the role of a *short-time volunteer*, which implies a deeper involvement in the informants’ everyday life, developing over time relationships with them and spending considerable time and energy on participation. We opted to do so because we believe this would not only allow us to identify and observe the ties established inside and outside the community and their everyday utility, but also to understand their daily struggles - whose solutions could rely on social capital – and to closely observe other topics figuring on *observation table II* (see Appendix 4) (Takyi, 2015, p.868, 869). As for the time spent on the field, we established a period of about 15 days, which has turned out to be a 12-day-stay at the firstly visited community and a 15-day-stay at the other one.

Nonetheless, participant-observation figured in our research design only as a valuable but complementary method to that of *semi-structured interviews* that would be conducted individually with a (wider as possible) group of community members, thus granting us a more systematic data collection. Its structure (see Appendix 5) featured an introductory question that permitted us to gather basic information on the interviewees’ background, such as level of school achievement, previous workplace or area of expertise, earnings or family background, which we intended to use to attribute to each interviewed member a perceived category of prior social class<sup>41</sup>. This first question was followed by three main groups of questions, from which one stands out as being composed of two batteries of questions (questions 5 and 7), these consist of two (modified) inquiring mechanisms used to identify (and measure<sup>42</sup>) social capital – Position Generator (question 5) and Resource Generator (question 7).

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<sup>41</sup>We do so aided, mostly and whenever possible, by studies that identify social class based on occupation and occupational status (see, e.g., Almeida, Machado & Costa, 2006, p. 98-103; Costa et al., 2002) for reasons that will be made clear in the next page. Note that the quantity and quality of data collected (through interviews and complementary field observations) varied, as there was no intention of making an exhaustive and systematic gathering. This classification serves thus only as a mere guideline.

<sup>42</sup> Which we do not intend to do, since our objective is mainly tied with identifying, mapping and understanding how the development of relevant social ties relates to the communitarian context.

Position Generator is conceived as a technique that measures access to resources through the occupations of members of an individual's network, which feature in a sample of a hierarchy of positions in a society that is representative of resources valued by a given collective. This hierarchy draws from nationwide occupation's prestige and/or job-related socio-economic indices (Lin, 2001, p.17; Lin, Fu & Hsung, 2001, p.63, 64; Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2005b, p.4; Van der Gaag, Snijders & Flap, 2008, p.27). This technique bases itself on the theoretical proposition that such indexes show the distribution of resources – here perceived as *universally valued resources (wealth, power and status)* - embedded in a hierarchical structure and, thus, aims to measure the capacity of an individual to access them (Lin, Fu & Hsung, 2001, p.63, 64; Van der Gaag, 2005, p. 103). It should be stated that, as it was also later revealed by two interviewees, a structure based on such general indices may be ill-fitting for specific and *mainstream* divergent cases such as intentional communities since what may be perceived as a valuable resource varies according to “*the needs, goals and opportunities (...) of individuals making up the population*” (Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2005a, p.155). In this sense, even if we – based also on what has been debated in (sub)chapters 2.1 and 2.2.2 – agree on a hierarchical distribution of structurally embedded resources, we had to proceed to an adaptation of the list of occupations that could be perceived as valuable by intentional community members<sup>43</sup>, maintaining, however, a wide number of occupations (tightly related to economic and cultural capital) featuring usually in Position Generator technique (see, e.g., Flap & Völker, 2008; Van der Gaag, Snijders & Flap, 2008, p.31; Hällsten, Edling & Rydgren, 2015, p.59; Lin, Fu & Hsung, 2001, p.66; Peña-López & Sánchez-Santos, 2016, p.9).

As our objective was to map ties and understand their overall establishment history and their quality, we have replaced its survey-like structure (asking the interviewee to identify if his contact having a certain occupation was a relative, friend or acquaintance) for two questions asking the interviewee to state ‘who’ - which can be seen as a reminiscence of *Name Generator Technique* (see Lin, Fu & Hsung, 2001, p.62; Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2005b, p.4) – and ‘how’ the tie has been created.

Nonetheless, this technique needed to be complemented, as it only manages to capture actions oriented at *gaining resources* (Van der Gaag, Snijders & Flap, 2008, p.27, 44) and does not make it clear which social resources one can potentially mobilise to attain one's goals (these being *wealth, power and status*) by reaching these positions (Peña-López & Sánchez-Santos, 2017, p.4; Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2005b, p.4). Therefore, a 15-items-group of questions based on *Resource Generator Technique* – which incorporates a checklist of a variety of specific and useful material or immaterial resources that may be

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<sup>43</sup> This adaptation has been based on the overview of intentional communities needs and struggles (associated with income-earning activities, areas of interest - information/skill-wise -, or legal matters) obtained through information provided by some literature (Borio, 2003, p.736; Christian, 2003, p.75-78, 152-155,170-198) and by the data gathered during first phase of visits to Portuguese intentional communities.

accessed either through instrumental or expressive actions (Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2005b, p.4; Van der Gaag, Snijders & Flap, 2008, p.29, 44, 47) – has been added and modified following the same logic applied to the Position Generator questions. It must be added that question 3 – asking if the interviewee was developing or intended to develop a personal project within the community context and if he understood it as a privileged place to do so – could act as a complementary question to these instruments, as it focused on understanding if and how the communitarian structure and its (social) resources could be used by its members in instrumental actions.

These two techniques were, however, exclusively goal-oriented actions and could, thus, leave out the by-product dimension of some returns of social capital, that is, unforeseen gains obtained as a result of frequent and non-specific social interactions (van der Gaag & Snijders, 2005a, p.155). A second group, composed of questions 4 and 13, was then established to fill this gap by creating the opportunity for the interviewee to mention them. Finally, we created a third group - comprising questions 2, 6 and 8 to 12 – aiming to capture the access and mobilisation of embedded resources process at the group level. Questions 8-12 had the objective to capture delegation processes, understand how the community acted as one person, as well as to comprehend the extent to which its members could influence that action. With questions 2 and 6, it was our aim to picture in which way the community was capable to access and mobilise inner resources in instrumental actions and generate returns to their members.

## 4. DATA PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the data collection process consisted of two different phases. A first one carried out with the main objective of providing an overview of the reality of some of the intentional communities identified (6 out of 11) – which will be briefly described in chapter 4.1. – and a second one aiming at a deeper level of data collection among two selected case studies – Ananda Kalyani case will be addressed in chapter 4.2 and will be followed by Cabrum in chapter 4.3.

### 4.1. First phase of data collection

Six intentional communities were chosen for this first phase. If we are to follow Meijering, Huigen and van Hoven's taxonomy, this group of six contains four ecological communities (Cabrum, Mount of Oaks, Tamera and La Belle Verte), one communal community with a main artistic focus (Artlife) and a religious/spiritual community (Ananda Kalyani). Since Cabrum and Ananda Kalyani are the two selected case studies and will be subjected to a deeper description and analysis, we chose to provide, here, a quick overlook of the other four communities.

#### 4.1.1. Communal Community: Artlife

*Artlife* stands out from all other identified communities for its main communal and artistic focus. Founded in 1996 in Olhão by the core group of the Friedrichshof's Commune (Austria)<sup>44</sup> - a controversial intentional community created in 1970s -, *Artlife* is composed of three generations: one formed by 2 elder members in their eighties, another of 5 middle-age members (40-70 years old), and a last one composed of young adults, teenagers and youngsters (12-29 years old). This group<sup>45</sup> lives together at a large common house, where there seems to be a division of accommodation according to nuclear families. Regarding education level, some members have at least attended university and are, in general, artistically skilful (painting, theatre, dance or music).

During its first years, the community, having more members at the time, was mostly inward-focused, and for some years provided the third generation with home-schooling. With time, it began to establish ties with the outside. This was done either by allowing for the younger members to attend the local public schools and by creating an artistic

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<sup>44</sup> Including its founder and leader, who at *Artlife* attracted visits from people interested in its artistic work and still continues to do so after his passing.

<sup>45</sup>It seems to be composed by upper-middle-class members, even though no information on income gains was gathered.

association (*souarte*), being, mainly, through its activities and that of the community's band that ties were and still are established with the outside world (Algarve-wide and, through the band, internationally). In opposition to its past experience, it appears to have a rather flexible structure, whose decision-making process is based on consensus and on a majority vote, when the former strategy proves unattainable. On a last remark, the older members admit that their social critique has softened, as they believe to have quitted a 'we know best' discourse dynamic, and that their intervention resides, now, on the fact of 'being there' as a viable alternative way of living.

#### ***4.1.2. Ecological Communities: La Belle Verte, Mount of Oaks and Tamera***

The three ecovillages addressed here differ greatly in terms of size, socio-economic status of their members, economic sustainability, lifetime and local, region and nationwide integration and networks.

Established in 1995 in Odemira, *Tamera* is composed by 200 members (130 permanent residents) - mostly foreigners, the majority being of German-origin and, according to two Portuguese members, only a maximum of 6 of Portuguese-origin. It figures as one of the most well-known and economically developed intentional communities in Portugal, basing its economy on income gains obtained through hosting of visitors, as well as on a wide range of courses from the 'introduction week' to a larger stay 'season groups/students'<sup>46</sup>, donations and contributions from those who wish to join the community until they are integrated as 'co-workers'. Based on these earnings, co-workers are awarded monthly with pocket money, whose amount varies according to a certain hierarchy. However, there seems to be a dynamic among some members of temporarily exiting the community to work abroad to gain money. Additionally, the community provides their members with the opportunity of following a lifestyle and ideals that are said to be repressed by the mainstream society, such as the question of free love, and of offering their children, at the community, with an education and teaching they agree with<sup>47</sup>.

It should be added that when visiting *Tamera* it became possible to understand that perhaps the Portuguese reality may not be completely an unfavourable scenario, since, when comparing with the German reality, it not only offers land at a lower price as it permits home-schooling, which in Germany is forbidden (Becker, 2015; Tricarico, 2015).

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<sup>46</sup> These courses seem not only to be provided by community members specialised on areas such as eco-construction or solar-energy engineering, but also to attract, at an international level, university students and specialists, as observed on the field.

<sup>47</sup> While at the same time granting their children with school level attainment, through test submission.

Regarding its local to national network, Tamera members have been involved in the fight against fracking off Odemira's shore through the association ALA – Alentejo Litoral Pelo Ambiente (which, according to a community member, was founded by Tamera), in collaboration with other associations (like ASMAA – Algarve Surf and Maritime Activities Association), political parties (such as PAN) and local institutions (Municipality of Odemira). Despite these connections, the community still struggles with construction permits at its land, having a considerable part of its members living in vans or mobile homes, since it is said to have reached a legal building construction limit. As one of the early members states, this is a problem which can only be solved at the national political level, where he feels they are still perceived as a group of 'German hippies working only for their own sake'. On a last note, Tamera's decision-making mechanisms are based on Sociocracy, where members trust groups of members specialised in the issue under discussion to make the decisions on that topic.

To a smaller level, *Mount of Oaks* (MoO)<sup>48</sup> presents itself as another example of a Portuguese ecovillage (ecological community), which reveals a wide local and regional network of contacts. At the time of the visit, this community was composed of three couples and two children – one of the couples and one child being in a sort of trial-period condition. The members, two of them Portuguese, have a satisfactory level of school attainment, some of them holding an academic degree and/or being specialised in permaculture and eco-construction. Having been created 10 years ago through a crowdfunding action to achieve the land<sup>49</sup> purchase, MoO has based its still non-self-sustainable economy on the earnings obtained through their events (workshops, courses or open days), as well as on hosting visitors and on selling some of the community's products at organic local markets (in some of the cases, being involved in their organisation through a network of local organic producers<sup>50</sup>). Apart from the organisation of markets, the community is also present at events of local associations such as Castelo Novo 2.0 and at others organised by the municipality. It should be added that MoO is also connected and collaborates with a considerably large group of foreign small landowners and (amateur) organic producers living nearby. As a last note, the community's decision-making process consists of an informal consensus among residents when regarding more practical matters. When facing structural decisions, the association's General Assembly is gathered and the question is debated with other associates, the decision being still reached by consensus.

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<sup>48</sup> Which has recently received some media coverage (see Pereira, 2017)

<sup>49</sup> Owned by a wider association.

<sup>50</sup> Which includes Ananda Kalyani and will be properly addressed, when describing this latter community's external ties (see subchapter 4.2.4.2).

*La Belle Verte* (LBV) differs from all others mainly on the nature of the member's income and socio-economic status. Consisting of four foreign adult members<sup>51</sup> – one couple<sup>52</sup> (with ages ranging 40-50), one single mother and another member in his twenties – and five children (two in schooling age), the community – founded in 2011 - runs its finances mostly by pooling its members' incomes - three out of four adult members relying on monetary social benefits<sup>53</sup> – and by hosting visitors. Despite the fragile financial situation, three members have described the project they were creating as empowering: either because it allows them to be involved in activities they previously thought themselves incapable of carrying out (e.g., participating at the whole process of construction of their own house) or because they are part of a social context in which it was easier to quit past (drug) addictions and to express freely one's emotions. LBV members' local integration proves to be a complex reality since, on the one hand, they have faced a hostile welcoming from neighbour landowners for a couple of years, while two of the children suffered bullying when attending a local public school, both being now home-schooled<sup>54</sup>. On the other hand, after a long-awaited meeting with the town mayor, they were given a permission to conduct experimental eco-construction at their land (under Natura 2000 protection). They are part of Monchique's Transition Movement, which involves other (potential) intentional communities, also mostly composed of foreigners. At an international level, LBV is integrated as a host in WWOOF volunteering network, ensuring them a large flux of volunteers. No data was collected regarding the community's decision-making process.

## **4.2. Case study 1: Ananda Kalyani (Covilhã)**

### ***4.2.1. Community's foundation context and composition***

Ananda Kalyani, standing as one of the main endeavours of Ananda Marga (Portugal)<sup>55</sup> – from now on referred as AM(P) -, was conceived to follow the model of a self-sustainable community (*Master Unit*) designed by P.R. Sarkar, the spiritual master and founder of this organisation. This concept of community is deeply connected with PROUT, which is a macroeconomic theory conceived by Sarkar in order to produce a socio-economic development able to suppress social inequality and poverty, while at the

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<sup>51</sup> Of which, only one is able to speak Portuguese fluently.

<sup>52</sup> Who legally own the land, although they were initiating a process to encompass the other members as legal owners.

<sup>53</sup> Two of them benefiting from *Rendimento Social de Inserção* and other one from a German motherhood-related benefit.

<sup>54</sup> Which is seen as temporary situation by their parents, despite their disapproval of public school.

<sup>55</sup> An international non-profit socio-spiritual organisation, based on the teachings and thoughts of its founder Prabhat Ranjan Sarkar. Founded in India, in 1955, it expanded its activities to Portugal around 1988 (Ananda Marga, n.d.). Alongside Ananda Kalyani, there are other projects developed by AM(P) such as a Yoga School, in Lisbon, and some activities developed in Porto and Fundão.

same time “*preserving and enhancing the natural environment*” (Maheshvarananda, 2012, p. 9; Sarkar, 2011, p. 11, 12). According to this theory, an ideal Master Unit should be able to fulfil a minimum of five services: Organic farming and production of raw materials for agro-industries; produce fibres and textile tissues for clothing; offering primary and secondary education through the opening of elementary and secondary schools; holding medical units that promote alternative treatments; and, offering housing-possibilities for the extremely poor (Maheshvarananda, 2012, p. 137). It is thus, as we stated above, possible to picture Ananda Kalyani as a spiritual community diverging to some degree from the two spiritual communities studied more in-depth by Meijering (2006, p. 53-72).

Ananda Kalyani was founded around 2010 by a group of four people, which underwent several changes until reaching its actual display. This communitarian context began, only, to arise between 2015 and 2016, reaching -this year - the composition of 13 members (see *table 1*). With time, it came to developed two associations: *Clube de Alimentação Saudável e Agricultura Sustentável* (C.A.S.A.S) – at first being formed by a group of local producers and meant to act as a mean for their members to sell their products, it came to focus itself on the organisation of courses and workshops on the areas such as organic farming, Permaculture – and, later, *Prana Academy* – which, since it was created as a branch of Ananda Kalyani dedicated to the organisation of courses and other events (e.g. conferences or lectures), has taken the latter function of C.A.S.A.S..

As it can be partially perceived form *table 1* its social landscape, is mostly composed by middle-class to upper-middle-class white young adults (15 to 34 y.o.) to adults (35 to 44 y.o), more than half of them being Portuguese - none of them being originally from Covilhã -, who have at least attended University.

**Table 1. General information on Ananda Kalyani's community members**

<b>Member<sup>56</sup> [Gender/Age] (Type of membership)</b>	<b>Country/ member since</b>	<b>Education level attainment</b>	<b>Perceived Social Class</b>
<b>AK1</b> [M/ 33 years old] (Full-time member)	Portugal/ 2012	Bachelor Degree (before Bologna)	Upper Middle Class
<b>AK2</b> [M/ 46 years old] (Full-time member)	Portugal/ 2012 (some time away before 2016 community rebirth)	PhD Degree	Upper Middle Class
<b>AK3</b> [F/ 33 years old] (Full-time member)	Portugal/ 2016	Bachelor Degree (before Bologna)	Middle Class

<sup>56</sup> AK\_-N stands for non-interviewed

<b>AK4</b> [M/ 19 years old] (1-year trial volunteer)	Portugal/ March 2017	Drop out at 9 <sup>th</sup> grade. Later achieved the 12 <sup>th</sup> grade through a professional training course	Working Class to Lower Middle Class
<b>AK5</b> [M/ 44 years old] (Project's manager and representative)	Italy/ 2010 (but member of Ananda Marga for more than 20 years)	PhD Degree	Upper Middle Class
<b>AK6</b> [M/ 35 years old] (Full-time volunteer)	Portugal/ 2016	N/A	Middle Class
<b>AK7</b> [M/ 34 years old] (Full-time member)	Portugal/2014 (some time away before 2016 community rebirth)	Attended a PhD Course	Middle Class to Upper Middle Class
<b>AK8</b> [M/ 22 years old] (1-year-period volunteer)	Portugal/ November 2016	Attended an Undergraduate Course	Middle Class
<b>AK9</b> [M/ 26 years old] (EVS volunteer)	Turkey/ April 2017	Bachelor Degree	Middle Class
<b>AK10 -N</b> [F/ 28 years old] (Full-time volunteer)	Finland/ 2016	College Degree	N/A (At least Middle Class)
<b>AK11-N</b> [F/ circa 25 years old] (EVS volunteer)	Poland/ May 2017	Bachelor Degree	N/A (At least Middle Class)
<b>AK12-N</b> [F/ circa 64 years old] (Acharya – “Family nun”)	England/ less than year (but member of Ananda Marga for more than 20 years)	At least attended University	N/A (At least Middle Class)
<b>AK13-N</b> [F/ 64 years old] (Acharya – “Family nun”)	Philippines/ since at least 2014 (but member of Ananda Marga for more than 20 years)	College Degree	N/A (At least Middle Class)

This project's communitarian living is structured around two cross-cutting three-layered frames. One - concerning a 'physical dimension' of communitarian living - being composed by a core group of 7 persons (AK2, AK3, AK4, AK6, AK7, AK8, AK10-N), who live together in the same house, follow, more or less, the same schedule, share meals and leisure moments, work together (even if carrying out different tasks) and follow certain spiritual practices (early in the morning and in the evening)

Besides the core group, there is a second layer comprising four persons – AK1, AK9, AK11-N and AK12-N. The last three living in a nearby house ('EVS house'), which took its name from the fact that two of its inhabitants (AK9 and AK11-N) were European Voluntary Service (EVS) volunteers. AK1, who until recently has lived in the core group's house (for one year), moved to an apartment located in the same parish. This group of four is, nevertheless, integrated in the core group's daily routine, also sharing

meals and leisure moments, working together and, in the case of the two Ananda Marga related members, following the spiritual practices.

A third layer consisting of two persons – AK5 and AK13-N – completes the group. These two live separately in Covilhã and work both in two different enterprises which generate income for the community, as it will be later described – AK5 works and manages a Software enterprise owned by AM(P) and AMURT<sup>57</sup>, while AK13-N works and manages a self-owned Café/Restaurant. Even if not connected with the core group’s daily routine, this third layer is often present during leisure moments, as well as during the Sunday evening’s spiritual practice gathering (Dharma Chakra) and occupies, as it will be seen, important positions in the decision-making process.

The second frame – referring to the psychological dimension of community membership - can be seen also as consisting of three layers ranging from a level of strong sense of identification with the community to a strong level of opposition to its *status quo*. The first layer is composed of 10 members with (a fairly) strong identification with the community. A second consists of one member (AK7) that, even if directly connected to Ananda Marga, does not picture herself as living in a community, but “*with a group of people*”<sup>58</sup> instead. She also revealed a desire to quit the community, admitting, however, that it is not related to any specific opposition to it. Finally, a third layer comprising 2 members: AK9 and AK11-N<sup>59</sup> (the only two members not initiated in Ananda Marga), the former often expressing himself in a dynamic ‘me/us vs. them’, whenever referring to the project and its members, which mainly derived from disagreement over Ananda Marga-related rules enforced on EVS volunteers.

While acknowledging the second frame, in the following chapters, the community will be conceived as being composed according to the set-up represented in the first frame.

## ***4.2.2. Community’s Governance and Power structure***

### ***4.2.2.1. Outer and Inner-community hierarchical structure***

As a project of AM(P), Ananda Kalyani is strongly tied to its ‘mother’ organisation. As we will see ahead, its actions are to some level determined by AM(P)’s top-decision-makers, making it important for us to briefly address how that outer context is composed

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<sup>57</sup> AMURT stands for Ananda Marga Universal Relief Team, being an Ananda Marga worldwide humanitarian group aiming to improve the quality of life of the poor.

<sup>58</sup> “[Answering a question on how she evaluated now her decision of choosing to join the community] “*I live with a group of people ... Community, then. Ok. (laughs)* [ translated from Portuguese]”

<sup>59</sup> The information regarding AK11-N was obtained informally after leaving the field. While in the field, she seemed to have a more moderate opinion regarding her place in the community.

and how and if its structure is reflected on the community's own structure. Based on the perception and information obtained during the time on the field, it was possible to understand that there is a certain spiritual hierarchy inside this institution. At the bottom stand the devotees (*margiis*), whereas at the top stand the Acharyas<sup>60</sup> and, above them, the Ananda Marga's monks (*Dadas*) and nuns (*Didis*)<sup>61</sup>. However, as one member (AK5) points out, this hierarchy may not necessarily reflect itself in the position distribution in Ananda Marga and Ananda Kalyani's decision-making structure, which can be related to someone's fondness regarding 'strategy-related matters' and dedication to Ananda Marga.

Regarding the community's inner structure, it is characterised by a more membership-time-length-related hierarchy, which sometimes can mitigate a more spiritual-related one, as confided by one community member regarding an experience concerning AK12-N (one of the Acharyas that compose the community). This type of hierarchy is reflected in the (informal) status hold by AK5 (*a margii*), who – being the only founding member still in the community – was often referred and recognised by the interviewed members as the project's manager and higher representative. The second kind of hierarchy seems, however, present when concerning external members with a higher status. As an example, one unexpected visit to the core group's house from a Dada long-time related to AM(P), generated, among some of the community members, a certain feeling of unease and stress related to an eagerness to make a good impression of how the project was being run in the field, which then was reflected in a stricter following of the evening's spiritual practices.

#### 4.2.2.2. Community's Governance Scheme

The Community's governance is composed of two spheres of decision-making: one regarding strategic decisions, which is tied with the community's structure and future path (investments to be made; rules concerning communitarian spending; the kind of projects to be developed and how, etc.); and, a second one comprising more practical or daily decisions (organising daily work; matters that affect those related to the communitarian everyday living and work; specific decisions concerning the project, etc.)

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<sup>60</sup> Acharya meaning "the one who teaches by example" (Low, 2010, p.7). "Family monks", was the way as, at first, it was explained to us the Acharya's status.

<sup>61</sup> Male teachers are called Dada, meaning "respected older brother" (Ananda Kalyani, 2017b), while Didi stands for female teachers, having the same meaning (Low, 2010, p.2)

### A) Strategic decision-making bodies

The first sphere encompasses two centres of decision-making:

- *Ananda Marga's Executive Council (EC)*: an AM(P)'s nationwide management body, comprising eight seats (one of them corresponded to a 3-months-long-trial observer's seat, which could eventually lead to an effective EC seat). Half of these seats (one of them being the observer's seat) are occupied by community members: AK5, AK12-N and AK13-N having a full-EC membership, and AK3 having an observer's status. The other half is currently occupied by four non-community members, of which two (one being the Dada leading AM(P)<sup>62</sup>) take also part in another decision-making body (*Master Unit Board*). The EC is responsible for the discussion and implementation of more structural decisions or rules and the general oversight of the project's finances. One of the mentioned examples of its actions was the implementation of a rule, which established that every spending over 500 euros had to be approved by it. However, as this level of expenses occurred with some regularity, the rule was made, in some cases, flexible.
- *Master Unit Board*: composed of four persons (two of them - AK1 and AK5 - being community members, while the other two are non-community members who also integrate the Executive Council) who meet regularly. This body is tied with more specific strategic decision-making, such as defining detailed guidelines for the community.

### B) Practical decision-making bodies

The second sphere comprehends three informal mechanisms of decision making:

- *Morning meetings*: an informal centre of day-to-day decision-making - organised every day except on Sunday - during which members from the core group and second layer make decisions on matters that concern directly and specifically those who share a common everyday living or work together. Examples of such decisions are working-day's priorities and work-related matters, which may affect the second layer's and core group's shared and/or inner dynamics (for example, matters concerning the shared schedule).
- *Specific-project or event-related groups*: composed of (pre-existent or spontaneous) small groups that decide upon specific matters related to the different projects and activities developed or to be developed by the community (e.g., vegetable garden or

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<sup>62</sup> Who is also connected with foundation of Ananda Kalyani.

agriculture-related issues, organisation of certain events, EVS-hosting-related matters, and so on). These meetings gather members who are more closely connected to the development of specific projects/events or who have more knowledge regarding the issue being debated, as well as the community's manager (AK5), who tends to follow some of these meetings (e.g., EVS-related or, for instances, farm-related meetings). As observed, these groups seem to be somehow flexible, since a group that gathers frequently to decide upon the preparations for an upcoming event, may come to include other members as the process unfolds.

- *Core Group's rules-discussing meetings*: these meetings take place whenever uncomfortable or undesired situations arise, gathering every member belonging to the core group, in order to reach a solution to such problems or '*hot topics*'.

Apart from these somehow formal centres of decision-making that compose Ananda Kalyani's governance structure, it was possible to identify an informal one responsible for rule discussion and establishment at the 'EVS house', which is connected with the second mechanism of practical decision-making presented here. As hinted in two interviews, this mechanism seems to gather, in a first round, the community members that are more related to the EVS volunteers (in one recent occasion, this group was formed by AK1, AK2, AK3, AK10-N, AK12-N and AK5), and, in a second round, it included the EVS Volunteers. However, this seems to be a still undefined way of decision-making, since none of the interviewees gave a clear description of how the process is handled.

Overall, this decision-making mechanisms' set-up generates a situation in which the two inner layers - especially the core group's members- tend to be distanced from strategic decision-making bodies and those at the outer layer from the everyday life at the community, as it is pointed out by AK1:

*“(...) eu acho que seja um bocadinho um defeito nosso, às vezes, há uma separação muito grande entre estas duas coisas, porque quem está a pensar na estratégia, está pouco tempo aqui [na operacionalidade do dia-a-dia – trabalho prático] e quem está aqui, está a ser pouco escutado para influenciar a estratégia. (...) Não vou dizer que é por acaso, mas acontece um bocado espontaneamente.” AK1 (33, M, Full-time member)*

#### 4.2.2.3. Decision-making method

Having sketched the decision-making structure and addressed its composition, it is now important to understand how this structure comes to work.

As mentioned in one of the interviews, it seems that all the bodies mentioned above follow mainly a sociocratic method, where, despite the fact that every person in the group has a word to say, the decision is, nonetheless, based on a general consent rather than on everyone's will.

*“não vou dizer que é consenso, mas tentamos sempre que o pessoal esteja sempre confortável com a decisão, mesmo que não seja aquilo que fariam. Não estarem muito contra. É a Sociocracia, não é estarmos todos de acordo, é não estar ninguém contra.”*

**AK1 (33, M, Full-time member)**

In case general consent is not achieved, there are two other methods to reach a decision, which, according to AK5, follow the traditional Ananda Marga's methods and are mainly used at the strategic decision-making level. The first to be applied, in case of deadlock, is a method based on each member's (that compose the group) expertise on the issue being discussed. In this situation, the decision-power of those having more knowledge is increased and their opinion gets adopted, which AK5 believes to lead to a certain alternative “*neuronal structure*”, in which each person has a different power-decision regarding different matters, thus generating some power distribution. In case this knowledge-based decision-making method proves ineffective, there is an ‘emergency method’, which reports back to the AM(P)'s hierarchy. This means that the problem is solved by the following upper level of decision-making, regarding the level where the problem occurred:

*“Então, tem de imaginar uma situação mesmo, mesmo feia (...) eu vou tentar resolver, tentado saber quem é o responsável (...) então, [contacto] o Board (...). Se eu não consigo resolver nada aqui [no Master Unit Board] (...), porque o problema está no Board, então tenho de ter uma maneira hierárquica para resolver o problema.”* **AK5 (44, M, Project's manager and representative)**

This decision-making process and structure is criticised by members such as AK4 and AK7 - who either feel that there is not that much place given for opinions diverging from the majority to be addressed and discussed or that they are distant from the real decision-making bodies - and approval from members as AK2 and AK3.

#### **4.2.3. Community's finances and members individual financial condition**

In terms of its economy, Ananda Kalyani presents two economic spheres: the shared economy and the members' private economic sphere. Both being connected, but not mixed.

#### 4.2.3.1. Communities finances: Earnings and expenditures

##### *A) Sources of Income*

There are two main sources of income that sustain this project: the first kind comprises revenues that emerge from external or non-exclusive community activities; and, the second includes sources of income that derive from exclusive community activities.

The first type of revenues includes the project's main sources of income, one of which is generated by the participation of AM(P)'s vegetarian restaurant in *summer festivals*, such as Andanças, Boom and Being Festival or ZNA Gathering, during which there is a mobilization from an important part of Ananda Kalyani's members, as well as members from other AM(P)'s projects. By the end of these events, the profit is distributed by AM(P) among its projects, with the Ananda Kalyani project receiving the biggest share. *Donations* appear as another important external revenue, including financial contributions from people working outside the community: the contributions provided by the software enterprise (*Estrela Sustentável*) managed by AK5 and AK13-N's occasional contribution resulting for her restaurant's activity<sup>63</sup> – but also from Ananda Marga's member – an example of it took place during the fundraising to buy some of the community's land, when AM(P)'s margiis were asked to contribute with a certain amount of money.

The second type of revenues comprehends four income sources. The first two share a funding-nature: one resulting from the community's project of production of berries and cherries funded by PRODER and the other from hosting EVS volunteers, both allowing the community to face some of its running costs. The other two spring from Ananda Kalyani's main commercial activities: one is tied with events such as workshops, courses, spiritual retreats, adventure camps and festivals - the biggest so far being this year's Ananda Festival of Bliss, which received a wide media coverage (*see sub-chapter 4.2.4.2 - C*); and the other being tied with the sale of the community's vegetable and berries production and related products, such as jams, through ÀBeira (an Ananda Kalyani's co-funded regional cooperative<sup>64</sup>) and through small monthly co-organised organic farming local markets.

##### *B) Community's expenses: Land and home-ownership*

Ananda Kalyani's expenses are mostly tied with house rents, land acquisition, as well as with assuring its full-time members' basic costs of living and, in some cases, offering

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<sup>63</sup> She further provides reduced prices for meals and events for Ananda Kalyani's members and volunteers.

<sup>64</sup> It also integrates other funding members, such as the nation-wide organic-seed-supplying enterprise Sementes-Vivas/Living Seeds and Vale da Sarvinda, a large organic farming project.

them pocket money (this issue will be addressed in the next subsection). Besides these running costs, there are other expenses related to investments in farming and construction tools, as well as materials and other project- or event-related investments/expenses.

Considering its main spending is related to rents and buying land, it is perhaps interesting to briefly address its estate composition and ownership. The community's land (15 to 20 hectares) - where the farm and the berries and cherries production project are located and where the community project is planned to be established in a near future – is divided into different parcels of land mostly owned by AM(P). The first lots that were bought are still privately owned by a community member, but, by the end of the year, they will be passed to AM(P)'s ownership. Besides the land, Ananda Kalyani is currently renting two houses in Paul<sup>65</sup> (the core group's house and the 'EVS house') and two apartments located in Covilhã (one is used as an office for Estrela Sustentável, while the other, 'Ananda Room', is a place used to teach yoga and meditation classes and hold different type of events).

#### 4.2.3.2. Members' individual finances: Earnings, covered costs of living and spending

The members' private economic sphere<sup>66</sup> differs according to the nature of the main economic activities carried out by the member and the membership's time-length. In this way, it is possible to establish four different types of private financial situations: full-time members with less than 1-year time-length membership; full-time members with more than 1-year time-length membership; full-time members with extra-income-earning activities; and, 'part-time'<sup>67</sup> members having a full-time job outside Ananda Kalyani.

The first group includes 4 community members (AK4, AK8, AK9 and AK11-N), who are granted with free accommodation, community-organised workshops/courses, meals and house-related expenses (electricity, water, wi-fi) and also, in AK4's case, gas expenses. While the first two do not receive pocket money, the last two (EVS volunteers) earn a monthly sum via EVS program.

The second group is composed by 3 members (AK2, AK6 and AK7), who receive a monthly pocket money, as well as the same benefits as the first group plus mobile phone costs covered<sup>68</sup>.

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<sup>65</sup> One of Covilhã's parishes.

<sup>66</sup> We will only be able of fully addressing interviewed members' situation, while the non-interviewed members' will be addressed based on fieldnotes. AK10-N and AK12-N will not be included, since the obtained information is too sparse.

<sup>67</sup> Part-time should be understood in term of time-commitment and economic dependency regarding the project.

<sup>68</sup> AK7 does not own a car and there was no information regarding mobile phone costs

The third group comprehends the situation of two members (AK1 and AK3). AK1 receives a salary from his work at an enterprise owned by his family and a symbolic amount from Ananda Kalyani, as pocket money, plus his gas and mobile phone expenses. However, he no longer enjoys the benefits tied to living in a community-rented house. AK3<sup>69</sup> does not receive pocket-money, but she manages to make some income through her yoga classes in different locations, including the 'Ananda Room'. In the mentioned case, she is asked to make a small contribution to the community in return, to help with paying the rent. Regarding covered expenses, she enjoys the same conditions as those in the second group.

Two members comprise the fourth group (AK5 and AK13-N), whose situation has already been addressed above, the first one having at least his mobile phone expenses covered.

Apart from the already referred AK3, AK5 and AK13-N's contributions to community's revenues, it is important to stress that other members have also mentioned making some voluntary donations ranging from paying their participation in community-organised workshops/courses (as AK8 mentions to do voluntarily) to some regular contributions (in AK2's case), or even some considerable investments and contributions made by AK1 (either directly or indirectly, as he did when he worked with AK5 at Estrela Sustentável and both agreed to lower their salaries in order to fund the common project).

As a final note on this topic, we should address briefly the members' opinions on their current work/economic condition. Regarding this matter, opinions are mixed, even though overall all members seem to be earning less than they did before. Some as AK2, AK3, AK5, AK6, AK7 and AK8 even if recognising that they are earning little or nothing (in AK8's case), appear to feel comfortable with their situation. Although AK6 affirmed that if he was to become a father, as he wished, in a near future, the financial situation could prove to be somehow frail if the project fails to evolve to a more self-sustainable situation. On the other hand, AK1 and AK4 share some concerns regarding their insufficient incomes that fail to cover their expenses. The former admits feeling that he is perhaps missing the opportunity to enjoy a fairly affluent living, while the latter admits that it is challenging for him not to receive a wage or any kind of income to which he was accustomed since his early teenage. Nonetheless, some of them point to the fact that their current lifestyle allows for them to avoid pressure to work and stress associated with their past job (AK1, AK3 and AK4) and to have gained freedom to express themselves artistically through their assigned tasks (AK6).

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<sup>69</sup> AK3 forms a couple with AK6 creating, in the end, a joint financial situation.

#### ***4.2.4. Ananda Kalyani members' social network: Social capital inside and outside the communitarian context***

##### ***4.2.4.1. Inner community ties***

It was possible to identify a great variety of accessible resources inside the community, even though some of them may not be mobilizable by all members, a condition that is mainly related to short-time length membership of some interviewees. The resource-capitalisation process comprehends, as we will see, both potential and effective mobilisation of a group of resources ranging from an instrumental mobilisation generating outcomes such as technical-knowledge-gains to an expressive mobilisation of the existent ties leading to finding understanding and reassurance of one's self-worth.

##### ***A) Instrumental capitalisation and returns***

Inner community ties provide members with some resources, which, if mobilized, may generate potentially interesting instrumental outcomes.

A first example is related to access and mobilisation of *technical knowledge*. Regarding this issue, AK2 (whose academic path is related to Agricultural Engineering) and AK7 (attended PhD on Zootechnic Engineering) - both connected to the community's farming project – are seen by some members as important contacts regarding organic farming knowledge, while AK6 (having worked and owned an enterprise of interior modelling) – who is involved in the building-planning at the community's land – was also pointed out as an expert on construction. AK3<sup>70</sup> (Bachelor degree in Design and Multimedia) skills as a designer and AK1 knowledge on food processing have also been highlighted by one member. During interviews, the five of them were identified, at least once, either as persons with whom one has learned something, or seen as someone whose expertise could be helpful for future individual projects.

A second example of resources reachable through ties with community members is the *publicity of one's own (potential) events and projects*. Concerning this matter, AK2 and AK3 were considered by some members as important inner contacts regarding this issue, which is, as referred by AK7, related to their functions inside the community. Closely tied with this matter, there is also, at least potentially, a *free access to places to sell one's own products or hold one's own events*, which may be directly provided through inner community's contacts. On this note, three members mentioned Ananda Café (owned by AK13-N), the community's land and other rented places, as well as the organic markets co-organised by the community (AK2 being the community member directly connected

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<sup>70</sup> The tie between her and the interviewee that mentioned her is a pre-existent strong bond.

with its organisation). It should be added that such resources prove to be mobilizable for individual instrumental actions, as shown by AK3's access to 'Ananda Room'. Even if mobilizable, access and mobilisation to such resources implies speaking with and (could imply) involving a certain group of members in the event's organisation. One example of this is, as observed in the field, an event to further expand the community's commercial ties idealized by AK9 – *The Night Bazaar* – that was to take place at the community's land. This involved other community members, such as AK1 and AK2, in its organization.

As it has been noted during our stay, *carpooling and car- or bike-sharing* (e.g., in the travels between the community's land/houses and Covilhã) appear as another type of resources embedded mobilisation in the two inner layers, being car sharing seemingly stricter (including AK1 and core group's members - and possibly AK5 and AK13-N).

Along with these resources, it was possible to identify others directly associated with income-gains: access to a *work placement*, *pocket money* and *informal loans*. Access to a work placement has only been referred by AK1, who mentioned a place that he had willingly left at Estrela Sustentável, to which he felt that – if he wanted - he could return by speaking with AK5. Regarding access to pocket money and the extent of its amount, it seems to be dependent on the member's status and reputation - which are both tied with membership time-length and past contributions (which may be conceived social-capital-wise as investments) made to the project - inside the project's network, especially, among AK5 and, assumingly, members of the Executive Council, as both oversee the community's finances and control its expenses:

*“Então, geralmente, quando vêm pessoas daqui, não tem uma pessoa que vem aqui e é paga por fazer o trabalho e, depois, vá (sic) ter o seu rendimento. Geralmente, aqui, aquilo que fazemos é ir nesta direção: uma pessoa quando vem cá, vem como voluntária, não tem nenhuma hipótese de vir aqui como voluntário pago. Mas, depois, quando o voluntário fica aqui, não sei, 6 meses, 1 ano, há pessoas que passaram 3 anos aqui como voluntário. (...) Agora, uma pessoa vem aqui e passado 1 ano, 2 anos, depende da pessoa, geralmente, à volta de 1 ano - por exemplo, o [AK2] passou aqui imenso tempo sem receber nada – vais a receber um bolso (sic) de despesas.”* **AK5 (44, M, Project's manager and representative)**

Such a reputation built on social credit, generated by a long time spent as an 'unpaid volunteer', allows for and strengthens the member's capacity to mobilise this source of income<sup>71</sup>. In this way, this embedded resource proves accessible but not mobilizable for some, who are aware of it (AK4 and AK8). For others, this resource is already mobilised

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<sup>71</sup> Such reputation is also present among members such as AK5 and AK13-N, who, as we will soon show, besides making important contributions to the project, provide it with important bridges. This reputation may allow them to more effectively mobilise embedded resources (such as obtaining help in certain tasks).

and some feel free to demand more, taking into consideration past investments made in this project:

*“Eu apesar de tudo meto muito dinheiro aqui. Compro ferramentas com o meu dinheiro. Portanto, chegou a um ponto em que não dava, pelo menos a ser neutro, a não ficar a perder e com (...) [esta ajuda de custos] acho que fica ela por ela. Mas a minha tendência é... Acho que vai ser necessário começar a receber mais em breve. Sinto que é importante a nível pessoal (...) Quer dizer, desde que estou cá, tenho vindo a ficar com cada vez menos dinheiro.”* **AK1 (33, M, Full-time member)**

Concerning *informal loans* (taking as reference a sum of 1.000 €), most of the long-term members interviewed<sup>72</sup> (AK1<sup>73</sup>, AK2, AK3 and AK7) mentioned AK5 as an inner community contact. As AK3 points out, this reference happens because “(...) *there are people who manage to maintain their job and [thus] a bigger nest egg than us here*<sup>74</sup>”. An exception was AK6, who confessed he was not able to think of someone who could afford to lend him money, although he did not think it was necessary. Among the short-term members, one (AK8) points to outer contacts, not mentioning this possibility among community members, while another (AK9) states that he would not find it fair to ask for money, since the other community members were not receiving a salary (referring clearly to the two inner community layers). AK4 assumes that he would recur first to his family for considerable amounts of money, - although he has already had access to small loans inside the community.

Finally, another noteworthy embedded resource is mutual help on daily or occasional tasks. During interviews, even though this resource-generator question was mostly used to identify this resource among external ties, AK7 points to short-term members, whose help she mobilises, whenever needed with her work on the vegetable gardens. While answering another question, AK1 affirms having already helped AK5 with certain tasks like giving support on the employee-hiring process. Most of the data regarding this question were collected through field observations, from which we would like to highlight two cases regarding community members’ help mobilisation: in the first case, for a common project and, on the other, for an individual endeavour. The first example refers to the mobilisation of the community’s two inner layers (except AK12-N) for the construction of the community festival’s main stage structure, a task that implied start working at 6 a.m. The second example concerns the help given by community members to the participation of Ananda Café at the Cherry Festival, in Fundão. AK13-N received

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<sup>72</sup> AK5 was not included in the group of people who were asked about this matter, since he stated, in a previous question, that he preferred not to talk much about his financial condition.

<sup>73</sup> Regarding AK1 and AK6, by mistake no amount was included as an example/reference in the question.

<sup>74</sup> Translated from portuguese: “... *Porque temos pessoas que trabalham e que conseguem ter o seu trabalho e ter um pé-de-meia maior do que nós que estamos aqui.*”

different kinds of support related to cooking (AK4), attending costumers (AK9, AK8, AK12-N) and equipment transportation (AK6, AK3).

### *B) Expressive capitalisation and returns*

Apart from instrumental capitalisation, these inner-ties seem to be also used to reach for *emotional support* and returns such as *finding understanding on certain important issues* (i.e., behavioural confirmation) and *self-worth affirmation*. Even if in some occasions it was possible to perceive that there was neither a formal mechanism for openly sharing emotions and frustrations with other community members, nor the habitude to share disagreement or bitterness over some actions or situations that have occurred<sup>75</sup>, most of the interviewed members (6 out of 7<sup>76</sup>) have either pointed to relevant inner contacts or have described this communitarian context as a “*family*” (AK2) or “*shelter*” (AK8), where one could feel safe and find emotional support or stability when facing struggles (AK1, AK2, AK3, AK4 and AK6<sup>77</sup>). Additionally, and out of the interview context, AK4 identified the community as a ‘non-reality’ context, where it was easier to avoid past addictions.

Some have also pointed to the fact that they find, in this context, a group of people with whom they share a common ideology and lifestyle (AK2<sup>78</sup>, AK6) and where they can help others and be helped on finding their own path (AK1):

*“Ah! Que, no final, a razão pela qual a gente está aqui nem é tanto de fazer isto um super-projecto de agricultura ou um super-projecto de eventos. A gente está aqui mais para podermos trabalhar em nós próprios e podermos ajudar os outros no caminho deles. Ajudamo-nos também a nós próprios nessa ajuda.”* **AK1 (33, M, Full-time member)**

In this way, they manage to find understanding and agreement on matters that are important to themselves (i.e., *behavioural confirmation*). AK6 provides some interesting insight regarding this issue:

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<sup>75</sup> Actually, in one of the cases, where this was assumed by community members, during a morning meeting, it led to a situation where some have openly talked about their feelings.

<sup>76</sup> This topic has not been addressed on AK5’s and AK7’s interviews.

<sup>77</sup> When questioned about to whom he would recur for emotional support, he only mentioned AK3. However, afterwards he describes the community as a place where he manages to find all that he needs and support at every level. Suggesting that this latter support is not connected with intimate and personal matters, but a more unspecific sense of support.

<sup>78</sup> Which he believes to lead to more connectedness between members and also to a ‘positive energy’ among the group.

*“Por exemplo, eu, quando foi esta minha transformação inicial [mudança para o veganismo], eu comecei sozinho a expressar as minhas emoções, a expressar aquilo que eu sentia, a expressar o conhecimento que eu estava a obter, mas tentava expressar isso de uma forma muito efusiva, individualmente, com os meus amigos, ‘tás a ver? E o universo mostrou-me que isso não resulta, porque acabamos por virar costas uns aos outros, porque era uma postura completamente diferente, a minha, de eu próprio. Aquilo não era mais o [AK6] que eles conheciam e não é compreendido. (...) Porque dentro da sociedade se tu, por exemplo, disseres: ‘ ah, eu quero ser vegetariano’. Pá, tens de comer 100g de carne por dia, senão tu vais ter carências disto e daquilo e não sei quê. Então, esta comunidade tem pessoas que são vegetarianas há 40-50 anos, não comem carne, nem peixe, nem ovos, e têm saúde e estão vivas. Mas, a sociedade diz-te que não (...) E isto é a proposta que a Ananda Kalyani faz, é mudar tudo isto, é tornar o mundo sustentável, é nós estarmos lado a lado com os animais”* **AK6 (35, M, Full-time member)**

This last quote introduces another expressive usage of social ties - also as a result of frequent and unspecific interactions – which is *self and one’s lifestyle-worth affirmation* based on a sense of belonging to a project that is seen as a model for an alternative way of living to be proposed to the mainstream society. This idea has been present in the long-term members’ discourse – exception made regarding AK7, for the reason stated during the community composition description:

*“(...) A ideia é permanecer no tempo e, quem estiver envolvido, pode trazer os benefícios de estar cá, de aprendizagem. (...) Porque estás a falar de exemplos em termos abstractos, sem estar algo real a acontecer. As pessoas: ‘pronto, ok, é bonito, mas não é possível’. Há sempre essa coisa de que não é possível. Quando tu comesças a criar um projecto que as pessoas podem ver, muitas pessoas vão começar a pensar duas ou três vezes: ‘há outras maneiras reais de viver a vida, de outras formas’.* **AK2 (46, M, Full-time member)**

*“(...) Pessoas que, sim, que se cruzam connosco, que não sabem da Ananda Marga, que não sabem de nada, mas, de repente, que se cruzam connosco e dizem: ‘Eu tenho curiosidade em ir lá, eu quero saber onde é que moram. Quero conhecer mais pessoas como tu’. Depois, também nasce muita curiosidade entre os familiares, eu sinto dentro da minha família, os meus amigos, os meus ex-colegas de trabalho, que eu ao vir para cá também já os estou a pôr a pensar num estilo de vida diferente, porque se eu vim e estava lá com eles, se calhar, eles também podem. (...) E é dar-lhes a conhecer, que existem comunidades e que existe esta forma. E é, agora, com isto do festival, poder-lhes mostrar.”* **AK3 (33, F, Full-time member)**

*“E vejo este projecto com esse potencial. Se funcionar e se se tornar conhecido, a tendência é para que as eco-aldeias ganhem relevância de alternativa viável de viver... bem. E quando isso for assim, e quando isso for público e considerado e os políticos actuais virem essa importância, se calhar querem aproximar-se desta realidade. Como? Não sei como é que isso vai acontecer, mas isso vai acontecer. E acho que nesse momento faz sentido uma mistura maior entre poder político e ...*

*não sei se é a melhor palavra... e estes movimentos de cidadãos, estes movimentos de base.” AK1 (33, M, Full-time member)*

This seems to be, nevertheless, a resource only reachable, if one is aligned with the community’s aims and goals and its *status quo* and/or if one is an active part in shaping its path. Unalignment and/or powerlessness may lead to a feeling that one may not be in ‘the right place’, as it happens for AK7, AK9 and AK11-N.

*“(...) But when I came to (sic) here, for now, I can’t see. People, generally, expect from me to work in the Master Unit, just in their land, just like a farmer. So... and I don’t know, I am sometimes thinking I could do the same in Turkey too. I am sometimes thinking why I came to (sic) here.” AK9 (26, M, EVS Volunteer)*

*“Há coisas que eu não gosto, há coisas que eu me sinto... Mas eu quando percebi: ‘bem, este sonho não é o meu’, tudo ficou muito mais claro. Não são eles, sou eu. Às vezes sinto pressão, porque isto não é a minha vida, eu não estou a viver a minha vida e sentes pressão por causa disso.” AK7 (34, F, Full-time member)*

### *C) Bridges: Reaching outside resources*

Outer resources are mostly made accessible and (at least potentially) mobilizable to other community members through 5 members – two belonging to the core group, one to the second layer and two to the third layer.

Contacts with local producers and experts, local associations, potential places to sell the community’s products and local house-renting market rely mostly on AK1’s and AK2’s external ties. AK2 proves to have an even wider network regarding local producers, which is mirrored by the fact that he was responsible for the co-foundation of *ÀBeira* – an organic farming cooperative, which sprang from his previous friendly contacts on this area – and for the organisation of the monthly organic markets, involving mostly small producers from Fundão (and another intentional community: *Mount of Oaks*). Besides this area, AK2 also appears to be the member with the broadest list of contacts among the public administration from the Municipality of Fundão, up to the point he already had a meeting with the town mayor, as he mentioned during the interview.

As for journalists and local parish councillors, ties are mostly established through AK2 and AK3. For example, the latter was chosen for both recent interviews (Lusa and RTP) related to the community’s music festival. She appears to be, as well, a relevant connection to the local University (Universidade da Beira Interior) and to the general

local public through her yoga classes at Covilhã (Ananda Room) and at Paul (Associação Paul Cultural Desportivo).

However, the most relevant connection with the general public takes place, as AK1 states, through AK13-N's Café/Restaurant (Ananda Café), which is one of the few, if not the only, vegetarian and/or vegan alternatives in Covilhã. The importance of this place is proven by the fact that 3 of the current members (AK3, AK6, AK8) found out about Ananda Marga and Ananda Kalyani when attending the place. AK13-N is also pointed out as an important connection to the main summer festival's organisers.

*“Sim, o café tem muito mais impacto. Aliás, porque as pessoas também vão para as aulas através do café. A primeira coisa é o restaurante vegetariano. As pessoas vão lá: ‘ah! Têm aulas de yoga. Ah! Têm um projeto’.”* **AK1 (33, M, Full-time member)**

Finally, the connection with the wider Ananda Marga network (mostly at a European level) is mainly assured through AK5, who, during the interview, mentioned several names and stated having frequent contact with other Ananda Marga members throughout Europe. Moreover, AK5 was pointed by AK1 as being a person with close contacts with two local lawyers to whom they had already recurred.

#### 4.2.4.2. External ties

As for external ties, our focus will be mainly on instrumental mobilisation, as we will try to map the wider network in which community members are involved. Here, we will highlight relevant embedded resources in this network that are being or may be mobilised by community members, through their actions to develop the project.

##### *A) Commercial collaborations*

Through Ananda Kalyani's commercial activity, the community members manage to maintain, strengthen and widen the resourceful network they are involved in. Here we will highlight two of these networks: a network of monthly local organic markets and the network of the cooperative Àbeira.

As previously stated, the local organic markets are organised monthly by a group of small organic producers/ farmers in Fundão, which are also combined with the markets held by the association Castelo Novo 2.0. The markets promoted by Ananda Kalyani and local

organic farmers are arranged in private smallholdings<sup>79</sup>, which are booked in advance. This not only provides a structure for selling the community's goods<sup>80</sup>, buying products from other market partners or for promoting the community's events, but also for establishing and strengthening ties with likeminded persons and projects (e.g., *Mount of Oaks*) as well as with a wide array of foreigners living in the area nearby Alpedrinha (Fundão).

Likewise, the mentioned markets provide access and the possibility of mobilising other assets and reaching ties and embedded resources in their partners' networks. To provide the reader with some examples, it should be addressed the case of one of these markets (at Alpedrinha) that has been observed during our stay. Besides the market itself, the hosts, as AK2 further confirms, promote simultaneous events, where they show the farm's main areas of activity and share knowledge with those at the market. In the observed case, it implied a guided tour through the farm and sharing of technical knowledge on areas such as beekeeping (an area in which the owner has worked in for a long time), forestry, fruit tree caring and water retention and management systems. Also, the hosts' program may include a place for market participants to hold activities. As an example, during this market at Alpedrinha, Ananda Kalyani's members (AK8 and AK12-N) conducted a kiirtan and meditation session for a group of market participants (customers and sellers). Finally, markets can also provide access to relevant people and resources in its partners' networks. Once again, recurring to the observed case, during the market time, AK1 managed to establish and exchange contacts with one *Quercus*' board member and organiser of the festival *Salva a Terra*<sup>81</sup>, who ended up inviting Ananda Kalyani (through Ananda Marga restaurant) to participate at the festival free of charge.

Àbeira provides, according to AK2, more formal and professional means of distributing the community's vegetable production. By working at a regional and national level<sup>82</sup>, this cooperative, which is composed by some nationwide supplying enterprises, was created as a mean of cutting short the chain of middle-men between producer and consumer and offering better selling conditions to producers. Therefore, Àbeira provides the community with 70% of the sales value, while keeping for itself 30%<sup>83</sup>. Apart from this, the ties established within this cooperative may prove valuable, for example, to reach experts in areas that may be important for the community. As AK2 also states, these contacts may be used to hold workshops or courses and get technical advising, as it has been done

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<sup>79</sup> The participation in these markets implies paying the hosts a symbolic amount of 5 euros.

<sup>80</sup> Due to legal matters, the project is not yet capable of supplying official stores, even though it has already been invited, as witnessed during the first phase of data gathering, to do so at one store in Covilhã (Celeiro da Saúde).

<sup>81</sup> A festival that is also supplied by Àbeira.

<sup>82</sup> Supplying, for example, festivals such as Being Gathering or Salva a Terra.

<sup>83</sup> Information provided by AK2

recently by the community, more specifically by Prama Academy, involving a member of one of its cooperative partners (Sementes Vivas) (Agronegócios, 2017).

*B) Partnerships in event organising (e.g. workshops, courses)*

Event organising is another area where Ananda Kalyani's members have managed to establish a network of contacts that provides them with access to important support in the organisation of their own events. In this regard, it is possible to highlight some partnerships that offer privileged access to places to hold events and give support in terms of marketing and event publicising. Among these partners there are four that should be addressed: Municipality of Fundão, cooperative CooLabora, Cooperativa de Olivicultores do Fundão (Fundão's Olive Oil Producers Cooperative) and Universidade da Beira Interior (UBI).

The Municipality appears as the main partner in these activities, where the community members, mostly through AK2 (Prama Academy), have 6 points of contact, from which 3 prove to be useful ties regarding this issue. Two of them (CMF1<sup>84</sup> and CMF2<sup>85</sup>) are connected with event publicising (through, for example, the municipality's mailing list) and arranging places to host the event. When interviewed, AK1 points a place (an inn) that was arranged by CMF1 at a lower price for them to hold an open spiritual retreat. AK2 mentions the fact that not only does the municipality publicise the events, but it also creates, free of charge, its posters (see some examples in Appendix 6). Among these contacts, there is also a technician (CMF3) who, according to AK2, provides support in the organisation of the community's courses. Moreover, this partnership has also been extended to the municipality's events. According to AK3, CMF1 often informs and invites Ananda Kalyani to join the municipality's events. So far, this has included AK13-N's Ananda Café participation as the only street food restaurant at the 2015's edition of Bienal da Saúde<sup>86</sup>, and, in this edition, it has involved AK6 in a live-cooking show and other members, in a speech and a workshop (Câmara Municipal do Fundão, 2015, 2017).

Cooperative CooLabora (Covilhã) provides, in its turn, free access to their facilities for event holding, and, if asked, publicises Ananda Kalyani's events. Fundão's Cooperative of Olive Oil Producers also gives free access to their facilities to host the community's

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<sup>84</sup> CMF stands for people working at the Municipality with whom the community members have established ties.

<sup>85</sup> CMF2 has met the project through Yoga lessons with the same Ananda Marga monk that visited the community in the occasion mentioned in point 4.2.2.1 .

<sup>86</sup> It was also through contacts between AK2 (through Prama Academy) and the municipality that AK13-N was informed about the possibility of doing a live-cooking session at Cherry Fest and left place for her to negotiate a place for Ananda Café at the fest.

workshops and courses, although asking, in return, a discount for their associates who choose to participate in such events.

Finally, according to AK1, the ties with the local university began to be established through a Portuguese internee at Estrela Sustentável<sup>87</sup>, who was hired to promote PROUT in Covilhã. As a result, she has organised conferences, cinema sessions and other events in town and at the university<sup>88</sup>. However, AK1 affirms to have lost the contacts at the university after this internee left, even though a friend of his figures among UBI's teaching staff and is said to have already shared information on the community's festival at the university. Recently, one Ananda Marga's event was held at UBI (Urbietorbi, 2017) and Ananda Kalyani's members were invited to present the community's project at one of the University's events (LabCom.IFP, 2017). Of all the interviewed members, only AK3 stated being connected to her former professors at this university, who she recently contacted to get help promoting the community's festival.

### *C) Technical support and mobilisation of resources for the festival*

The organization of the *Ananda Festival of Bliss* provided a more specific way of understanding how and which ties and embedded resources were mobilized for larger events. From the collected data, it was possible to identify accessible resources, and the mobilisation of some of those, embedded in the connections with the local media, in the newly established ties with parish councillors, in the wider Ananda Marga network and, finally, in ties established prior to the arrival at the community.

Previously established ties at *Jornal do Fundão*<sup>89</sup> were reached and embedded resources mobilised to promote the festival that would be held by Ananda Kalyani, which had the peculiarity of prohibiting drug and alcohol consumption. Through this newspaper, the network of contacts in this area was further widened, since AK2 and AK3 had the chance to meet one journalist who also worked for *Lusa* – a national news agency – and, later on, interviewed AK3. In this way, it was possible for the news on Ananda Kalyani's festival to gain a national dimension, having been addressed in several national newspapers (e.g., *Lusa*, 2017a, 2017b, 2017c) and, later, having the festival open day been briefly live covered by *RTP*'s morning news broadcasting program (RTP, 2017). Besides these contacts, AK2 affirms to have established new contacts during the efforts to promote the

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<sup>87</sup> Who was mentioned by her spiritual name, which indicates that she is connected to Ananda Marga.

<sup>88</sup> It was possible only to find one potential example of those collaborations ("Democracia Económica", 2013)

<sup>89</sup> Out of 7 interviewees that were asked the question of whether they were acquainted with a journalist or someone working in the media, this was only mentioned by AK2.

festival – for example, a radio host from *Rádio Cova da Beira*, who would be interviewing them soon, a journalist working for *RTP* and another working for *SIC*.

Besides the media contacts, Ananda Kalyani's members made an effort to reach local political authorities, such as the mayor of Covilhã and the two local parish councillors. Even if only the latter (i.e., both parish councillors) have answered positively to an invitation to attend an event<sup>90</sup> at the community's land, destined to present the festival to the local public, both have, afterwards, offered some parish services to help with transportation of festival visitors and with land cleaning<sup>91</sup>. Furthermore, both parish councillors were present at the festival's opening day, which can be seen during *RTP*'s live coverage (*RTP*, 2017).

At a different level, some community members have mobilized resources rooted in ties that preceded their community membership. For instance, AK3 mentions having resorted to a contact inside her previous working place to acquire merchandising for the festival (bracelets and printed t-shirt) and to a friend of hers (with an academic degree on Sound and Image engineering) to help with the sound system assemblage and arrangement – having also invited him and his wife to spend a weekend at the core group's house.

As for musicians to play at the festival, besides two non-Ananda Marga related groups (*Adufeiras da Casa do Povo do Paul*<sup>92</sup> and *Miguel Maat*<sup>93</sup>), most of them were reached through the wider Ananda Marga network, either directly connected musicians as *Dada Veda* – a North American Ananda Marga monk – or at least indirectly as, for example, *Jyoshna La Trobe*<sup>94</sup> which had a partnership with *RAWA*, an artistic Ananda Marga association that collaborated with Ananda Kalyani in the festival's organisation (*Jyoshna*, 2017b; Ananda Kalyani, 2017b).

#### *D) Volunteering networks*

Ananda Kalyani's connection with Ananda Marga's network (from a local to an international level) offers access to volunteer work provided by other members of this spiritual organisation. At the field, it was possible to identify how this network could provide volunteer help at the local, national and international level.

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<sup>90</sup> Event that has taken place during the 12-day-stay time-frame of our staying.

<sup>91</sup> It is, however, impossible to affirm with certainty if such accessible resources were or not mobilised, since the festival would only occur in mid-July

<sup>92</sup> Whose case will be addressed further ahead.

<sup>93</sup> Whose collaboration was established at a summer festival, where he met Ananda Kalyani through the Ananda Marga Restaurant and asked to play for free at the previous version of this festival (a trial version). In this edition, he did not only play, as he also conducted a Didgeridoo workshop.

<sup>94</sup> Who had already played earlier that year at Ananda Café (*Jyoshna*, 2017a)

At a local level, one example was observable at the festival presentation event, which was preceded by a half-day long Ananda Kalyani's presentation program (i.e., presentation of the project itself) that was organised by one local devotee<sup>95</sup> (Fundão). Its operationalisation also involved one other margii, who teaches Ananda Marga-related yoga at Fundão.

As for the national level, the community received, during the time of our stay, three members from Ananda Marga (Lisbon)<sup>96</sup> for 3 days (two of them) to a week (one of them), that came to help with the work at the community's land for the festival.

Finally, at an international level, a couple of days prior to the time of our arrival, the community started hosting an *Ananda Gaorii's*<sup>97</sup> member, who came to help with Ananda Kalyani's development by transmitting his knowledge acquired at the Danish Master Unit (that he managed until his arrival). Apart from him, the community was set to further host two former Ananda Gaorii's members in the following week after our departure.

Furthermore, AM(P), as a volunteer hosting organisation accredited by the European Voluntary Service whose main focus regarding volunteer hosting is the Master Unit, allows for Ananda Kalyani to be integrated in this European network and to profit from volunteer work and also from a hosting fund<sup>98</sup> (European Youth Portal, 2017).

#### *E) Technical and Legal support on applying for Public Funds or solving Legal Matters*

As for reaching public funding, Estrela Sustentável has recently hired a civil engineer<sup>99</sup>, who is now also directly connected to Ananda Marga<sup>100</sup> and whose responsibility is to provide community members with information on national and European funds and to deal with the bureaucracy of the application processes. Alongside this access support, there is also a tie<sup>101</sup> with a local (Fundão) association *Apizêzere* that, according to AK1, is frequently used by him to obtain support and to clear doubts regarding the PRODER fund that the community is currently benefiting from.

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<sup>95</sup> Who was, during and interview, pointed out by AK8 as being someone who occasionally helps the community members with their tasks.

<sup>96</sup> With whom, at least, all of the core group's plus AK1 seemed acquainted. Note that one of them, a Fine Arts graduate, would later hold a workshop at the community's festival (Ananda Kalyani, 2017b). It was, however, not identified whether they were asked to help or if they have taken the initiative to come.

<sup>97</sup> Ananda Marga's Danish Master Unit, often referred by Ananda Kalyani's members as one of the most developed Master Units in Europe.

<sup>98</sup> According to information obtained during field participant-observation, this fund is attributed by the EVS program to hosting organisations. In this case, this amount helps to cover some house-renting expenses.

<sup>99</sup> AK2 states that the wage is partially paid by Ananda Marga, while the other part is covered by IEFP.

<sup>100</sup> As he has been referred by the interviewed members mostly by his spiritual name.

<sup>101</sup> An Ananda Marga sympathizer working at that association, who has attended some of the community's activities.

AK3 and (in a certain way) AK6 also mentioned that the engineer hired by Estrela Sustentável and his wife (an architect) were helping to solve a complicated situation concerning building permits at the community's land, which is comprehended by three overlapping networks of protected areas.

#### *F) Local integration*

Finally, it should also be addressed the immediate local context in which the community is inserted in, because, as mentioned in sub-chapter 2.3.3.2., it may affect the community's daily life and goal achievement capacity. From the collected data, it is possible to affirm that this context is, on the one hand, marked by cooperation, which leads to the establishment of ties that give (directly or indirectly) access to certain desired resources but also, on the other hand, by a certain conflict.

Ananda Kalyani's members seem to have established relevant ties with local associations: Paul Cultural Desportivo and Casa do Povo do Paul. Regarding the ties with the former, they currently give access to their sports facilities for AK3, through Prama Academy, to weekly hold Ananda Marga-related yoga lessons (see, for example, Prama Academy, 2016). As for the latter, not only has the community participated in Casa do Povo's events (Casa do Povo do Paul, 2016), as has also this association been present at Ananda Kalyani's festival presentation (represented by its president and another member) and has taken part in the festival itself through their women folk music group – Adufeiras da Casa do Povo do Paul (Casa do Povo do Paul, 2017).

Besides these collaborations, Ananda Kalyani also presents itself as a regular client of a group of local businesses, such as the case of a local hardware store, who, according to AK1, allow for delayed payment. The ties established with the owner of this store proved important in providing (indirectly) access to renting a house in Paul that the community members desired:

*“Mas posso-te dizer que quando foi para esta casa, que a primeira pessoa que conheceu foi o [AK2] e depois fui eu... que o conhecemos, quando achamos que esta casa poderia ser uma alternativa à outra. Ele só aceitou porque, como nós trabalhamos muito com o Pacheco, que é aqui estas ferragens que a gente compra e a gente paga sempre, não é a horas, mas pagamos sempre. E sabemos que ele gosta de nós, também lhe compramos montes de coisas. E foi ele que disse: ‘Sim, sim, aluga a eles, porque eles são de confiança’. Porque aqui há muito essa coisa, as pessoas têm sempre um bocado de medo: ‘Eles são uns malucos’, mas, depois, palavra passa a palavra e, depois: ‘ah, até se pode confiar’”* **AK1 (33, M, Full-time member)**

It should be added that some efforts have been made by the community's members in order to establish contact with the local population, that being expressed by the organisation of an event to present to the local population both the community project, firstly, and the festival, later on. The first of these events attracted not only 2 local Ananda Marga members, but also 3 other sympathisers - two of them either attended or were attending yoga or meditation classes - who brought with them 2 other persons, who knew about Ananda Marga and Ananda Kalyani, but have never been in contact with both the association and the community. None of them, however, stayed for the festival presentation event at the end of the day, which counted with the presence of representatives from Casa do Povo, the two parish councillors (plus the treasurer from the Paul parish council) and the AK1's friend working at UBI. Additionally, the community decided to put forward a festival ticket discount for residents of nearby parishes, aiming to attract the local public (Ananda Kalyani, 2017a).

The main point of conflict with the local community is motivated by the fact that the community's land comprehends a riverside beach that used to be attended by local residents, and whose access was made private when the community bought the land. Since the community members have not yet gated the land, due to legal matters and to avoid further confrontation, they often find strangers walking through their land to reach the beach. From what was possible to observe and understand, the conflict mostly springs from the fact that (unwanted) visitors trespass the property and, at the same time, often behave in a disturbing manner for the community members (e.g. dirtying the beach, drinking alcohol, smoking or making excessive noise). Local residents affirm, in their turn, that the beach is a public place and they had the right to use it since they have always used it. Apart from this situation, there is, according to AK3, a rumour circulating on a nearby population, which identifies the community with being a cult. Moreover, Ananda Kalyani was mistakenly taken among Paul inhabitants by a gipsy community at the beginning of their stay, due to the common visits at that time of dark-skinned monks. However, according to some community members, such an image has faded, as soon as they started interacting with the local population (e.g., going to local fests), and an awareness that they were Portuguese arose.

### **4.3. Case Study 2: Cabrum (Viseu)**

#### ***4.3.1. Community's foundation context and composition***

Cabrum is a communitarian project that takes its name from the small village it is located in, at the northern border of the municipality of Viseu, which had been abandoned before the establishment of this intentional community and figured in a documentary on abandoned Portuguese villages broadcasted *SIC*. This documentary was the starting point

for a group of at least five persons<sup>102</sup> to gain interest in repopulating the village through a communitarian project. By reaching the parish councillor and, afterwards, the village property owners, they have managed to arrange a contract that allowed for them to settle in Cabrum. Since then, the community composition has gone through some changes having reached a point where it was formed by more than 20 members.

After undergoing a period of several changes in its composition, Cabrum managed to maintain a stable group<sup>103</sup> of four households that form part of the community's actual display of 13 out of the total amount of 14 members, the additional member being a long-term volunteer (at the time, in the community for 6 months). This composition displays membership of two natures: intentional and 'unintentional'<sup>104</sup>. The group of intentional members is formed by C1, C2, C3, C4, C5, C6-N and C7-N, while the group of unintentional members comprehends their children: C8-N and C9-N (C2's sons); C2's and C4's three-year-old son; C1's six-year-old daughter; and C6-N's and C7-N's (circa) two to three-year-old daughter and new-born son. Thus, we can say that the first household is formed by C1 and her daughter; the second by C2 and C4 and their sons; the third only by C3; and the fourth by C6-N and C7-N and their two children. From the original group, only two members (C2 and C4) figure in the current community set-up, mostly composed of white middle-class young adults and/or adults with ages ranging from 15 to 40 and a satisfactory level of school attainment (see Table 2).

With time, the community came to establish a non-profit association (*Amakura*), mainly, to provide it with a legal entity – a way to handle bureaucratic and legal matters - and to act as a bridge to the outside (through the establishment of connections and collaboration with others outside the community).

The everyday life at the community is based on a balance between private household and communitarian living<sup>105</sup>, although there are differences between members, since, for example, the two oldest unintentional members spent, during the period of observation, most of the day out of the communitarian context– C8-N studying for exams and C9-N doing a curricular internship in a hotel. Besides this, some remarks should be made regarding the sense of belonging to the community. On the one hand, even though not spending most of his time at Cabrum, C9-N revealed a strong alignment and sense of belonging to the community either by an often 'us vs. them'<sup>106</sup> dynamic in his discourse and by sharing a similar lifestyle and mindset to that of the community. On the other hand,

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<sup>102</sup> Even if, during the initial period of establishment, there was for some months just one person (C4) and another occasionally (C2) living at the village.

<sup>103</sup> Even if, between the first and second visit, a household composed of 5 people (2 adults and 3 children) left the community.

<sup>104</sup> An unintentional member figures as a person whose main reason to be at the community is due to kinship.

<sup>105</sup> For instances during the week and Saturdays there is every day shared lunches and communitarian work is conducted. However, during Sundays, the day is mostly spent at home.

<sup>106</sup> 'Them' being the population from a nearby village (Calde).

C5 admits that she feels a certain barrier separating her from other members and perceives herself not as being completely a community member, but only as a volunteer. Nevertheless, when comparing to her previous experiences as a volunteer in other communities, she senses that it was easier for her to feel a part of the community at Cabrum, as there were little things she could not do because of her status.

**Table 2. General information on Cabrum's community members**

No. Household	Member <sup>107</sup> [Gender/Age] (Type of membership)	Country/ member since	Education level	Perceived Social Class
#1	C1 [F/36] (full-member)	Portugal/ 2013	Bachelor Degree	Middle Class
	+ C1's 6 y.o. daughter	-	-	-
#2	C2 [F/ 47] (full-member)	Portugal/ 2012	Bachelor Degree	Upper Middle Class
	C4 [M/37] (full-member)	Portugal/ 2012	Bachelor Degree	Middle Class
	C8-N [M/15] (unintentional member)	Portugal/ 2012	Attending 3 <sup>rd</sup> Cycle	-
	C9-N [M/23] (unintentional member)	Portugal/ 2017	N/A	-
	+ C2 and C4's 3 y.o. son	-	-	-
#3	C3 [F/38 years old] (applying member)	Portugal/ 2016 (before July)	12 <sup>th</sup> grade (obtained recently)	Lower Middle Class
#4	C6-N [M/ circa late 20s to late 30s] (applying member)	Argentina/ 2016 (little time after C3's arrival)	Bachelor Degree	N/A (At least Middle Class)
	C7-N [F/ circa late 20's to late 30's] (applying member)	Germany/ 2016 (short time after C3's arrival)	Master Degree	N/A (At least Middle Class)
	(+ their 2-3 y.o. daughter and a newly-born son)	-	-	-
N/A (temporary)	C5 [F/25 years old] (long-term volunteer)	Germany/ February 2017	At least attended University	At least Middle Class

#### 4.3.2. Community's Governance and Power-structure

##### 4.3.2.1. Community's power-structure

Before addressing the community's power-structure it should be stated that formal power structure decides only upon communitarian life's matters since there is a well-defined

<sup>107</sup> C\_-N stands for non-interviewed

balance between private household life and communitarian life, leaving the rules and decisions at each household to the private sphere<sup>108</sup>:

*“Qualquer decisão, excepto as decisões internas de cada família, como é óbvio – nós não perdemos a nossa individualidade, de todo, muito pelo contrário, não perdemos a individualidade de cada família, não é? Cada família vive na sua casa com a sua forma de estar. Agora, no que diz respeito ao comum, no que diz respeito às áreas comuns, à economia comum, à relação entre as pessoas, tudo isso é tomado em círculo.” C2 (47, F, Full-member)*

Cabrum’s formal power structure - which, as hinted in the citation above, is tightly connected with its governance bodies - has changed since its creation and its current display is based on learning from previous unsuccessful experiences:

*“Foi acordado entre nós, depois de uma vasta experiência por aquilo que passámos, aqui, nestes anos, nestes 5 anos. Passámos por várias etapas, por várias... por vários ciclos, e um deles era fazermos consensos com todas as pessoas que estavam aqui, estivessem há 2 semanas, estivessem há 2 anos. Então isso deixou de fazer sentido, é óbvio. Uma pessoa para dar um voto de consenso tem de ter experiência... local, e de como estar a viver aqui e perceber as dinâmicas e perceber o que se está a passar.” C2 (47, F, Full-member)*

As a consequence, the community developed a formal three-layered structure: first, a core-decision-making group, formed by C1, C2 and C4, which are full-members, as they live in Cabrum for more than one year; second, a layer with three applying members (C3, C6-n and C7-N), who can be present at every community decision-making body, even though they do not enjoy, for now<sup>109</sup>, the voting right at all levels of decision making; and, a third layer, which is formed by volunteers (C5), who are present at the practical decision-making mechanisms, but are not included at other levels of decision-making and are not allowed to handle the community’s money. This third layer appears to be succeeded informally by a fourth layer composed by unintentional members (we refer, in this case, only to C8-N and C9-N)-, who do not seem, at the moment of observation, to be involved not even at the practical decision-making process.

Apart from this structure, there is also a formally established mechanism that attributes full and applying members (by becoming “*focalisers*”) with the power to oversee and organise tasks at the different spheres of the community’s activity – from overseeing work at the gardens or the campsite to the community’s finances). From what has been

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<sup>108</sup> There is but one exception that will be addressed further ahead in this point.

<sup>109</sup> Having undergone the applying member one-year trial period, they now await a meeting, where it will be decided upon their membership status and if they wish to continue as a Cabrum member.

observed, this formal power-structure seems to be sided by a somewhat informal power-structure headed by C2<sup>110</sup>, who seems to be used to preside over practical decision-making meetings and to deal with matters regarding the community's representation.

#### 4.3.2.2. Community governance scheme and decision-making process

*“(...) funcionamos em círculo, de comunicação em círculo, de ouvirmo-nos uns aos outros, a decidir em círculo, em consenso.” C1 (36, F, Full-member)*

The governance scheme established at Cabrum comprises three levels: a practical decision-making level, an emotional level and a strategic and structural decision-making level.

##### *A) Practical level*

The practical level consists of a *'practical circle'*, which is a weekly gathering of members from the three inner-layers of the formal power-structure, where the participants apply<sup>111</sup> for the tasks they desire to carry out during the week and also where priorities are established on a weekly and monthly basis<sup>112</sup>. Here decisions are taken mostly by informal consent.

##### *B) Emotional level*

At the emotional level, through the *'emotional circle'* ('Circle of the Heart'), the community members - except the volunteers, as C5 confesses- solve internal problems or conflicts and share their feelings regarding, for example, the others' actions that may have hurt them or left them uncomfortable. During this meeting, every participant has the right to talk without being interrupted through the passing of a "talking stick". At the end, a solution regarding the problem being debated should be reached through consensus. Until the Summer, this circle was being organised every new moon, after the practical circle.

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<sup>110</sup> Who is also elected president of the association.

<sup>111</sup> By writing their names - after the desired task - on a blackboard at the communitarian living-room.

<sup>112</sup> Also written on a blackboard. At that time of the second field visit, for instances, the monthly tasks consisted of working at the watercourses that supplied the community and of helping with the construction of C1's house.

### *C) Strategic and structural level*

Decisions on structural issues such as community's rules – like not cooking meat at the communitarian kitchen or not drinking alcohol or smoking at communitarian places – and common vision are reached at the *Consensus Circle*. This circle is formed by full-members and applying members, who are offered an observer's status, being allowed to express their opinion, but not to vote. As revealed by its name, decisions are made by consensus, although there is an alternative mechanism to reach consensus in case it fails at first since it regards important issues to the community. In case one or more members disagree with the consensus proposal advanced by the group, he/they must present an alternative proposal to the group that, if rejected, is removed in favour of the previous proposal. As C3 confesses, the rules that come out from this process - and that are afterwards written in the book of consensus – are flexible and can, in special conditions, be broken<sup>113</sup>.

This decision-making structure and process seemed to be fairly accepted and approved by the interviewed members. C5, however, revealed some discontentment with the fact of being estranged from the emotional circle, as it will be addressed below (sub-chapter 4.3.4.1).

#### ***4.3.3. Community's finances and members' individual financial condition***

Like the previous community, Cabrum presents two economic spheres, although the distinction is to be made, in this case, between a shared economy and a private household economy. As we will address at the next point, in Cabrum's case, the latter sphere appears to be predominant and an important support for the former.

##### *4.3.3.1. Community's finances*

Cabrum's communal finances and estate are tied with that of its association *Amakura*, (Associação Internacional de Desenvolvimento Rural e Ambiental), which also counts with associates that are not part of the community.

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<sup>113</sup> As observed, for instances, with some regularity and when only among smoking members, the rule regarding smoking in communitarian places was broken. Also, at C1's daughter's birthday, an exception was made regarding the consensus prohibiting drinking alcohol in communitarian places.

### *A) Sources of income*

The communitarian economy is mainly supported by pre-established contributions to the association made by members and associates. According to information obtained in the first visit to Cabrum, these contributions vary regarding the nature of the activity being developed – the organization of events, workshops or courses result in a 5% contribution upon the total amount received by the organising members, while the sale of goods results in a contribution of 10%. Aside from this regular – even if more frequent during Summer – income source, whenever needed, the community purposely organises one or more activities, whose total revenues are automatically transferred to the association:

*“Quando o evento é da associação, reverte a totalidade para a associação. Às vezes pensamos: ‘Oh pá, precisamos de injectar um pouco de capital na associação, vamos fazer qualquer coisa’” C2 (47, F, Full-member)*

Other relevant financial supports are the hosting of guests/visitors to the community and a small yearly agriculture fund. The former is composed of two modalities, which are related to how many daily hours of communitarian work the visitor wishes to carry out. If one chooses to adopt a tourist status (meaning not being obliged to work during the stay), it implies a 50 euros weekly contribution. The second modality comprehends an active visitor status, which implies 3 hours of daily work and a weekly contribution of 30 euros. To these contributions is added a daily sum of 7,5 euros, if one chooses community’s rented-room as accommodation.

Finally, on a smaller level, there is also associates’ yearly symbolic quotas (15 euros) and new associates entrance fee (30 euros).

### *B) Community’s estate and land-owning agreement*

The agreement reached regarding the landownership is closely tied to the community’s foundation, which we will address here shortly. Before the community’s establishment at Cabrum, the initial group approached the parish councillor, at that time, to present their interest and plans for the village. This local representative acted as a bridge between the group and the landowners. He also informed the former about a yearly Summer fest that takes place at the village chapel that gathers circa 100 persons and where usually most of the landowners used to be present. During this fest, ties were established (and strengthened, as some members had been previously contacting local inhabitants) with some of the owners, allowing for them to reach an agreement over a 5-year-long land-handover. This agreement was established at the time with three families, which allowed

them a free of charge access and usage - for agricultural and eco-construction ends - of the lands and buildings at the village centre and some in its surroundings.

Apart from this free ownership, the written contract also established that, if at the end of the contract the owners chose not to renew the agreement, they would be obliged to repay the investments made at the lands and buildings by the community members<sup>114</sup>. Since then, the estate of the last inhabitant of the village was bought – partially with the association’s capital – and is now under *Amakura’s* ownership. This has allowed for Cabrum’s members to directly hold two houses they had rebuilt and/or remodelled and the communitarian vegetable gardens, while, at the same time, assuring their position at the village.

Besides these formal handovers, there is also some informal ones, which also allow free access and usage of lands, as it is the case of the one where C1 is currently building her house.

### *C) Community’s expenses*

Some expenses are (in some cases only partially<sup>115</sup>) covered by the shared economy such as: basic expenditures, that, in this case, only includes food (as there are no costs related to water consumption or rents), which is made accessible by a weekly shared contribution of 10-30 euros made by every member, as well as energy supply, which has a reduced charge<sup>116</sup>; purchase and repairing of tools or equipment to be used by community members (the acquisition of a drip irrigation system for the communitarian gardens<sup>117</sup> can figure as an example) and, finally, the already mentioned land acquisition and building repairing/ remodelling.

#### 4.3.3.2. Private household finances: earnings and spending

While households rely mostly on external sources of income, the nature and diversity of such sources vary considerably amongst them. Taking the households’ categorisation established previously (see chapter 4.3.1), we will present the main revenues of the four households (plus C5’s case) according to the nature of those sources.

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<sup>114</sup> Presently, they are awaiting the beginning of the talks to renew two of the first contracts established.

<sup>115</sup> As the association’s budget seems yet to be sparse when compared with the level of investments and expenses made by the project.

<sup>116</sup> Since it is still considered as an agriculture-related energy supply.

<sup>117</sup> In this case, it was only partially funded by the shared economy, requiring also an individual investment to be made by every community member.

*Internal employment opportunities* are provided by the first and second households through their activities. In the former's case, C1 hires other community members with desired knowledge, to work at her house construction for long periods of time (e.g., 8 hours a day during a week), in exchange of paying the hired person's food contribution and giving a previously agreed small sum of money. For example, C6-N, who is an architect and a specialist in eco-construction, was hired to work at the process of planning and initial construction. The latter source of employment springs from the second household's main external economic activity: the 'itinerant restaurant', which is a project based on the sale of vegetarian meals at summer fests or music festivals. For larger festivals, such as ZNA Gathering or Boom Festival<sup>118</sup>, C2 and C4 hire other community members (C1, C3 and C6-N) and establish in advance the expected payment to the team gathered, taking into consideration expected revenues and the number of persons involved.

Regarding other *external sources* of income, the main source of the first household relies on C1's theatre crew, as well as her individual projects in this area, through which she manages to participate in re-enactments at, for example, medieval fairs. The second household, apart from the vegetarian 'itinerant restaurant', manages to earn money through: workshops; courses on Ayurvedic therapies and massages; the participation at summer festivals as therapists; the sale of clothing confectioned by C2<sup>119</sup>; and, occasionally, also through C4's music performances. As for the third household, C3's main source of revenue is an unemployment benefit. Regarding the fourth household, it was possible to collect some information that revealed that part of the revenue was obtained through C6-N's music performances, work as an entertainer (a work that he was carrying in Germany during the period of observation) and, potentially, participation at eco-construction workshops and courses. Finally, C5 having a wwoof-er-like status (even though she did not arrive through this network) does not have any sources of income at the time, although her accommodation and food costs are covered in compensation for her 6 hours of work per day (except Sundays).

Finally, on what concerns the individual expenses connected with this communitarian living, a distinction should be made between *current expenses* (regular expenses that apply to all members) and *special expenses* (one-time-payment or/and costs not applying to all members). As hinted above, the first type comprehends shared-investments for the project's development, weekly contributions for food purchasing for the communitarian kitchen<sup>120</sup> (ranging from 10 to 30 euros per member, according to the season of the year

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<sup>118</sup> So far, they did not have access to a stand at the Boom Festival (which was described as being too expensive).

<sup>119</sup> It should be noted the fact that they have other potential sources of income that are not being used such as C2's Yoga classes or courses.

<sup>120</sup> Not included in this purchase of consumable goods were products such as coffee, dairy products or chocolate, which had to be bought separately.

and the communitarian farm's production), car-related-expenses (gas, insurances, etc.), laundry washing machine usage-costs (symbolic sum) and internet costs. The second type includes expenses such as entry-fee for new members<sup>121</sup> (1,000 euros per member), one-time investments (ranging from 200 to 400 euros) made by members living in community-owned houses<sup>122</sup>- where they can stay for one to two years -. and costs related to the construction of one's own house<sup>123</sup>.

Among interviewed members, C2 stated that she felt that not only her expenses have been reduced, but also that she has liberated herself from the pressure associated with her previous urban lifestyle and, especially, her job as a group leader at a large corporation. She also stated to have gained time to focus on her self-fulfilment. Additionally, C5 has mentioned as inspirational the way the other members managed to organise their financial life, working when necessary and doing activities they enjoyed.

#### ***4.3.4. Cabrum's members' social network: inner and outer community context***

As in the previous observed case, Cabrum's members also seem to be able to maintain relevant ties either inside or outside the communitarian context. As we did before, we will proceed by describing the members' social contacts, distinguishing accessible from mobilizable resources and potential instrumental capitalisation and returns from potential expressive capitalisation and returns.

##### ***4.3.4.1. Inner community ties***

The network of ties within this specific communitarian context holds a diverse group of resources, allowing for those who compose it to either potentially or effectively mobilise them. As we will see, the capitalisation process may either lead to instrumental (e.g., a place to hold events and/or current or future projects) or expressive outcomes (e.g., one's self- and lifestyle worth affirmation).

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<sup>121</sup> Recently established in order to create, according to C2, some fairness, since new members benefit also from past investments made by older members. This fee can either be payed directly or in instalments.

<sup>122</sup> This sum represents, nonetheless, only part of the investment made to rebuild and remodel the house.

<sup>123</sup> For now, only the second household has a privately built and owned house. The construction process of C1's house is already a consequence of the informal rule over people living in community-owned houses, as the objective is to make room for Cabrum to host more members.

### A) Instrumental capitalisation and returns

In this section, some examples will be provided on (at least potential) mobilisation of assets embedded in inner community ties to achieve instrumental gains.

The first group is related to the mobilisation of embedded resources allowing for *burden-sharing* solutions. Burden-sharing, in this case, has, on the one hand, a more economic nature and, on the other, a more task-relief-related nature. The economic nature has been mostly addressed in the previous section, where it was possible to observe that members share current costs and investments made to further develop the communitarian project (and attain in the long run economic profits). However, other practices have been detected, such as the existence of short-time debts either between members or between members and the association (i.e., shared economy), which allows for them not to be obliged to make a certain sum of money immediately available. This type of burden-sharing seems to be, however, also traceable at the private investment level, as it can be exemplified by the joint purchase of a van by C2 and C7-N.

The task-relief nature includes: previously planned mobilisation (termed “*ajudada*”) of community members to focus their work on one specific and priority task being developed by one member (for instance, this has been arranged to help with C1’s house construction<sup>124</sup>); the distribution of tasks such as cooking communitarian lunches (established weekly, a member per day) or babysitting (especially when events are being held at the community)<sup>125</sup>; and/or occasionally non-previously planned help with a certain task, like helping at carrying building materials to C1’s house construction site, occasionally helping at the house-construction process, cutting firewood or pet-sitting.

Tightly connected with these burden-sharing strategies is a group that comprises a *direct exchange of favours* (that is, a favour that is done based on the express agreement that another favour will be received in return). This is, for example, mirrored in an informal agreement reached between the second and the fourth household, the former having agreed to handover temporarily its house – while it was away for 4 months during wintertime – to C6-N and C7-N which desired it since C7-N was in a late-pregnancy phase. In return, they committed themselves to assure the house’s upkeep during a critical period (raining season).

Also embedded in inner community ties is *relevant technical knowledge*. Regarding permaculture in its agriculture-related dimension, three members were mentioned at least

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<sup>124</sup> During the observation-period it was planned a joint help at C4’s work on clearing the water courses, that ended up not being carried out.

<sup>125</sup> Besides the distributed functions that every member plays at the community.

once by interviewees as having important knowledge in this area (C2, C4<sup>126</sup>, C7-N<sup>127</sup>) – all three of them being connected with the management of the communitarian vegetable gardens project, a function which C4 recently left. As for the eco-construction dimension of Permaculture, C6-N, who is specialised in eco-construction, was mentioned by 4 out of 5 interviewed members. C2 also spoke of C4's knowledge in a specific technique – *cordwood* – applied and further developed through the building of their own house. Occasionally, while in the field, it was possible to observe C1 reaching C2 and C4 to obtain information, for instance, on wood conservation products to be applied while building her house. It should be added that, in the well-being dimension, C2, as a yoga teacher, provides community members with regular classes, which are free of charge.

Regarding entertainment skills, C1's knowledge about fire performances has been pointed out by C2. As revealed by C2 and C4, these diverse knowledge are included in the community's workshops (e.g., Permaculture Design Courses) or events (e.g., integration of C1's fire performance at a wedding, whose catering Cabrum's members were called to organise). Moreover, C1's acting skills and connections with her theatre crew has, according to her, lead to a temporary integration of, at the time, community members in her crew

This previous paragraph points to another type of resources that, if mobilised, may generate income gains. Besides the two other cases stated above while describing the households' inner sources of income, there is one further example worth being noted, which is access to places to sell one's own products, either directly (e.g., at a fair the community participates in or organises), or indirectly, by asking members who will be present at a fair to also sell one's products – C3 states that such a situation has happened recently between C1 and C2. Therefore, and recalling what was mentioned in the previous paragraph, the community proves to be a place where resources can be pooled in order to obtain a place to organise one's own events (e.g., workshops or courses), sell products (as, for instances, during the community's market – Mercabrum) and establish one's own projects – as C2 aims to do with the vegetarian restaurant or as C4 wishes to create a training centre.

A final question to be addressed in this domain is the children upbringing. Although there are some efforts being made by community members in order to grant their children with an alternative teaching (composed of yoga, Portuguese, music and gardening classes), this proves not to be enough to ensure a systematic teaching to children at schooling-age, as some members confess. According to C1, this is mainly a problem that derives from the lack of adult members at the community. This lack of working-hands is stated by C4

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<sup>126</sup> Pointed out by C1 as a Permaculture trainer, which may derive from his long-period related with permaculture since 2006 and integration in projects in this area from other intentional communities to institutional projects as HortUA, a permaculture project organised by Universidade de Aveiro.

<sup>127</sup> Referred by C2 as a Soil Engineer.

as a problem that generates a sense of overburdening and stress, especially on hard-working and priority tasks such ensuring the community's water supply.

### *B) Expressive capitalisation and returns*

An expressive capitalisation process may involve, at least potentially, the access to *emotional support* or *shared leisure and spiritual experiences* and generation of returns such as *allowing for one to affirm his self-worth and the value of his lifestyle*.

As stressed by most members, the emotional circle provides a place for *emotional support* since this formal mechanism (described above) enables participants to share their feelings and seek others' understanding on certain issues that have caused them hurt, while it simultaneously provides, as C4 sees it mostly, a place to solve conflicts that may arise in the community. However, this resource proves not to be mobilizable by C5, which caused her some discontentment, as she feels it could be a useful mechanism to reach other members and for her to express her feelings and thoughts over some troubling situations, which she was finding difficult to do during the daily routine.

Likewise, and considering that some members mentioned a spiritual dimension while speaking about emotional support, it is important to refer another sort of community circle – the Healing Circle – which offers the participants more spiritual-related practices and experiences, while also providing, as C4 remarks, shared leisure moments connected with music performances. Playing and singing together is also a part of inner community socialisation, which was reflected by often observed jams, which also included non-community members.

Furthermore, these ties established with like-minded persons forming a “a unified group, smaller, but cohesive, with a common vision [translated from Portuguese]”, using C2's words, puts forward, as some members stated when interviewed, a viable alternative living model, which means that belonging to this group may provide reassuring feeling of one's self and lifestyle worth.

*“C1 (36, F, Full-member): (...) É um trabalho de transformação e isto transforma muito muitas pessoas e é muito gratificante nesse ponto, porque tu sentes que fazes este ‘clic’. É como, um pouco, um exemplo que tu... [E: Estás a dar...] Claro, um exemplo de vida que muitas encontram, assim. Encontram-se [purposefully highlighted].”*

*“(...) apesar de estarmos cada vez mais a criar um sistema alternativo dentro do sistema, mas nós estamos ligados em rede e a ideia é mesmo levar um pouco a mensagem às pessoas: pessoas que vivem na cidade e que não estão satisfeitas e que gostavam de mudar de vida, e, por causa dos medos, não conseguem.*

*Exemplos como nós, são também bons exemplos de que é possível viver de outra maneira e para as pessoas acreditarem que é possível.” C2 (47, F, Full-member)*

*“C3 (38, F, Applying member): Eu falo sempre de Cabrum: ‘Olha, eu vivo aqui’. Às vezes, lá vou com alguém e essa pessoa diz ‘Olha, ela mora em Cabrum’. As pessoas já conhecem ou já ouviram falar. Cabrum acho que é internacional, sabes? (...) Eu gosto de fazer, assim, um bocadinho esta RP, estás a ver? Sim, porque acredito nisto, sabes? Então, de outra forma, eu já não sou uma pessoa de me estar a conseguir ‘vender’. Não é vender banha da cobra, mas naquilo em que eu acredito... Pá, não é vender, já falo daquilo com outro entusiasmo, já falo mais, é genuíno, é genuíno. [E: Mas falaste sobre aqui, sobre o projeto?] Sim, sobre aqui, sobre o projeto, sobre a vida, sobre a mudança, sobre o autoconhecimento.”*

C4 appears to be, however, an exception regarding this topic since he does not relate this assurance of the worth of his alternative lifestyle to the communitarian context, but rather to himself. This idea is expressed when he mentions having recurred mostly to previous contacts or to others that he feels he could have reached independently of the particular communitarian living context:

*“E: Achas que há condições privilegiadas aqui ou o mesmo que fizeste aqui poderias ter feito noutro lugar?*

*C4: Sim, aquilo que fiz aqui, poderia ter feito noutro lugar. Não estou minimamente apegado ao sítio, nem à casa. E o que me deu foi mais conhecimento para eu poder estar à vontade para poder fazer isto noutro sítio e ajudar a fazer... (...)*

*E: Quando te pergunto isto de se achas que poderias ter feito o mesmo noutro lugar, pergunto-te em relação, ou seja, se este contexto comunitário, se te dá algum tipo de vantagens?*

*C4: Pessoalmente, não, porque eu comecei a casa e não havia aqui muitas pessoas. Eu, as ajudas que tive foi, fui mais lá fora buscar, não é? Para as partes mais importantes aqui da construção, fui tudo buscar lá fora. As ajudas que tive aqui internas, eu, para mim não são assim tão significativas, porque, eu fiz workshops, aceitei wwoofers, voluntariado internacional. Portanto, isto fazia em qualquer lado. E acredito que qualquer pessoa tem capacidades de o fazer, mesmo que a terra não seja sua, como aconteceu aqui.”*

### *C) Bridges: Reaching outside resources*

C4's remarks presented above introduce this next section, which aims to identify the members that, through their outer-community ties, make, at least, accessible a certain group of potentially relevant resources for the remaining community members.

Ties with local administration, local political authorities and local producers at the town market hall are mainly established by C2, both through her functions as Amakura's President and through her usual task as buyer of the communitarian kitchen food.

Regarding contacts with experts in areas such as permaculture, organic farming, non-violent communication or eco-construction, C4<sup>128</sup> and C2 have a wider group of contacts. Nonetheless, all other members referred at least one different contact that was not mentioned by others. Additionally, C6-N is credited to have a relevant contact with a group of Spanish permaculture trainers that have recently held a course gathering circa 20 persons at Cabrum. Besides this group, ties with like-minded groups seem to be mostly established by C4 and C7-N.

In addition, C1 and C2 prove to have a wider network of contacts with fair and festival organisers, which they have created mainly through their external income gain activities.

Finally, Amakura itself acts as a bridge connecting members with the outside world, likeminded individual and their resources (economic capital – at least through the payment of quotas) if they choose to become associates. According to community members, the association seems to offer potential fiscal benefits, if associates declare their activities as done under its name (even if in return they have to contribute to the association with an amount of 5 or 10% of their earnings). This may be seen as potentially attractive by likeminded individuals, who may, in this way, be willing to invest some of their resources (by becoming associates and contributing with a percentage of their earnings) in order to access these returns (economic benefits).

#### 4.3.4.2. External ties

Aiming to map the wider network in which community members are integrated, we will now flash some light on relevant embedded resources in this network that are being or may be mobilised by community members through their diverse actions.

##### *A) Collaborations at event organisation*

Cabrum's members have managed to establish a group of collaborations and partnerships which may be mobilised in order to attain instrumental outcomes like income gains or

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<sup>128</sup> At least two of the experts, referred during interviews, that have been invited to hold workshops or courses at Cabrum or to participate in the community's events were met by C4 before joining Cabrum.

simply assistance by event arrangement either through the organisation of their (and the community's) own events or the participation at others' events.

On this regard, one may highlight the collaboration tie with the parish councillor of Viseu, which allows for a regular participation of members representing the community at two fairs, under the parish council's management: a second-hand market (*Indoeu*) and a newly created organic farming market, both providing community members with a place to sell their own products. This tie has also generated the required support for the community to host a one-day-long entertaining program for a group of elderly people from a nursing home, for which the parish councillor, who was involved in its organisation, provided, for example, the means of transportation.

Other collaborations are established, according to C4, through the systematic invitation of experts, who are part of the community members' networks of contacts, to participate at workshops or courses such as a Permaculture Design Course (PDC) hold at Cabrum. On this note, a specialist in organic farming, biodynamics and Permaculture design and founding member of AGRIDIN<sup>129</sup>, who is included in C4's outer network of contacts, was invited to participate in two community events (at least one of them being a PDC). Additionally, one may mention that during the period of observation the second household was planning a series of sessions to be held at Cabrum, and in the nearby area, with Peruvians specialists in alternative medicine, who they have met during their 4-months-long travel in South America. During this travel, both C2 and C4 have found the place to participate, as trainers, in PDC's at institutions such as the IBC<sup>130</sup> and meet specialists in different areas connected with Permaculture.

Aside from this, it was also possible to identify a potential collaboration with a Cabrum former member's<sup>131</sup> like-minded project (*Projecto Quebrada-do-Meio*) as his partner, having a bachelor degree in Medicinal and Aromatic Herbs, has been invited to hold a workshop at Cabrum on organic cosmetics.

Finally, one should also highlight the collaborations established when the community offers a place (the village itself) for others to host workshops, courses or even news or cinematic coverage, in exchange of receiving something else in return. On this matter, three cases should be mentioned: the hosting of a final project of a Post-graduation degree on Permaculture, managed by a Spanish permaculture group (Ecolectivo)<sup>132</sup>; the filming

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<sup>129</sup> Standing for Associação Profissional para o Desenvolvimento da Agricultura Biológica e Biodinâmica

<sup>130</sup> Instituto Biorregional do Cerrado (Brazil).

<sup>131</sup> Who is still tied to Cabrum through his fatherhood to C1's daughter and friendship ties with other members.

<sup>132</sup> A contact accessed through C6-N's network, who had previously conducted an eco-construction course at Ecolectivo's land.

for a documentary promoted by RTP; and, with a more cinematic nature, a coverage for a documentary named “*Que Estranha Forma de Vida*”<sup>133</sup>.

Regarding the first, Ecolectivo gathered a group of circa 20 persons who spent around two weeks at Cabrum to conclude the final project of their post-graduate study – the construction of a heating system (a ‘Russian oven’) for Cabrum’s communitarian living room. Apart from this main objective, the group has also helped at other tasks like the reconstruction of the lower floor of a previously abandoned house<sup>134</sup>, which was set to host a sewing atelier. This contact also had a side-effect since it allowed C1 to establish a tie with a carpenter specialised at eco-construction, who she ended up hiring to carry on with her house construction, under a flexible and informal payment system. Furthermore, during the period of their stay, C1 established and strengthened ties with this group to a point that she later felt comfortable to ask them, a month after their departure, if they would be able to help with the construction process.

The second and third cases provide two examples of the community ‘opening its doors’ to the media, even if both cases captured distinct times of the community formation, the former (RTP documentary) being more recent (May 2017) than the latter “*Que Estranha Forma de Vida*” (2014). As C4 reveals when speaking about the RTP team’s visits to Cabrum, this media coverage may have provided a channel for community members to promote their project, lifestyle and the message they wish to convey, while, at the same time, reassuring the value of their members and their mindset.

*“Passaram um dia inteiro, [em] que nós recebemos 20 espanhóis de uma pós-graduação de Permacultura, que eram de Vigo, que eles chegaram nesse próprio dia. E, depois, ao almoço começou a chover, e, eles, então, fizeram umas filmagens e decidiram que vinham outro dia. Estiveram dois dias cá. E deu para conhecer bem o projecto, e, pronto, porque ‘tiveram de manhã até ao fim do dia, sempre com alguém com eles, a acompanhar, a mostrar. Eu mostrei toda a criação deste projecto, da casa. Andei aqui a mostrar alguns pormenores e a falar que isto era um incentivo a todos os jovens, que não precisam de estar 30 anos a pagar uma casa e presos, escravos deles próprios. Então, mostrei aqui que é possível criarmos um projecto alternativo relativamente económico e com o mínimo de conforto que conseguimos viver, seja onde for.” C4 (37, M, Full-member)*

## *B) Volunteering networks and occasional help mobilisation*

As the Ecolectivo’s case shows, community members seem capable of reaching and mobilising resources embedded in their social networks, in order to get help at certain

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<sup>133</sup> Which, when released, received a wide approval at national and international film festivals (see *Que Estranha Forma de Vida/What a Strange Way of Life*, 2016)

<sup>134</sup> That had been partially recovered by the Cabrum’s members and was used for hosting wwoofers.

individual or communitarian tasks. According to the data gathered, there are three levels at which these ties are established and maintained: a local, national and international level.

At a local level, the help needed appears to be provided occasionally by two Amakura's associates living in Viseu and a former Brazilian café-owner at Calde, who has developed friendship ties with community members and who visits Cabrum with some regularity.

At a national level, help can be provided either through friends or relatives, when visiting Cabrum or coming especially for helping at certain tasks like, as C2 mentions or as observed in C1's house construction case. There is, however, a more systematic source of voluntary help that community members recur to when facing hard-working tasks such as creating firebreaks, that consists of inviting like-minded groups or projects and, while hosting them, mobilising their help to these priority chores. C4 cited, as examples, previous help given by members of *Casa Bô* (an artistic association from Oporto) and an association of inhabitants of a nearby village called Landeira.

Finally, at an international level, ties are established directly through WWOOF network, which grants the community with added workforce, in exchange for accommodation and meals. At the time of the first visit, there was at least one wwoofer in the community. Aside from this formal network, there are other ways of connecting directly or indirectly (as it was C5's case) with potential volunteers – who may later adopt a wwoofer status – , such as through the organisation of Rainbow Gatherings<sup>135</sup> - one has taken place at Cabrum in 2013 (see Xochipilli, 2013) - for which C1 is partially responsible.

### *C) Accessing advice on legal matters and public funding*

Advice on legal matters seems to be mostly reached through the association's hired local lawyer, who had previously proved to be important at solving a conflict at the community, which implicated banning certain community members that refused to leave the land. However, aside from this tie mentioned by C2 and C4, C1 and C3 have named other lawyers that they could recur to if needed.

Access to public funding for the community's project has been reached, so far, through a local association called CEDRUS, of which Amakura is an associate, that has allowed for Cabrum to receive a small yearly agriculture fund. According to C1, further information

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<sup>135</sup> Rainbow Gathering - consists of an international loose group of individuals, who stand by ideals as non-violence, world peace or ecology and who gather on a yearly basis. This is, however, an open group who is based on high level of informality, according to one of its websites (C. Tinney & T. Tinney, n.d), as there are no formal members and the wider international 'family' is formed by several smaller groups in each country or region of the world. C1 has an organiser role among the Iberic group (Câmara Municipal de Montealegre, 2011; Xochipilli, 2013).

has been conveyed by the Municipality of Viseu and, as added by C2, a local enterprise working with Europe 2020 funding programs, to which C2 refers to have already recurred to twice. C3 affirms having sought advice from an agronomist engineer, who provided her with some tips on how to proceed with the community's application process to a fund.

#### *D) Potentially income gains generating ties*

Other ties leading to income gains from community members are those who are mainly established by C1 and C2 (and, to a lesser extent, C4) through their main income gain activities: C1's street theatre performance-related projects; and, C2's and C4's itinerant vegetarian restaurant. Through her performance with her theatre crew, C1 states to have developed close ties with the organisers of the medieval fair of Torres Novas (namely the local Municipality), with whom they have been working for 8 years. Among other ties, she further highlights a connection with an event promoting enterprise (*Magic Events*), through which her crew is hired to work at other 3 to 4 fairs.

When interviewed, C2 and C4 have mentioned ties established with one of ZNA Gathering's organisers, who was at the foundation of the festival and had been closely connected to Boom Festival. C2 further mentioned a tie established with a Boom organisation's member, who she contacted to get access to the festivals' healing area, where therapists can provide their services at the festival. Finally, and more interestingly, C2 and C4 mentioned in their interviews that they had recently started working and establishing ties with the organisers of Torres Novas' Medieval Fair. This may reveal a sharing of relevant contacts and their embedded resources (income gain opportunity) between community members, in this case, between the first and the second community households. It should be also noted that exchange of contacts in other areas, such as alternative medicine and spirituality, has also taken place among community members.<sup>136</sup>

#### *E) Local integration*

In this section, we will look in some detail to the community's local integration, which, as will be seen ahead, is marked by both conflict and collaboration with local agents, namely local political institutions, landowners and the nearby village (Calde).

The establishment of ties with the local parish council dates back to the foundation of the community, as it has already been addressed. However, since ties were mainly established

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<sup>136</sup> In this case, referring to a therapist previously known by C2 and C4 that has now been reached by every community member, according to C3.

with the, at the time, parish councillor – who was often referred by some members as someone friendly and enthusiastic about the development of the project –, the quality of the established ties changed when he was replaced, even though the new parish councillor<sup>137</sup> is also affiliated with the same political party. Nonetheless, it seems, as in the beginning, that this connection to the local parish council still acts as a bridge between the community and the nearby residents and provides access to some resources, like assuring the maintenance of the only road connecting Cabrum with Calde or with the national road leading to Viseu (which is mainly reached through an administrative assistant at the parish council).

However, even if the parish councillor may act as a facilitator in some of the community's actions, such as the construction of permanent buildings at the lands under temporary communitarian hold, he may as well hinder, in some cases, the community's goal attainment, as it is the case of the intention to use Cabrum's all-year-round closed chapel (exception made for the village's saint's fest day) as a communitarian school. In addition, as some members complain, one parish council's worker - who was involved at the channelling of the village fountain's water course - seems also to fail at providing proper assistance with Cabrum's water supply system (not connected to the grid) since, when asked, he never finishes his task.

Calde, standing as the closest village to Cabrum (circa 3-4 km), is mostly inhabited by an aged population, marked by a considerable number of (former) emigrants, hosting, as perceived during field observation, a considerable part of the known Cabrum's landowners<sup>138</sup>. Due to this latter fact, both questions regarding relationships with landowners and nearby inhabitants will be addressed here together. Among Calde's inhabitants and land proprietaries, there are different opinions on the community ranging from unacceptance and hostile position towards community members to acceptance and collaboration.

*“(…) há famílias que ainda não aceitam muito a nossa presença. Mas, agora, como proprietários aqui, tendo alguma terra e casas, já têm de aceitar”.* C4 (M, 37 years old, full-member)

As C4 confirms, the local context in which Cabrum is inserted is marked by a certain conflict with some landowners and residents, who perceive the community members as deviant, idle, dirty and/or as not to be trusted. Even though Calde's cafés (a total amount

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<sup>137</sup> Community members opinion on current parish councillor appear to be mixed, with some perceiving him as a “typical politician”, “new-rich” and not as attached to the land nor as enthusiastic about Cabrum's development as the former, while others have pictured him as friendly and accessible.

<sup>138</sup> Who are either aged owners or heirs that live abroad and who, in some cases, visit the village occasionally, during its yearly summer fest.

of three, one being owned by the parish councillor) provide opportunities for bonding with the local population, for example, during football matches<sup>139</sup> - which were mentioned by C4 as one of the few topics that lead way to establish a conversation with the local population<sup>140</sup> –, they also create opportunities for conflict as observed once between C9-N and a small café owner over a prejudiced remark of the latter regarding Cabrum’s members’ dressing and neatness. Further conflicts arise with an old lady, who often accuses them of carrying out tree cutting on her property.

On a last note, Cabrum’s fest day, even if providing another point of contact with locals, also generates more potential conflicts that may emerge from a clash of two different mindset and lifestyles: on the one side, an ecologist and vegetarian community; and, on the other, a group of fest visitors, whose main attraction, as two local residents proudly mentioned, is roasted pork, leaving a trail of garbage behind at the end of the fest. These two last points were stated by some community members as bothersome and, in some cases, leaving them not too worried if the fest does not take place again. It should be, nonetheless, added that at least three local residents, when asked about the fest, affirm not to have visited Cabrum in more than 50 years.

In opposition with these more troubled relationships with their neighbours, community members have managed to develop and strengthen ties with other (former) landowners and locals and attain acceptance and/or a favourable opinion among some Calde’s residents. Among these, is the tie established with the son of the last inhabitant of Cabrum, who, according to C2 and C4, has purposefully benefited the community during the purchasing of his estate at the village and with whom community members maintain close contact – despite him living abroad - and accommodate him whenever he wishes to spend a time at the village.

Apart from him, friendly ties were developed with an aged land proprietary, who, being a supporter of the work carried out at Cabrum, has handed over one of his terrains for C1 to build her house, while at the same time informing her on details of the land like a water spring:

“[When asked if conflicts could arise from the current way of landownership by the community]: *Aqui [o terreno em que estou a construir a casa] também é de um senhor (...) que estava e está confortável de eu estar aqui, mostrou-me o ponto da*

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<sup>139</sup> Especially during the European Cup matches, where members mentioned having watched all games at the village cafés and celebrated with those present at the time.

<sup>140</sup> On this topic, C5 (F, 25, long-term volunteer) provides an interesting answer when she was asked if she had met local producers: “C5: *Farmers? Hum...yeah, but I have the feeling that this is a completely different world than this and that these two worlds, they keep a bit away from each other. Because this is really a modern movement with the communities and creating something together and the local farmers, they think... they are a bit sceptical about this.*”. Nevertheless, briefly afterwards, she comes to describe Calde’s residents as ‘open-minded’.

*água, sabes? Então...não sei, não faz sentido, não tenho resposta para a tua pergunta.” C1 (F, 36 years-old, full-member)*

Contrarily to the negative opinions stated above, our interactions at the local cafés enabled us to also hear people who approve the work done in Cabrum – for instance, the owner of a café (apparently, one of the most frequented by the community), who revealed some proximity with C9-N and C4; a proprietary (pensioner and former emigrant), who recognised the work done by community members at clearing the lands and who affirmed not being bothered by the fact that they used his propriety at Cabrum; and an elder relative of the actual parish councillor, who affirmed having assisted to the rebuild and remodelling of one of the houses at Cabrum’s village centre and visited it afterwards. As a last remark, it should be added that C5 states that when she and other community members went to the café in February for several times, they were well received and were even always offered a ride back to Cabrum by people at the café:

*“Hum... my relationship. There’s no relationship because I don’t have a car and I don’t go there. I can’t go there so often. But when I was there, I was there in February, a few times, because we had always bad weather and we wanted to do something. The people in Calde, they were really open-minded and friendly and they even drove us every time back with the car. They were talking with us and they were really curious, but I think they noticed that we are good people, you know? That we were not like rude or disrespectful or something.” C5 (F,25, long-term volunteer)*

## **4.4. Results Discussion**

### ***4.4.1. Comparing differences and similarities in case studies’ characteristics: socio-economic landscape and communitarian living organisation, dynamics and context***

#### ***4.4.1.1. Socio-economic landscape***

These two communities show a similar socio-economic landscape, as both are composed by a total amount of 13 members, although only 7 Cabrum’s members are effective ones since 4 members of this community are children and other 2 are ‘unintentional’ members. This being considered, they present a similar percentage of Portuguese members: Ananda Kalyani being composed of 7 out of 13 (54%) and Cabrum of 4 out of 7 (57%). Another similarity is, to some extent, the fact that most members may be characterised as young adults (15 to 34 years old) or as adults (35 to 44 y.o.). Further similarities arise when considering their economic and school attainment background, where both

communitarian groups are composed mostly by middle to upper-middle-class members who have at least attended university (Ananda Kalyani's members present, however, higher levels of school attainment and may have, in some cases, a higher class status).

#### 4.4.1.2. *Spiritual vs. ecological community? Similarities and differences in communitarian living organisation, dynamics and context*

Considering the ideological level – i.e., the core group of ideas and values uniting the community's members – we can establish, as we already did above, a distinction between Ananda Kalyani and Cabrum. The former is composed (exception made for the EVS volunteers) by Ananda Marga devotees, who somehow follow scheduled everyday spiritual practices, which makes it a religious/spiritual community. The latter - focused around the aim to achieve a more sustainable living following Permaculture guidelines – can be defined as an ecological community.

Despite these general assumptions, these communities do not fit perfectly the 'pure' types presented by Meijering (2006, p.45, 46) and later by Meijering, Huigen and Van Hoven (2007, p.45, 46) as hinted by the data gathered in the first phase of data collection. Ananda Kalyani's ecological and self-sustainability concerns and its agriculture-related activities (which are, as we have shown, strongly connected with Ananda Marga's philosophy and the concept of a Master Unit) created the opportunity for it to adopt the 'typical' strategy of interacting with the outside world of an ecological community. Likewise, Cabrum demonstrate a spiritual dimension (even if not so well defined or strong as in Ananda Kalyani) comprehending shared spiritual practices, such as the Healing Circle, which led the community to acquire dynamics of socialisation between members which are typical of a spiritual community (see Meijering, 2006, p. 45, 46). In this way, Ananda Kalyani attracts outsiders to meet the communitarian projects through these ecological community-like activities, namely courses or workshops – as Cabrum also does -, while Cabrum creates opportunities for further strengthening of ties between members through its spiritual community-like practices, namely regular spiritual practices – as Ananda Kalyani does. In this way, similarity holds so far, despite their different categorisation.

Nonetheless, they share also some differences which were previewed in Meijering's typology regarding the balance between private and communitarian living and shared and private economy focus (see Meijering, 2006, p.45, 46). As already mentioned, spiritual communities are characterised by restraining private life to the member's private room, while ecological communities are normally based on private houses and property (Meijering, 2006, p. 45, 46). Overall, we can say that Ananda Kalyani offers a stronger communitarian experience, especially when considering the core group and the 'EVS house', while Cabrum provides a certain balance between communitarian and private

living since it is composed by private – but not privately owned – house(hold)s. However, it should be said that Ananda Kalyani also manages to offer more balanced solutions due to its layered composition, as it is the case of its members living in privately owned houses.

As for the economic focus, spiritual communities tend, according to Meijering (2005, p.45, 46), to concentrate more on a shared economy financed by the total amount of its members' earnings (mostly obtained through working at the community), unlike ecological communities which are focussed on granting individual's financial independence. To some extent, this was reflected in both communities, since the shared economy has a major role in Ananda Kalyani, while, in Cabrum, that role is given to the private economic sphere. However, some remarks must be made regarding this observation. Contrary to what would be expected, Ananda Kalyani's shared economy does not rely on private financing from all members working inside the community, but, mostly, on joint instrumental (income-gain-oriented) actions (some encompassing more than just community members). Furthermore, this shared economy achieving some level of self-sufficiency manages to fund some of its members' finances (pocket money). As for Cabrum's case, also unexpectedly, private finances fund the shared economy – through fixed 'taxes' over households' (and associates') incomes resulting from profitable activities developed - and support it in shared communitarian investments.

One further distinction that may be related to their typologies relies on the nature and width of the network of like-minded people that comprises the community. Like the two in-depth religious communities studied by Meijering (2006, p.69-71), Ananda Kalyani is included in a national to worldwide network (i.e., spiritual organisation) of devotees and other communities following the same spiritual teachings, which form the Ananda Marga network. As for Cabrum, even if it is not inserted in a such a network of individuals with their ideology clearly aligned with that of the community, it has also managed to include itself in a local to national network of like-minded individuals, through *Amakura* association, and in international to worldwide networks of individuals potentially sharing the same values through WWOOF and Rainbow Gathering. While belonging to such networks and organisation does not imply for Cabrum's members to be subjected to an external hierarchy, the same cannot be said for Ananda Kalyani, especially at the national level. This may derive from the fact that Cabrum created its association that came to include non-community member associates, while Ananda Kalyani was from the start conceived as a project of AM(P), thus subjecting it to some extent to its power structure.

On a last note, it should be added that both communitarian groups appear as relatively cohesive and closed and are composed of more or less institutionalised ties of membership. On this regard, they both allow for their members to act as one and, when doing so, to maintain some control over who (and how someone) gets access to their

investments (i.e., invested resources) and potential returns. This control is achieved by established and, more or less, clear procedures of access to full membership (which, for instance, in Cabrum implies, among other things, paying an ‘entrance fee’) and access and mobilisation of resources. This tends to generate a certain membership-time-length-related hierarchy in both cases.

We can then conclude that, despite their different categorisation, both cases share a considerable number of similar aspects along several variables (members’ age; socio-economic background and level of school attainment; similar strategies of interacting inside the community and with the outside world; group closure and cohesion) but also some differences (role played by private and shared economy; nature and width of networks encompassing the community; and presence or absence of external hierarchies ruling over the communitarian context).

#### ***4.4.2. Potentialities for social capital development: Comparing capitalisation processes and returns***

Having compared both cases regarding their characteristics, we should now extend this comparison to their capacity of providing their members with social-capital-capitalisation opportunities. This will not only allow us to analyse both cases capacity to do so but also to understand if the differences persisting between them prove relevant in impacting their social capital enhancing capacity and its productivity.

##### *4.4.2.1. Acting together: group access and mobilisation of embedded resources and (potential) returns*

As stated in chapter 2.2.1, access and mobilisation of social capital is possible in a context of a social network characterised by relatively strong cohesion and closure, and more or less, institutionalised ties and obligations (i.e., the need to make a certain minimum of investments to be considered a member of the network). It is upon such obligations that access and mobilisation at the group-level occurs, where members, by investing (some of) their resources, allow for themselves to act together as a group and mobilise the sum of invested resources, in order to attain certain goals that generate returns that potentially benefit each member (see, e.g., DeFilippis, 2001, p.799, 800). Such access and mobilisation may occur in different forms: through *delegation* (as suggested by Bourdieu<sup>141</sup>), where the individuals composing the group delegate the power to act on its

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<sup>141</sup> Here we will present it perhaps in a broader sense than that in which Bourdieu presented it, as he seems to conceive it only as delegation act that establishes the group’s leader(s) (see Bourdieu, 1997, p.53).

behalf in a certain member or group of members<sup>142</sup> for (him) them (personalising the group) to carry a certain task, expecting through (his) their skills and resources (e.g., work, time, human capital or social capital) to attain certain benefits for all; or through *collective mobilisation* of resources resulting from institutionalised obligations, in order to obtain certain returns, as proposed by DeFilippis (2001, p.789-801). It is recurring to this theoretical framework that the comparison between both cases will be made.

Both communities have shown to be capable of accessing and mobilising embedded resources in its network either through *delegation* or through *collective mobilisation of resources*. Yet, they differ, at some point, when regarding the returns of those actions.

In most cases, by allocating tasks to each member considering member's skills and resources, Ananda Kalyani members not only manage to overcome constraints of time and space (through coordinated and simultaneous actions in different areas) but also to access and mobilise the skills and resources of their members in instrumental actions. By *delegating* in some members the power to act on the community's behalf in order to develop external collaborations, the access and mobilisation of the social capital developed by these members has overtime integrated the community in a network of collaboration with local producers, experts, associations and political authorities that has enabled the community (and its members) to achieve important economic, social and/or human capital-related gains – either directly (e.g., through the creation of networks of sale and distribution of agriculture-related goods, as well as through direct contact with experts and their counselling) or indirectly (e.g., providing free access to facilities or publicity for the community's events). Additionally, the members' human capital is also mobilised in order for the community to assure the production of agriculture-related goods or to grant it with one of its main sources of income obtained through the management of the software enterprise. Apart from this more formal delegation, members' strong and weak ties established with the outside world have been also mobilised, for instance, to obtain volunteer work, reach artists (for the festival) and economic capital (through donations) from within the Ananda Marga network (from its local to international level).

Cabrum's members have also recurred to *delegation*, allowing the group to access and mobilise its members' skills and other resources and, consequently, themselves to be awarded with time, economic and human capital gains. Time and economic capital related gains, in the form of reduction of expenses, may arise from more practical rotating delegation of tasks, such as cooking, or assigning members, according to their skills, with activities like organising and overseeing the vegetable garden's production and maintaining the community's off-grid water supply (both important activities in order for the community to assure its members with expenses reduction). Further time, economic

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<sup>142</sup> By making, if necessary, accessible and mobilizable to them (some of) the group's resources.

and human capital gains may result also from the more or less formal delegation, which is based on the mobilisation of certain members' social capital. This allows for the community to establish collaborations, either with like-minded groups that may be mobilised to obtain volunteer work (i.e., help with certain hard-working tasks), experts (which may grant, through participation in events organised at the community, access to economic<sup>143</sup> and human capital) and local political authorities (participation in their events may potentially generate, depending on previous agreement between members, income for the shared economy).

As for *collective mobilisation*, since Ananda Kalyani only establishes as institutionalised obligations associated with membership the commitment to work for the community, this type is based mostly upon mobilisation of the others' availability to work. This may occur when facing hard-working tasks (like preparing the stage for the festival), where, mainly, the two inner layers' resources (time and work) are simultaneously used; or in special occasions, such as during participation in summer festivals (one of the shared economy's main sources of income), where the work of every community member available is mobilised.

On this same topic, Cabrum diverges from Ananda Kalyani since membership to the network is more demanding - which may be a result of the private economic sphere being the main source of income of either the members' and the shared economy. In Cabrum, members are not only expected to work for the community<sup>144</sup> - a resource that is commonly pooled during '*ajudadas*' - but they must also, when carrying out profitable economic activities<sup>145</sup>, contribute with a certain percentage to the shared economy and take equal part in covering certain running expenses (e.g., food) and investment (e.g., equipment or land acquisition). Moreover, to attain full-membership, in Cabrum, one is expected to pay an entrance fee. Further individual economic resources are invested if one chooses to inhabit a community-owned house. All these pooled resources are mobilised by the group, in order to award their members with certain economic returns.

The returns resulting from these groups' instrumental actions award members differently in both communities. In Ananda Kalyani, they make accessible to its members - especially those not possessing any private source of income - free accommodation and related expenses, as well as gas and meals (i.e., basic expenses) and, additionally, in the case of full-members, mobile phone expenses and, seemingly exclusive for full-members not possessing other sources of income, pocket money. As for Cabrum, they provide all members with access to affordable housing, reduced costs of basic expenses (e.g., meals,

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<sup>143</sup> Depending on previous agreement it may benefit partially or fully the shared economy.

<sup>144</sup> Exception made for members with a wwoof status.

<sup>145</sup> Also applying for associates, if they choose to carry out their activities under the association's name.

electricity) and potentially with a reduction in the share each member is expected to contribute regarding a next communitarian investment.

In this sense, while Ananda Kalyani proves to be especially awarding for members who are fully committed to the project and more demanding on members having private sources of income, Cabrum is more or less equally demanding and awarding regarding investments and returns. These differences may result from the fact that the economic benefits (gains) Cabrum provides its members with, rely mostly on *collective mobilisation* of the economic capital its members must make available to each other (which, in general, results from them engaging in private profitable activities). Contrariwise, Ananda Kalyani members' economic capital gains rely, mostly, on the returns of processes of *delegation* and *collective mobilisation* of community members' work-commitment in group instrumental actions, through which the community's two main sources of income are generated. However, both communities give their members the opportunity to acquire human capital through (free or with reduced costs) participation in workshops and courses and to interact with experts.

#### 4.4.2.2. On one's behalf: individual access and mobilisation of embedded resources and (potential) returns

Having addressed the group's access and use of embedded resources, we should now approach comparatively how and what returns do members of both intentional communities reach when accessing and mobilising on their behalf resources embedded in their networks.

##### *A) Instrumental actions and returns*

Through instrumental actions, individuals in both communities have shown to attain returns in the form of economic capital, human capital, time and work-effort sparing, and reputation/status.

At a more practical level (i.e., gains in terms of time and work-effort sparing), community membership, in both cases, enables individuals to ask some and/or even all members for help with their private endeavours, which may include tasks ranging from occasional assistance at building one's own house (Cabrum) or support in private income earning projects, such as participation in a local public fest (Ananda Kalyani), to asking for help with activities at a smaller scale, such as cutting firewood (Cabrum) or assistance with one's assigned tasks (Ananda Kalyani and Cabrum). Time gains may prove to be valuable, as it is the case of Cabrum, where some members profit from extra-time to

produce certain goods to be sold later (i.e., time may turn into economic capital gains in the long run).

As for potential human capital gains, in both cases they may result from individuals taking part (free of charge or with reduced costs) in community organised workshops and courses and by directly engaging with invited experts – that is, making use of resources made available to them. Moreover, such gains may come from seeking advice and to learn from community members (or their contacts) with perceived valuable skills and knowledge. Human capital may potentially be transformed into economic capital gains through, for example, integration in community organised courses (Cabrum) or through external income gain activities (e.g., yoga classes following the project's spiritual teachings; integration in a theatre crew) (Ananda Kalyani and Cabrum).

Regarding economic capital gains, they can be potentially achieved in different forms: (temporary) jobs or income gain opportunities; free of charge access to facilities and publicity for one to hold one's events; and burden sharing solutions. For job and income gain opportunities, the relationships connecting Cabrum's members may be more useful, as their members engage more often (by necessity) in external profitable activities, which are their main sources of income (making such resources important for them to reach). This thus gives them the capacity to either provide job placement for other members (e.g., through the itinerant restaurant or the theatre crew) and/or to share with them contacts in their network that may offer income gain opportunities. In Ananda Kalyani's case, extra-sources of income may potentially arise by reaching opportunities to carry out profitable activities, through Prama Academy, embedded in the community's collaboration ties and, depending on the member's skills, in the software enterprise. Both cases make (free of charge or with reduced costs) accessible and mobilizable facilities for one to hold events and, in Ananda Kalyani's case, a network of contacts through which one can reach for free publicity.

Finally, economic capital gains may also come in the form of money sparing that can be achieved by burden sharing solutions such as: reaching agreement(s) with other member(s) to jointly (and more economically for both parts) acquire equipment or goods for private use (Cabrum); car or bike-sharing and carpooling (Ananda Kalyani); or directly exchanging favours that prevent the parts involved from engaging in (further) expenses (Cabrum).

Finally, by providing other members, and the group as a whole, with access to valuable resources, members accumulate 'social credit', which with time is transformed, in both cases, into reputation and status within the community (i.e., full-member status). This may not only be important to reach a position where one's voice may influence the way common resources are used (which appears to be easier to achieve to a full extent in Cabrum) but also to strengthen one's claim over the group's resources (especially in the

case of Ananda Kalyani) and over resources embedded in relationships with other members (both cases).

#### *B) Expressive actions and returns*

Unlike Ananda Kalyani, Cabrum offers its members (exception made for volunteers) with a formal mechanism (the Emotional Circle) for them to receive and provide emotional support (expressive action), or, as Lin (1986, p.20) conceives it, with a place to find understanding, sharing emotions and frustrations. In Ananda Kalyani, such mechanism is not provided nor is there the habitude for their members to share sentiments and frustration openly with one another. Nevertheless, the community itself is still perceived by them as a 'shelter' or 'family'. This seems to result from the fact that, in this case, members access and mobilise emotional support through frequent and unspecific interactions with like-minded individuals (i.e., community members) where they manage to *find understanding*, as well as *behaviour and mindset confirmation* (See, e.g., Van der Gaag & Snijders, 2004, p. 156).

As observed in both cases, if aligned with the community's vision, mindset and lifestyle of the majority of its members, an individual manages not only to access this generalised reassuring sense of understanding and behavioural confirmation but also to 'use' it in a way that - by perceiving himself as a part of a communitarian project seen as a valuable example of alternative living - may enable him to affirm his self-worth. Turning to Lin's model (see Figure 1), this may be perceived as an expressive return that may lead, in the short or long run, to *mental health and life satisfaction*. Further confirmation of one's (as well as one's mindset) worth may also be granted by interaction with like-minded groups/individuals and by expressed interest in the project among members (e.g., relatives, friends or acquaintances) and institutions (e.g., media) of the mainstream society. As it can be perceived from Cabrum's case, such capacity to affirm one's self-worth and the value of one's lifestyle seems to be feasible, even if the community is surrounded by an immediate context, where members are faced with some stigmatisation and hostility.

#### **4.4.3. Potential effects on social inequality and exclusion**

Overall, it can be argued that both communities manage to award, more or less effectively, their members with a reduction of their living expenses and with some sources of income by allowing them to engage in resource-wise relevant social networks. Among the differences between both communities, the distinction concerning focus on shared or

private economy appears to play a major role regarding: the level of investments that members are expected to make to be part of the network; and the productivity of the different levels of social capital.

Cabrum's reliance on members' private finances not only makes it more demanding for someone to be a part of the community - since contributions must come mainly from one's earnings and wealth (i.e., stock of economic capital) and not just from work commitment- as it also obliges its members to rely on their human and cultural capital and, due to their work commitment to the community, on temporary jobs (to reach for further economic capital). This may prove to be troublesome for individuals lacking these types of capital and, consequently, struggling to get access to income earning opportunities, as it is the case of those who are targeted by the structural dynamics of social inequality and exclusion described by authors like Wacquant (1999, 2007) and Castel (1999) (whose contributions have been addressed in chapter 2.1.3). Nonetheless, these troubles may be compensated to some extent through social capital at the individual level, where access and use of employment opportunities provided by community members and human capital gains obtained through the community's activities and knowledge-sharing between members may prove to be important. Thus, despite reducing the current expenses of its members (e.g., granting free access to land, affordable housing, shared expenses regarding meals and coverage of other basic expenditure) mostly through collective mobilisation of embedded resources, Cabrum may have more limited effects in solving resource-wise social inequality or exclusion.

Contrarily, Ananda Kalyani may achieve resource-wise more relevant social inequality and exclusion mitigation effects, due to its focus on the shared economy and by being more demanding on those individuals possessing external sources of income. By previewing work-commitment to the community as the only membership institutionalised obligation, those fully committed to the project are granted in return with the full coverage of their basic expenses and - as a full-member status is achieved overtime - also with a certain amount of monthly fixed income. In this way, members see assured relevant economic capital (as well as human capital) gains without having to rely on their capacity to access the (labour) market. These returns are mostly produced through group access and use of embedded resources (e.g., member's work and time commitment, skills and social ties) either through *delegation* or *collective access and mobilisation*. Strong and weak ties connecting the community to the Ananda Marga network may, additionally, provide a more systematic access and use of valuable resources than when compared with the networks Cabrum is inserted in. Nonetheless, it should be stressed that, in Ananda Kalyani, members fully committed to the community tend to be more distant from the strategic levels of decision-making, thus having limited control on how group's resources are used.

On a final note, expressive returns generated by both communities may provide a solution to a more emotional dimension of social exclusion. As argued in chapter 2.1.3, the loss of a basis for social identity such as a job undermines an individual's self-esteem and estranges him from political and civic engagement (Castel, 1999, p. 531) - a situation that can be further aggravated if one finds himself in a context of stigmatised neighbourhoods, as Wacquant stated (Wacquant, 1999, p. 1644; 2007). By losing self-esteem, which may also result from one finding its values not shared by others, the individual may end up closing himself in a small world of his own (vide, inter alia Rodrigues, 2006, p.455), perpetuating, in this way, his condition of social exclusion.

Even when inserted in contexts where their members are the target of some stigmatisation, intentional communities allow for them to reach *understanding* and *behavioural confirmation* through frequent and unspecific social exchanges with like-minded people. This not only enables their members to *establish a base for social identity* but also - through the sense of belonging to a valuable project of alternative living worth being presented to the mainstream society - creates the means for them to engage in civic and political activity by trying to produce social change. Such engagement and social change may be promoted either *actively* - by creating, for instance, events for outsiders in order to present the community and its ideals - or *passively* - by 'being there' as a real and replicable model for living otherwise. This seems, nevertheless, to be only possible if there is an alignment between the individual and the community, as a sense of powerlessness and unalignment may undermine this potential for the individual facing such feelings.



## 5. FINAL REMARKS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

As a final and concluding remark on this study, it may be argued that intentional communities seem to provide a reality where their members are inserted in social networks potentially capable of producing relevant instrumental and expressive returns. This reality awards them, more or less effectively, with the possibility to accumulate, in the short or long run, economic (either by reducing their expenses or gaining new sources of income) and human capital, as well as with a base for social identity upon which - in case of alignment with the mind-set of the majority of the community members and satisfaction with the role played within the community - one can affirm his own worth and that of his values and lifestyle (which may assure, in the future, *mental health* and *life satisfaction*).

We believe that a major hypothesis arises from our study: *intentional communities whose members' income relies mostly on instrumental returns from group level access and mobilisation of embedded resources (group level social capital) are more likely to generate relevant social inequality and exclusion mitigating effects*. There are, however, other variables, that have been neutralised in this study, that may play a role in impacting this hypothetical causal effect, namely: members' socio-economic background – overall our selected cases were composed by middle to upper middle class individuals –, since lower volume of social resources available to the group, as a result of it being composed by working class members, could compromise the productivity of group's level social capital; or the community's location - as both cases were located in a rural background – since an urban location may not only influence the economic activities to be undertaken by community members but also their strategies of interacting with outsiders, as this reality may encompass different (conflictual) contexts other than the ones applying to rural communities described by Meijering (2006, p. 23).

Future studies may draw from these hints in order to give or not further support to intentional communities' potential in mitigating social inequality and exclusion. It could also be interesting to analyse the impacts overtime on income, expenses and skill gains for working class individuals in choosing to join intentional communities, as it could be useful in confirming or not this study's conclusions.

Finally, our research provided some hints that pointed to the fact that the Portuguese case may not be, after all, a least-likely scenario for the establishment of intentional communities, as it allows for home-schooling, provides affordable access to land and, in some cases, the struggle with obtaining a construction permit seems to be (partially) solved by engaging with local political authorities. It could be worth trying to understand why, despite such favourable factors, Portugal still hosts such a small number of intentional communities.



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## ANNEXES

### Appendix 1

#### List of (potential) intentional communities contacted

##### Confirmed intentional communities

- **Ananda Kalyani:** Religious/Spiritual Community (Paúl, Covilhã)
- **Artlife:** Communal community (Moncarapacho, Olhão)
- **Awakened Life Project – Quinta da Mizarela:** Religious/Spiritual community (Benfeita, Arganil)
- **Avidanja:** Religious/Spiritual community (Montemor-o-Velho)
- **Cabrum:** Ecological community (Calde, Viseu)
- **CentoeOito:** Ecological community/ Communal Community (Contacted after April 2017) (Odemira)
- **Ecoaldeia Vegetariana:** Ecological community (Cabeceiras de Basto, Braga)
- **Keela Yoga Farm:** Ecological Community (Mata da Rainha, Fundão)
- **La Belle Verte:** Ecological community (Monchique)
- **Mount of Oaks:** Ecological community/religious/spiritual community (Alpedrinha, Fundão)
- **Tamera:** Ecological Community (Colos, Odemira)

##### Potential communities that answered not providing full information or did not fit our concept of intentional community

- Earth You
- Ecoaldeia de Janas
- Friday Happiness
- Monte da Vida
- O Fojo
- Osho Garden
- Paradies Insel Familie-System
- Quinta Cabeça do Mato
- The Hive
- Vale da Sarvinda
- Valey of Pleasures

##### Potential communities that did not answer back

- Adagatiya
- Casa de Aprendizagem da Enterranha

## **Appendix 1 - continuation**

- Casa do Burro
- Casa da Ribeira
- Casa Fluxus
- Casa Verde
- Lights One Gathering
- Merkaba Community (Contacted after April 2017)
- Moinhos do Dão
- Movimento das Ocupações Unidas
- Naturalmente
- Oasis des 3 Chênes
- Permalab
- Projecto Agroecológico do Soajo
- Quinta da Alvorada do Ouro
- Terra Moja
- Terramada
- Tribordar
- Terra da Luz
- Vanaprastha Nabais

## Appendix 2

### Email display

Dear Sirs and Madams,

My name is Tiago Conceição and I'm a student at the University of Aveiro. Currently, I am developing a study for my master's degree in Political Science, which intends to identify and understand the impacts and dynamics, in terms of the development of social contacts and solidarity networks, associated with being a member of an eco-village or an alternative community living project.

This study is being developed under the guidance and supervision of two teachers of mine, Maria Luís Pinto and Luís Mota, who can be reached through the following email addresses: [mluispinto@ua.pt](mailto:mluispinto@ua.pt) e [luismota@ua.pt](mailto:luismota@ua.pt).

I'm now at a point in my study where it is essential to find out the total number of all active eco-villages and other intentional communities existing in Portugal. During this search, I have found out about your project through... . In order for me to complete this task, I would like to know if you could collaborate just by answering some quick questions.

First, I would like to know if your project is still active.

If it is, would you mind telling me how many members compose your community? Are they all permanent residents at the community?

Lastly, would you, as a group, consider sharing your community's values and way of seeing the world a key requirement for someone to be a part it?

I thank you in advance for your cooperation. I am at your entire disposal if you have any doubts.

Best regards

Tiago Conceição

**Note:** Along with this English version, in some cases, versions in Portuguese, French and/or German were also sent.

### **Appendix 3**

#### List of topics from observation table 1

- Overall characteristics of the community and members: Location and physical display; Habitational construction types; water and energy supply; and members' school attainment and socio-economic background;
- Financial Sustainability and level of food self-sufficiency
- Communitarian life organisation and community structure
- Decision-making process
- Members' opinions on the communitarian project: positive and empowering aspects, as well as negative aspects and struggles during the community's establishment
- Community's associational activity (has the community founded an association or is it connected with other associations or like-minded projects?)
- (Collaboration) ties with (local) political authorities
- Use of local public facilities and ties with neighbouring population
- Other

## Appendix 4

### List of topics from observation table 2

- Inner-community relationships, dynamics and structure:
  - Community display and composition
  - Sociability enhancing and group unifying practices/events
  - Community (in)formal power relations and structure
  - (In)formal Decision-making processes
  - (In)formal attribution of functions/tasks within the community
  - Volunteer (temporary member) level of integration and status
  - Process of integration of new members
  - Communitarian and individual financial situation (i.e., information on income and expenses)
  - Mobilisation capacity of internal resources
  - Knowledge, skill and resources exchange between members
  - Emotional support provided between members
  - (Additional) benefits and/or disadvantages associated with membership
  - [Cabrum-only] Children educational practices
  
- Outer-community (collaboration) relationships and local integration:
  - Commercial partnerships and/or collaborations (i.e., for selling and buying products; finding, accessing and/or creating income-gain opportunities)
  - Access and mobilisation of individuals with relevant technical skills
  - Collaborations with other associations, likeminded projects and/or non-governmental organisations
  - Collaboration with local political authorities
  - Ties with local inhabitants and producers
  - Level of community's events attendance
  - Media Coverage and ties established in this area
  - Integration in volunteering networks
  - Strong ties established and maintained outside the community
  
- Perceiving the *other* and themselves
  - Members' perceptions of local inhabitants (population)
  - Members' perceptions of the communitarian project
  - Local inhabitants' perceptions of community members

## Appendix 5

### Interview Script

1 - *Please, tell me a little bit about what you used to do before coming here. What did you study? Did you have a job? how have you found out about this community? Why have you chosen to come and live here?*

2 - *Inside the community is there a group of tasks that you are mainly responsible for? What sort of tasks do you do inside the community? Is it somehow related to what you used to do before?*

3 - *Are you developing or would you consider developing an individual project inside the community? Do you feel that you (would) have access privileged conditions to do so here? If yes, can you name some of them? If not, why?*

4 - *How do you proceed in order to upgrade your knowledge and skills in the areas that you are working in or that you interest yourself for? Have you acquired or developed any skills that you would like to highlight?*

5 - *Among friends and acquaintances – acquaintances standing for people you would know on a first name basis and if you happened to find on the street you would be able to establish a conversation with him/her - do you know someone with the following position or job:*

- *Expert in organic farming, permaculture, beekeeping, eco-construction Sociocracy or another area that you have interest for? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Researcher or university teacher? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Lawyer? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Someone working in Local Public Administration? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Someone working in State Public Administration? That is, in a State Institution ( such as Direccção Geral ou Regional de Agricultura)? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Someone holding a political office? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Local Producer? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Artist, Musician or musical band? Who? How have you met him/her?*

- *Journalist or someone working in the media? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *A member of a Summer Festival organisation? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Someone having the possibility to offer you a job position? Who? How have you met him/her?*

6- *Can you please tell me what are the community' main sources of income and expenses? How is the income distributed? And, if you feel comfortable, what are your main sources of income and expenses?*

7 – *Among friends and acquaintances – acquaintances standing for people you would know on a first name basis and if you happened to find on the street you would be able to establish a conversation with him/her - do you know someone capable of offering you privileged access to the following resources:*

- *A place for you to sell goods? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *A place for you to hold events? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Publicising of events? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Help in your daily work or when you may be in need of help? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Emotional support? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Technical support and counselling in areas such as eco-construction, organic farming, permaculture, organic farming certification access or another area that is important for you? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Ask a specialist in (one of the previously referred areas) yoga, meditation, beekeeping, sociocracy to take part in a workshop or course? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Counselling regarding legal matters? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Information and counselling regarding access to public funds? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Informal loaning considering an amount of circa 1000€? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Access to a selling stand at a Summer Festival? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Information and privileged access to the land and housing market? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Someone that offers you consumable goods? Who? How have you met him/her?*
- *Help in a time of need (that is, when facing hard times)? Who? How have you met him/her?*

8 – Can you tell me how do you establish rules overseeing communitarian living?

9- Related to this point, how do you come to make decisions here?

10 – Within this decision-making process what place is there left for individuals with diverging opinions from the majority to express themselves and to be heard?

11 - What is your opinion on the decision-making process?

12 – Do you feel free, if you ever needed or desired, to (temporarily) distance yourself from this project?

13 – Looking back, how would you evaluate your decision to join the community? What positive and negative aspects would you like to highlight?

14 – What are your future plans and your thoughts on the community's future?

## Appendix 6



# INTRODUÇÃO À AGRICULTURA BIODINÂMICA

**1 E 2 ABRIL | FUNDÃO**  
CASINO FUNDANENSE

INSCRIÇÕES / INFORMAÇÕES:  
email: [agricultura@prama.pt](mailto:agricultura@prama.pt) | Tlm.: 960 062 138 / 966 597 551

PREÇO DA INSCRIÇÃO:  
50€ - Inscrições efetivas mediante pagamento até dia 20 de março. Após esta data, a inscrição tem um custo de 60€.  
*Estudantes e desempregados - 40€.*

HORÁRIO DA FORMAÇÃO:  
Dia 1 (sábado) 10h00>13h00 e das 14h30>18h30  
Dia 2 (domingo) 10h00>13h00 e das 15h00>18h00

FORMADOR:  
André Tranquilini | Sementes Vivas, SA / Idanha-a-Nova



Source: <https://www.agrozapp.pt/files/events/148/58b6b556974ea.jpg>



# APICULTURA BIOLÓGICA FORMAÇÃO

**6 E 7 MAIO | FUNDÃO**  
CASINO FUNDANENSE

INSCRIÇÕES / INFORMAÇÕES:  
email: [agricultura@prama.pt](mailto:agricultura@prama.pt) | Tlm.: 960 062 138 / 966 597 551

PREÇO DA INSCRIÇÃO:  
50€ - Inscrições efetivas mediante pagamento até dia 25 de abril. Após esta data, a inscrição tem um custo de 60€.  
*Estudantes, desempregados e membros da Associação Pinus Verde - 40€.*

HORÁRIO DA FORMAÇÃO:  
Dia 6 (sábado) 09h30>12h30 e das 14h00>17h00  
Dia 7 (domingo) 09h30>12h30

FORMADOR:  
Eng.º Eduardo Martins | Quinta da Inácia / Oliveira de Azeméis



 [www.cm-fundao.pt](http://www.cm-fundao.pt)

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# OLIVAL E AZEITE BIOLÓGICO

**16 A 18 FEVEREIRO | FUNDÃO**  
COOPERATIVA DE OLIVICULTORES DO FUNDÃO

INSCRIÇÕES / INFORMAÇÕES:

email: agricultura@prama.pt | Tlm.: 960 062 138 / 966 597 551

PREÇO DA INSCRIÇÃO:

60€ - Inscrições efetivas mediante pagamento até dia 3 de fevereiro. Após esta data, a inscrição tem um custo de 70€.

*Membros da Cooperativa de Olivicultores do Fundão - Preço sob consulta*  
*Estudantes e desempregados - 40€.*

HORÁRIO DA FORMAÇÃO:

Dia 16 e 17 (quinta e sexta-feira) 18h30>21h30 | Dia 18 (sábado) 10h00>13h00 e das 14h30>17h30

FORMADOR:

Eng.º Jorge Ferreira, Agro-Sanus Lda.



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