References

Alfasi, N. & Portugali, J. (2004). Planning Just-in-Time versus planning Just-in-Case. *Cities*, Vol.21, No. 1: 29-30.

Bertalanffy, V. (1975). *Teoria Geral dos Sistemas*. Petrópolis: Vozes.

Bina, O., Balula, L., & Ricci, A. (2014). Editorial: Urban Futures – Squaring Circles. In: *Conference Proceedings, International Conference URBAN FUTURES 2050 - Squaring Circles, Europe-China-World,* Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

Carvalho, L. S. & Gonçalves, J. (2014). Lisbon 2030: urban visions for an Atlantic capital. In: *Conference Proceedings, International Conference URBAN FUTURES 2050 - Squaring Circles, Europe-China-World.* Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, Lisbon.

Cunha, J. L. (2012). "Apontamentos em Matéria de Programação Territorial". F. P. Oliveira (coord.) *Direito do Urbanismo e Ordenamento do Território - Estudos.* Vol. I: 279-309. Almedina. Coimbra.

Ferrão, J. (2011). *Ordenamento do Território como Política Pública*. F. C. Gulbenkian. Lisbon.

Ferreira, A. F. (2005). *Gestão Estratégica das Cidades e Regiões*. F. C. Gulbenkian, Lisbon.

Godet, M. (1996). *Manual de Prospetiva Estratégica*. Círculo de Leitores. Lisbon.

Grave, L. (2013). "Nem planos sem programação nem programação sem plano – Alcance e resiliência do plano como instrumento de eficiente regulação e desenvolvimento urbano". In: *Atas do Encontro "O Plano vale a pena? Incerteza e flexibilidade na gestão territorial*. AD URBEM. Coimbra.

Grave, L. (2000). *Política de Solos e a Qualidade do Espaço Urbano – suas inter-relações*. Masters Dissertation in Regional and Urban Planning. Universidade Técnica de Lisboa. 110pp.

Guiomar, N., J. P. Fernandes, N. Neves (2007). Modelo de Análise Espacial para Avaliação do carácter Multifuncional do espaço. *III Congresso de Estudos Rurais*. Universidade do Algarve. Faro.

Healey, P. (1997). *Collaborative Planning. Shaping Places in Fragmented Societies*. MacMillan Press. London.

Henriques, J. (2015). *As Dinâmicas do Mercado Imobiliário e os Impactos territoriais*. Chiado Editora. Lisbon.

Henriques, J. M. (1990). *Municípios e Desenvolvimento*. Escher. Lisbon.

Kaplan, R. & Norton, D. (1996). Using the Balanced Scorecard as a Management Strategic System. *Harvard Business Review*, OnPoint Collection, January-February: 37-47.

Pardal, S.; Lobo, M. C.; Correia, P. (2000). "O conceito de planeamento". In: *Normas Urbanísticas – Planeamento Integrado do Território*. Vol. IV, p:1-22. UTL/ DGOTDU. Lisbon.

Pereira, M. (2009). Desafios contemporâneos do ordenamento do território: para uma governabilidade inteligente do(s) território(s). *Prospectiva e Planeamento*. Vol. 16: 77-102. Departamento de Prospetiva e Planeamento. Lisbon.

Queirós, M. (2009). Teorias da Complexidade: princípios para o Ordenamento do Território. Texto de la tercera ponencia 'Las dimensiones sociales y políticas del Medio Ambiente y la Ordenación del Territorio'. In: *XI Coloquio Ibérico de Geografía:'La perspectiva geográfica ante los nuevos retos de la sociedad y medio ambiente en el contexto ibérico'*. Alcalá de Henares.

Rossi, A. (1982). *La Arquitetura de la Ciudad*. Editorial Gustavo Gili. Barcelona.

Vale, M. (2007). Globalização e competitividade das cidades. Uma crítica teórica na perspectiva da política urbana. *Geophilia. Uma Geografia dos Sentidos*. CEG. Universidade de Lisboa. Lisbon.

(Re)Organisation of Public Service Networks in Portugal from the Perspective of Territorial Resilience and Cohesion

Ricardo Tomé
José Afonso Teixeira
Margarida Pereira

Introduction

This chapter aims to relate the reorganization of public services networks and innovation in their performance, questioning whether territories have become more resilient and cohesive or, on the contrary, more vulnerable.

To respond to territorial disturbances caused by globalisation (uncertainty, co-evolution, interdependence, rupture and marginality), new concepts have been adopted, particularly those of resilience and territorial cohesion. The former refers to the capacity of territories to adapt and resist to external shocks, without collapsing, and constructing sustainable and creative solutions; the latter, based on the cohesion policy of the European Union (EU), seeks to profit from territorial diversity, through concentration, cooperation and connection, so as to attenuate development divergences at different levels within the EU.

Amongst the alterations, what stands out is the decrease in the weight of the State and intrinsic consequences in the reorganisation of public service networks. Thus, from the 1980s onwards, in most European Union countries, and a little later in Portugal, there was both the restructuring of public service networks with face-to-face assistance (as seen in mergers, re-conversions or even closures of units), and their growing use/provision of information and communication technologies (ICT). These changes, started as a result of the adoption of neoliberal policies, the assimilation of new public management models with growing ICT resource, and the diversifications of target-public needs and demographic alterations, were amplified by the economic and financial crisis, obliging the State to adopt a more rational management of its resources.

The chapter is organised around three topics: it starts with a theoretical discussion on the evolution of public services supply paradigms, linking this to concepts of territorial resilience and cohesion; this is followed by a brief description of public services in Portugal, focused on those related to education, health, justice (courts) and administrative matters (i.e., finance service, social security and registries and public notaries); finally, based on a survey of resident populations about the use of those services, three regional case studies are analysed, providing examples of territories with different dynamics: densely urbanised metropolitan territory (six municipalities of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area), a rural-urban axis (six municipalities within the Évora-Beja axis) and a low-density rural area (the four border municipalities of the Baixo Alentejo).

Public services, territorial resilience and cohesion

Paradigm shift in the provision of public services

From mutation of agents to service provision challenges

In recent decades, public services in Europe have recorded marked changes resulting both from ideological options underlying the dominant political paradigms (with progressive deterioration of the Welfare State) and corresponding provision models (direct intervention of the State, multiple partnerships and forms of contracting), as well as shifts in the demand profile (namely ageing, reduction in family size and urban concentration).

Pinch (1989, cited in Alves, 2005a) identified nine key aspects in the restructuring of public services: (i) proliferation of self-service; (ii) increase in labour productivity through new functional organisational forms and/or methods of management; (iii) investment in technologies to increase production, causing more unemployment and the foreclosure of equipment; (iv) subcontracting of services to specialised companies; (v) the fostering of quality due to improved skills or training of employees; (vi) materialisation of service functions; (vii) relocation of establishments to areas where land prices are cheaper; (viii) the provision of service functions in households; and (ix) centralisation of services into larger units, reducing or closing smaller units. For the authors, the pressures to increase effectiveness and efficiency and to concentrate services in larger spaces (such as governmental one-stop-shops) have similar criteria for both the public and the private sectors. For Marques (2009:25) it is necessary to "import into the public administration what the competition imposes daily in private organisations: customer orientation, promotion of quality, user satisfaction, economy costs, increasing productivity, developing partnerships and modernising policies, which should be a continuous process and not just a moment with a beginning and end."

The demand for public services has grown in the last decades as a result of their universalisation (particularly health, education and social security systems) as well as public administration interventions when acting as regulator (Alves, 2005b). New demographic and family structures play a crucial role in the changing demand for public services, with there being more citizens covered by access to public services and, in addition, the ageing of the population and the reduction of the number of elements per family require appropriate responses.

Socio-economic changes have been far-reaching and include: (i) the integration of Portugal within the European Community (1986), which was very important for the economic growth and the development of the country and this influenced the number, geographical distribution and use of public services; (ii) the entry of women into the labour market, including jobs in public administration and simultaneously creating new needs regarding the demand for services; (iii) the increase in household income; and (iv) the improvement of the educational levels of citizens. The combination of these factors have made citizens more demanding and consumers are willing to travel a greater distance to obtain services with better quality standards, even at a higher economic cost (Tomé, 2011). However, recent changes in the labour market have led to an increase in the number of unemployed, and this requires the provision of more social benefits (particularly social security and the exemption or reduction of fees for health care services).

The dynamics of public services have also been conditioned by improvements in accessibility. Portugal built and improved its road system, partly with European funds, and now has 2860 km of motorways, (while in 1986 it had less than 200 km) along with an increasing rate of motorisation (245 cars per 1000 inhabitants in 1991 and 452 cars per 1000 inhabitants in 2014 - authors' calculations with data from INE, the National Statistical Institute of Portugal). This progress in accessibility, mobility and purchasing power contributed to the increase in journeys using private cars and the reduction of mobility by public transport and walking (INE, 2003; Tomé, 2011), as well as changes in the urban system, in particular: (i) the rise of the first residences in suburban spaces, contributing to the expansion of metropolitan areas; (ii) the increasing segmentation of social spaces; (iii) the creation of new user needs that led to new services for the population; (iv) the emergence of new urban centralities, spaces and service facilities for the population; and (iv) the integration of the territories and the services provided in cooperation networks at different scales (e.g., regional and municipal). These socio-territorial changes have led to regional imbalances in the distribution of services, with excess or unsuitability for the elderly population in the inner city, and a deficit in the peripheries.

Benington and Hartley (2001, quoted in Hartley, 2005) suggest three different models to manage public services (Table 1).

Table 1 – Evolution of public services in recent decades

	TRADITIONAL PUBLIC ADMINISTRATION (1950-80)	NEW PUBLIC MANAGEMENT (1980-2000)	NETWORKED GOVERNANCE (2000-…)
CONTEXT	Stable	Competitive	Continuously changing
Population	Homogeneous	Atomized	Diverse
Needs/Problems	Straightforward, defined by professionals	Wants, expressed through the market	Complex, volatile and prone to risk
Strategy	State and producer centred	Market and customer centred	Shaped by civil society
Governance through actors	Hierarchies, Public servants	Markets, Purchasers and providers, Clients and contractors	Networks and partnerships, Civic leadership
Key concepts	Public goods	Public choice	Public value
Innovation	Some large-scale, national and universal innovations	Innovations in organizational form more than content	Innovation at both central and local levels
Improvement	Large step-change improvements initially, but less capability for continuous improvement	Improvements in managerial processes and systems. Customer focus produces quality improvements in some services	Aiming for both transformational and continuous improvement in front-line services
Role of policy-makers	Commanders	Announcers/commissioners	Leaders and interpreters
Role of public managers	'Clerks and martyrs'	Efficiency and market maximizers	'Explorers'
Role of the population	Clients	Customers	Co-producers

Source: Adapted from Benington and Hartley (2001, cited in Hartley, 2005)

Table 1 shows that the relationship between public administration and social agents (individual or collective) is increasing, contributing to the co-architecture, co-production and co-evaluation of public services. According to Marques (2009:136), this is "the emergence of a new paradigm of public service, in which the dependence of the citizen is replaced by a relationship of interdependence, with contributions from citizens, families and social organizations. It thus facilitates opportunities for this co-production." Needless to say, this differs with the type of service, the entity that manages it and the geographical scale (national, regional and local).

The evolution of physical and on-line formats: features and implementation strategies

 Recent developments in public services have been marked by concentration, integration and specialization. The public services of education, health and justice are traditionally offered in their own facilities, with their hierarchy/specialization following the urban system hierarchy. However, priority has been given to aggregating them into larger units along with integrated management for various existing facilities in the same territory. The use of electronic resources is still limited, since the provision of these services requires territorial presence and direct interpersonal relations. Public services of an administrative nature (e.g., finances, registries and public notaries or social security), although continuing to be offered in specialised government departments scattered throughout the territory, almost always in the head offices of municipalities, are now being offered in other formats, both physical and electronic. Of note among the former are the single-window services, the main objectives of which are to minimize the time and costs of providing these services and help the citizen by offering information and services from various public entities within the same space, almost always with extended schedules and at accessible locations (Table 2).

Table 2 – New forms of provision of public services of an administrative nature

DESIGNATION	CONCEPT	EXAMPLE
Information centres	Aimed at improving the services provided to citizens through the provision of information or services on the Internet or by phone	Citizen's Portal; Company's Portal.
Single-window service centres	These make it possible to find various public services, of a public nature (headed by various ministries) or private (mainly energy, communications and transport) in the same place	Multi-purpose Administrative Services Centre (*Loja do Cidadão*); Multi-service desk.
Centres for specialised services	Targeted to a specific need	Lost Wallet Desk; Company Space.

Source: Adapted from Bent, Kernaghan and Marson (1999)

 For Bent, Kernaghan and Marson (1999), Coutinho (2000) and Marques (2009), these three models contribute to a provision of services which is simpler, more affordable, convenient and personalized. However, in these formats the service offering is very much targeted to the services of each entity most sought after and, therefore, the most standardised ones. From a territorial

point of view, information centres, single-window service centres and specialized service centres can contribute to the reduction of trips and, in low-density areas, can also minimize the impact of the closure of some of these public services.

 Regarding the provision of public services on the Internet, the process is incremental, as shown by the Gartner Group (Baum and Maio, 2000). In the first stage of the model (Presence) only institutional information is provided (e.g., mission, contact details, opening hours and official documents) and this content is usually out of date and is therefore not very interesting or useful for citizens. In the next stage (Interaction) more information is available, enabling citizens to carry out searches, download or fill out forms, directly contact services or employees and access other related sites on the Internet. In the third stage (Transaction), it is possible to provide a full service through the Internet (i.e., service formulation, payment and delivery). Finally, in the fourth stage (Transformation), there is a link between citizens and the various public administration agencies. In addition to the high level of updating, robustness, security, reliability and the existence of teams specialised in these areas, the public services policy provided on the Internet is framed within a medium to long term strategy. There are normally common and integrated networks and platforms involving various public administration agencies, such as single-window desks, which enable citizens to only have access to a single contact point with the public sector, independently of the service or body providing this.

 The great availability (and robustness) of the public services on the Internet has impacted on the (re)organisation of their physical networks, to a large extent due to cost differences; using Denmark as an example, Tinholt (2013) shows that internet service provision costs may be less than 1/3 of face-to-face services. This reduction reflects the transference to the user of functions previously performed by employees. With the generalisation of this model the State reduces costs, but this contributes to job losses, with an economistic attitude overriding a social logic. The benefit to the citizen is mainly linked to convenience and to the disappearance of being subject to a working schedule, but does not avoid penalisation (for some) due to info exclusion. Thus, with the growing spread of the Internet and the increased ability of citizens to use ICT, public administration has tended to reduce its territorial presence and adopt new forms of services provision, enhancing the added values brought by technological innovations. It is therefore necessary to find a compromise between the incorporation of technology and the spatial distribution of establishments bringing together all users – whether young or urban, more qualified and willing to access Internet-based services, or a more elderly public, who prefer face-to-face support – and not remove social functions, and the animation and movement caused by public services, from the territory.

Public services, spatial justice and territory

Accessibility and "territorial proximities"

 Public services are essential in the organisation of the territory, affecting the daily lives of their population and attracting new residents and businesses. They play a central role in the urban system matrix and in interdependency relations. The reorganisation of their networks

(along with changes in road access) enhances adjustments in the urban hierarchy and in the interrelationships between places, both in densely urbanised and low density territories. In the latter, reinforcing the relative proximity between places, the rarefaction of the population and social policies focused on cost reduction have tended to favour the concentration of services in the larger urban centres, which are better equipped and more accessible, thus accentuating inequalities regarding access, particularly in more outlying territories.

Distance and territorial proximity are therefore fundamental concepts when the provision of public services to the population is in question, given its universal tendency. Proximity is much more than the geographical distance between two or more points and may be analysed in different ways: (i) physical proximity, i.e., the (geographical and temporal) distances which citizens/users have to travel until they reach the establishment offering the service; (ii) temporal proximity, i.e., the period of time between the emergence of a need and the actual provision of such a service; (iii) social proximity, i.e., the existence of services to the population and the conditions under which inhabitants, independent of their social origin, may utilise them; (iv) cultural proximity, i.e., the greater the distance between places of residence and the provision of service, the less identification there may be, particularly regarding rural populations; and (v) symbolic proximity, i.e., the existence of a service in a geographical area may indicate the presence of the State alongside the population, in the light of the subsidiarity principle (CORUM (ed.), 2001). These five types of proximities cut across the territory, testifying to their importance in differentiating the supply of and demand for services.

In this way, services which are closer or more distant may form social inclusion or social exclusion vectors. Recent research has focused on the appropriation of the use of public services by citizens, creating/reinforcing local identities and contributing towards improving governance practices and the design of services. However, as Chauvière warns (2001:124), "proximity is a guiding principle which, above all, shows political will." Indeed, neoliberal public policies that favour economistic logics tend to favour concentration, penalising supply based on proximity; on the contrary, policies critical to this way of thinking seek a greater equilibrium between the meeting of economic objectives and the coverage of social needs. The confrontation between these perspectives has been evident in policies in recent decades in Portugal, with governments sometimes defending models of greater proximity in health, education, justice and security and at other times focusing on more concentrated models, in accordance with guidelines from the *troika* (2011-2014).

Amongst the challenges which research into "proximity" faces is the degree of flexibility of the concept and its relationship with the geographical scope of its application. Traditionally, such research has studied consolidated urban centres and, to a lesser extent, rural areas. However, these are scarcer in relation to suburban spaces, which has resulted from an accelerated and unplanned urban expansion which, therefore, has its own specificities (e.g., at the level of the availability and quality of the space intended for services to the population). The residential emptying of city centres has also created specific problems related to access to services by their residents, often with reduced mobility and economic constraints. In this sense, it is important to reflect on the proximity/accessibility of services in the outlying areas to the major urban centres and in their central areas, as well as applying research concepts and techniques in case studies at a larger scale to the neighbourhood. In low density rural areas, where the population

is ever more rarefied and aged, accessibility to public services requires another type of approach (for example the itinerant supply of services) since the improvement in accessibility provided by new road infrastructures is often more apparent than real; in fact, in many cases the new highways link regions within a "long-distance" logic, but have difficulty in "serving" those who live there, who become dependent on the local road network, which is often run-down and which imposes more lengthy travel times than those listed in the technical reports.

Social and spatial justice in the distribution of public services

The neoliberal vision of the administrative and social organization of the State favours a "mercantile" logic difficult to reconcile with the social satisfaction of citizens' basic needs, which have to be guaranteed by the State. Underlying that perspective is the privatization of public services with market potential, which can be facilitated by restrictive operating policies compromising its quality (Hespanha, Ferreira, and Pacheco, 2013). The State may not have an underlying purely accounting view, since "the Welfare State should be seen not as a mere expense (or fat), but rather as an investment which, in addition to ensuring a set of rights and basic levels of provision, represents an indispensable means for the economic and human development of society in the long term. The Welfare State is not fat, it's muscle!" (Barata and Carmo, 2014:20-21).

Within this framework, the concepts of social and spatial justice owe a lot to the contribution of Harvey (1973). For this author, social and territorial justice in the distribution of services to the population implies: (i) spatial efficiency, as translated into minimising the distance to travel between the offer and the demand for a certain service; (ii) social justice, related to equity regarding access to supply, which is beyond the geographical conditions; and (iii) territorial justice, close to "optimal spatial distribution". In turn, Rivas (2012:77) summarises them in two key points: (i) "income distribution should be such that: a) all the needs of the population within each territory are covered; b) resources are made available in order to minimize regional multiplier effects (reinforcing positive externalities); and c) additional resources are invested to help overcome the difficulties caused by the physical and social environment"; and (ii) "(institutional, organisational, political and economic) mechanisms must be such that the disadvantaged areas should be helped as much as possible." In this reasoning there is a logic of positive discrimination, without which it does not seem possible to speak of (social) justice. Therefore, the principles of spatial and territorial justice must underpin the management models of services to the population - especially the focus on efficiency - and therefore their design and distribution require integrated sectoral and territorial policies and strategies.

Territorial-based policies

Multi-scalar approaches

A fair spatial distribution of public services requires a systemic and relational approach, characterised by the ability to integrate policies to various scales, considering aspects such as

institutional models and governance, the specific aspects of the territory, the population and the productive system, and the level of openness to innovation, among others. New dynamics arise with the (re)combination of these factors, which will impact on the design of public policies.

Public services policies and territorial policies should be ever more open to the participation of social actors. As Marques (2004:423-6) mentions, it is "essential to think of constructing spaces of governability based on variable institutions, supported by mutual trust, tacit understandings and the effects of collective learning. This involves the fostering of cooperation subordinated to a spatial governance strategy."

The inclusion of these practices is not easy, nor immediately applicable, but it is necessary to introduce them in public management, whether the services for the population or the territories. This may take the form of processes involving the exchange of information and learning between agents, in a greater sharing of and accountability for decisions taken, within the stimulus of a new institutional culture, oriented by dialogue and consultation, and in obtaining economies of scale, in which cooperation networks are established and resources enhanced. Given this, public policies and governance models should be substantiated through flexible planning processes based on territorial cooperation. In this regard, Ferrão (2000) and Marques (2004) recommend three levels of strategic positioning for Portugal: (i) municipal; (ii) inter-municipal; and (iii) regional. According to Marques (2004:425), "these scales for a strategic approach (…) form a type of different geostrategic layers." Thus, at the municipal scale, there should be networks of services and essential facilities for maintaining populations which, given temporal and spatial specific aspects, can provide a balanced and integrated experience, with governance involving varying geometries. However, the local scale is ambiguous, and administratively this may take place at the level of the parish and the municipality, both with extremely heterogeneous dimensions. In metropolitan areas, there are parishes with more than 50,000 inhabitants and in low-density areas, municipalities with less than 2,000 inhabitants and parishes with less than 100 inhabitants. Given that the municipality is the reference point for the sizing and location of public services, those discrepancies are not always suitably provided for. The inter-municipal level has gained importance because "the lack of scale and functional diversity suggests cooperation between cities and between territories, through which benefits from economies of scale can be achieved" (Pereira, 2009:87). The regional scale seeks to integrate all the features of the territory, exploiting its complementarities, in a multipolar urban system, where different spaces for residence, work, consumption and leisure coexist, as well as a variety of population profiles. Hence there is a need to ensure compliance with policy goals at the national level, but adapting the programming criteria to specific territorial features and dynamics. The OECD (2011:2) recognises these particular aspects in stating that "rural and urban areas face different challenges. (…) Urban areas should not be seen as separate entities. (…) Urban-rural partnerships, under certain conditions, may act as a source of regional competitiveness, through the creation of externalities resulting from mechanisms of complementarities and synergies generated." Services to the population might play an important role, since they satisfy social needs, contributing to their quality of life and the greater attractiveness of territories.

Public policies, territorial resilience and cohesion

The presence of the State, through social and administrative public services, is decisive for development and territorial cohesion. In the more peripheral and/or outlying territories this ensures social conditions of permanence for the residents; in the more dynamic territories, this supports the population and the business community, contributing to reinforcing its competitiveness. The European Commission (2004:4-5) states that "services of general interest continue to be essential for social and territorial cohesion and for the competitiveness of the European economy". Citizens and companies rightly expect to have access to quality services of general interest at accessible prices throughout the European Union.". The same document argues that "the supply of quality services of general interest (…) contributes to attaining the strategic objective of the Union, which consists of making the economic space more dynamic and competitive in a knowledge-based world, able to ensure sustainable economic growth, with more and better jobs, and more social cohesion" (European Commission 2004:5). The Green Paper on European Territorial Cohesion (European Commission, 2008) launched the discussion on the concept, applicable to different scales and a multidimensional nature, considering territorial quality, efficiency and identity. Given the importance of public services for territorial cohesion, it is imperative to emphasise the importance given by that document to the fair and balanced access to facilities, to the infrastructures and to knowledge; to the need to develop forms of cooperation, improve governance and foster public-private partnerships; and to readjusting the administrative network, without compromising institutional cohesion.

However, the territorial cohesion policy of the European Union has not had the success expected, not only due to the urgent integration of countries with distinct social and economic realities (2004), but also because of the onset of the economic and financial crisis (2008). Known the diversity and divergences which characterise the present-day Europe, territorial cohesion policy, limited to rhetorical discourse, has gained relevance and practical justification. Given the vulnerability of many of the territories due to the crisis and the added level of political and economic unpredictability, it can be argued that public policies take principles inherent to this concept as a reference. As Marques (2009:18-19) emphasises, "changing from a management of predictabilities to a management of probabilities, in a global world where no government controls every factor (…) requires public and private organisations to be more adaptive and resilient.". The social reform of the State, in its administrative part and its public services, cannot therefore be carried out as a result of the application of general formulas without meeting the specific characteristics of the territory, and the concrete needs of the population residing there, as this would lead to the acceleration of regressive trajectories. Indeed, a modern and dynamic system of public services, capable of adjusting itself on an ongoing case-by-case basis to the needs of the population and transformations in the business fabric, contributes to making territories more resilient, albeit with varying responses. The typology proposed by Martin (2012) for regional economic systems can be adapted to the different territorial scopes within this proposal. According to this writer, after a recession, the responsiveness of an economic system can take five paths: (i) the impacts on the regional economy are so severe that they prevent the resumption of the pace of previous growth (Figure 1A); (ii) the system can recover its growth rate, but only partially (Figure 1B); (iii) in the medium and long term, the system returns to

its performance prior to the disturbance (Figure 1C); (iv) after an initial phase of turbulence, changes in the system result in increasing the growth rate in the medium term, but this will tend to decrease in the long term (Figure 1D); and (v) the economic system recovers from the shock, adapting to the new circumstances, resulting in a constant rate of growth in the medium and long term, which exceeds the expected economic performance before the recession (Figure 1E).

Figure 1 – Response capacity models for a regional economic system
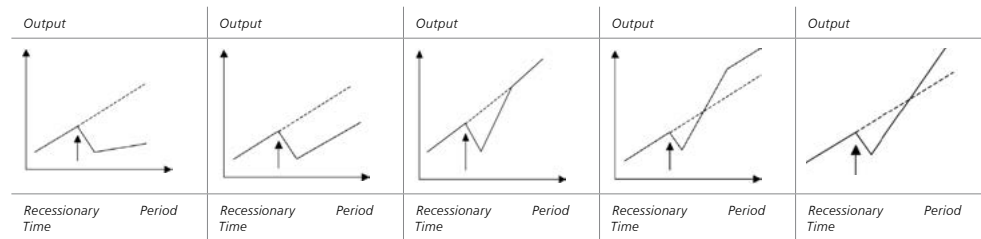
Reading Note: The continuous line represents the performance of the regional economic system, while the broken line represents the expected performance if a recessionary shock had not occurred.

Source: Adapted from Martin (2012)

Furthermore, according to Martin (2012), the construction of the strategy based on resilience implies attending to the resistance, recovery, reorientation and renovation capacities of a regional system. Now, in this transformation public services are decisive because: i) they compete to ensure living conditions for the populations and the functioning of companies; ii) when modernised, they are drivers of that process.

The next section summarises the recent development of public services policies in Portugal and, later on, taking as reference three distinct territorial realities, some effects of its application are discussed in terms of territorial resilience and cohesion.

Public services in Portugal

Public services as a pillar of the Welfare State

Following the democratisation of the country, the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic (CRP, 1976) determined that the State is to provide a set of public services for the population, to ensure fundamental rights such as education, health and justice, along with a network of administrative services.

Regarding education, by the time of joining the EEC, the system was democratised at all levels. Compulsory schooling was fixed at nine years by the Framework Law of the Education System (Law No. 46/86, of 4 October) and higher education expanded and diversified, and so Polytechnic Institutes and Universities were also set up away from the urban littoral areas. Since then, compulsory schooling was extended to pre-school education (Law No. 5/97, of 10 February) and also extended to the 12th year (Law No. 85/09, of 27 August). This evolution has imposed

permanent modifications on the networks, in terms of their expansion or contraction, in trying to respond to the dynamics of demand (at the various levels of schooling) and policy guidelines at the planning level and the types of schools. Despite the variety of situations, the dominant trend has been one of concentration and vertical and horizontal integration of existing schools in specific geographical territories, which is inherent to the concept of "educational territory".

The area of Health witnessed the consecration of the National Health Service (*Serviço Nacional de Saúde* - SNS) (Law No. 56/79, of 15 September), in which the State safeguarded the right to health protection through institutions and services providing comprehensive care to the population, financed through taxes, having set up a network of facilities providing services, from primary to more specialised care, of different typologies. The 1990s saw new reforms, in particular the Framework Law for Health (Law No. 48/90, of 24 August) and the new Law for the National Health Service (Decree-Law No. 11/93, of 15 January). This reform enhanced the private sector and envisaged the private management of health units. In 1999, the concept of Local Health Systems (*Sistemas Locais de Saúde* - SLS) was created (Decree-Law No. 156/99, of 10 May). It established functional links between health centres, hospitals and other services. In 2001, the Hospital Referrals Networks (*Rede de Referenciação Hospitalar* - RRH) was created, seeking to regulate complementarity relations and technical support between all hospital units and, in turn, between the hospitals and the health centres. The 2004-2010 National Health Plan altered the guidelines of previous policies, advocating corporatisation and public-private partnerships in the sector. To summarise, the SNS consecrated the universality of the system, the State's responsibility as a healthcare provider and the importance of primary health care. The implementation of the network of facilities necessary to meet those objectives was supported through structural funds. Despite the investment made, problems in accessing SNS resources have remained (e.g. millions of citizens still do not have a General Practitioner and the number of people on surgical waiting lists remains high). The difficulties of the public health system being able to respond to the growing demand pressure (exploited by private groups which have chosen health as a business area) has led to the introduction of the concept of a "tending to be free" service changing to a "tending to be paid" service and the strengthening of contracting. However, private investment has focused mainly on densely urbanised areas, thus contributing to accentuating the marginalisation of low-density territories.

In the area of justice only the territorial matrix of the judicial system was addressed, particularly that of the courts. Between the mid-1970s and the end of the last century, the key elements of the judicial system were the circuit courts (39 in 1977; 58 in 2000). In 1988, 43 *círculos judiciários* were established, and there were 79 in the year they were dissolved (Law No. 3/99, of 13 January). Districts and district courts changed, respectively, from 216 and 175 in 1977 to 233 and 130 in 2000. This was therefore a judicial organisational model based on geographical proximity. In the 1990s modifications to constituencies and the aggregation of districts occurred, along with the establishing of new courts and further specialisation. However, in the first decade of this century, the need was felt for a legal matrix more adapted to social and technological changes, the new types of crime and the emergence of extremely large cases, which led to the 2008 reform (Law No. 52/08, of 28 August).

In addition to education, health and justice services, this analysis also includes a set of services of an administrative nature which have undergone organisational and technological changes

which have changed their relationship with the user. Of note, amongst these, are tax offices, social security services and registration services (civil, land, commercial and vehicle registries) and notary offices. These services have a territorial matrix based on main district centres, and there has been a gradual expansion and dissemination of these networks in densely urbanised areas. Their modernisation has taken place in three ways: major technological investment seeking to digitalise services (above all tax services, due to the need for the State to maximise its tax collection); the introduction of multi-service and electronic formats; privatisation of notary offices (Law No. 49/2003, of 22 August 2003; Decree-Law No. 26/2004, of 4 February, altered by Law No. 51/2004, of 29 October) and the subsequent reduction in public notary offices.

So, in the first twenty years, the country experienced rapid economic changes (increase in purchasing power, the making of the tertiary sector of the economy), social changes (reinforcing the middle class, feminisation of the labour market) and demographic changes (falling birth rate, increasing life expectancy, ageing, decrease in family size, marked urbanisation and littoralisation), which required ongoing flexibility of policies and facilities and support infrastructures. At the same time, there was growth of private investment and services traditionally provided by the State, in particular education and health, focusing on urban areas where the population with greatest purchasing power was concentrated. These dynamics, caused by a combination of multiple factors, often with contradictory effects, brought about mismatches between supply and demand, forcing, at the turn of the century, both the reorganisation of public networks, seeking greater rationality and efficiency, and the adoption of types of contracting between public and private sectors.

With the economic and financial crisis (2008), this reorganisation underwent major changes, in its rhythm (suspension/postponement of ongoing and/or projected investment), in terms of process (closure, concentration and privatisation) and in its actors (decentralization of competences to local authorities, strengthening of private companies and foreign capital). The request for financial assistance and the arrival of the *troika* required a reduction in public expense, with this causing major repercussions in the implementation of facilities and the human resources linked to the provision of these services.

As such, the subsequent analysis is based on the most recent changes, carried out by the 17th Portuguese Constitutional Government (2005-2009), but undermined by the outbreak of the crisis, which eventually led to the fall of the following Government (2009-2011). The 19th Government (2011-2015), strongly limited by the impositions of the *troika*, based its actions on reducing public expense through: i) the drastic reduction of public investment and management expenses; ii) the favouring of privatisation.

Figure 2 summarises the main changes carried out in public services in Portugal, considering changes in (socio-economic, demographic, technological and organisational) values; the evolution of formats, their territorial presence and the adaptation to the needs and expectations of users; the impacts in the level of services and of territories.

Figure 2 – Evolution of public services in Portugal (1975-2015) - a summarised vision
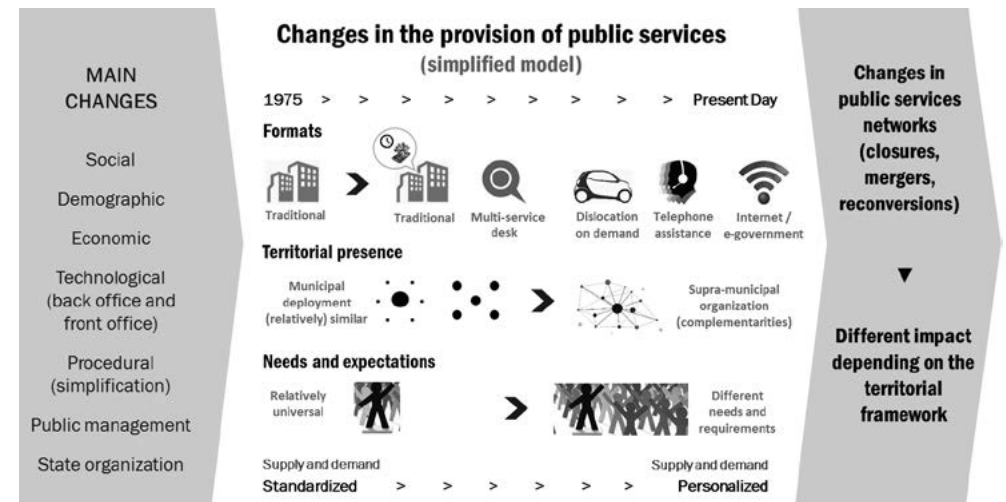
Source: Own elaboration

Effects of the crisis on the reorganization of public services networks

Education

During the 17th (2005-2009) and 18th (2009-2011) Portuguese Constitutional Governments, major reforms were started in the school network, particularly (i) the extension of preschool educational supply, making it compulsory and increasing the number of establishments, through the creation and direct management of local public administration and the formalisation of agreements with social economy entities; (ii) the reorganisation of available schools, closing primary schools with less than 21 students; and (iii) the creation of the Modernisation Programme for Existing Secondary Education Schools.

In 2011, the signing of the *troika*'s Memorandum of Understanding did not impose major changes in this area. Capucha, Duarte and Estevão (2013:291) assert that the document "is scarce in its references to education". However, the document still stated that a reduction in expenses of around 195 million euros was expected, along with the creation of new school clusters.

The main measures presented therein mainly envisaged aspects related to the quality of education, drop-out from school, entering the labour market and a greater investment in vocational education, with an increase in the number of state schools offering this.

The government in office between 2011 and 2015 carried out certain policies of its predecessor, particularly the rationalisation of the supply of schools in territories with a low number of students, but suspended the Modernisation Programme for Existing Secondary Education Schools. The Guide for State Reform (Government of Portugal, 2014) proposed to: (i) endow municipalities with greater competences, through contractual delegation, in new educational cycles and the management of existing state schools in their district; (ii) grant

greater autonomy to schools, to specify their educational mission in line with national guidelines (through contracts providing autonomy); (iii) formalise contracts of association with private entities, in territories where state offer is reduced and educational failure greater; (iv) provide families greater freedom of choice in selecting the educational establishment of their wards, by granting them education-cheques (experimental project); (v) focusing on vocational education, through increasing the total number of secondary school students attending such courses by around 50%; (vi) rationalise the training offer in higher education and create a cycle of education, with a duration of 2 academic years, to train senior professional technicians.

Table 3 shows recent evolution of supply and demand in educational establishments in Portugal in three academic years, 2008/09 corresponding to the intermediate year of the triggering of the crisis. In the first period the trend is for growth of supply and demand, with the exception of the 1st and 2nd cycles, where the demographic effect and rationalization of networks (closure and/or grouping of schools) are very evident. More recently, the reduction in the number of establishments and the number of students is only slightly contradicted in the provision for the 2nd cycle and the secondary population. With regard to the weight of public education of note is, on the one hand, the reduction in supply at all levels and on the other hand, the strengthening of demand, particularly since the crisis began.

Table 3 – Evolution of supply and demand by level of education in Portugal

		2000/01		2008/09		2013/14	
		N.º	% public	N.º	% public	N.º	% public
Pre-school	Establishments	6624	67.2	6981	65.8	6301	62.4
	Students*	235.6	49.8	274.6	51.8	265.4	53.5
1st cycle	Establishments	9416	94.0	5865	90.4	4645	88.4
	Students*	535.6	90.2	488.1	88.8	424.8	88.1
2nd cycle	Establishments	1418	83.9	1159	78.2	1201	78.0
	Students*	271.8	89.7	271.9	86.9	249.8	87.7
3rd cycle	Establishments	1357	82.9	1515	77.7	1469	78.6
	Students*	415.8	89.7	523.2	81.2	383.4	87.6
Secondary	Establishments	859	61.5	927	59.8	958	60.2
	Students*	413.7	83.2	498.3	75.8	385.2	79.3
Tertiary	Establishments	**	**	**	**	293	43.7
	Students*	387.7	70.6	373.0	75.7	362.2	83.3

Legend: *Students in thousands; **No data
Source: Direção Geral de Estatísticas da Educação e Ciência, http://www.dgeec.mec.pt/np4/home

Health

In the 17th and 18th Portuguese Constitutional Governments, one of the central pillars of health policy involved the reform of primary health care, making it more accessible to citizens and increasing demand for it as the first option, rather than hospitals. One of the aspects of this policy was the reconversion of health centres into Family Health Units (*Unidades de Saúde Familiar* - USF), provided with new services (such as oral health and specialised appointments) and linked to other services within the health network. In practice, these units provided for reinforcing GP (general practitioner) coverage which, according to Crisóstomo (2013), had incorporated 570,000 new users since 2006. There were no hospital restructuring policies with significant territorial impacts, but the National Network for Integrated Long-term Care (*Rede Nacional de Cuidados Continuados Integrados* - RNCCI) was set up (Decree-Law No. 101/2006, of 6 June). With the 18th Government already feeling the effects of the crisis, concern with the economic and financial sustainability of the SNS assumed a greater importance.

The recommendations of the *troika* in 2011 were in the same direction. With regard to service networks, references were only made to primary care and hospital centres. In the former, the document recommended an increase in the USF and the guaranteeing of a greater number of doctors in disadvantaged areas, to reduce territorial disparities in the access to and use of health services and the allocation of more general practitioners. With regard to hospitals, the *troika* argued for their reorganisation and rationalisation, based on the concentration and specialisation of services, in a joint hospital management model. It should also be mentioned that some of the services of the hospitals were able to be transferred to the USFs. In the opinion of Crisóstomo (2013), the *troika's* proposals, shaped by financial imperatives, could have prejudiced the universal and equitable nature of the service.

According to the Guide for State Reform, the current SNS model no longer responds to the needs of the population, who have very different living and hygiene conditions from those at the time of its setting up. However, the document mentions that "the issue of insufficient overall financing for the health system cannot be avoided, along with the scarcity of professionals, demographic pressure and inadequate clinical and geographical management of units in need of modernisation. The sustainability of the SNS is not an objective in itself, but it is a means so that Portugal can continue to offer a universal access system" (Government of Portugal, 2014:88-9). The measures proposed in the health sector include the following: promoting efficiency to ensure medium and long-term sustainability; reinforcing proximity between citizens and public primary health services, to reduce social and territorial inequalities; increasing the network of long term care services; encouraging the involvement of private entities and the social sector in providing public health services (Government of Portugal, 2014).

Table 4 shows the evolution of some indicators for the health system, taking 2008 as the reference year. Generally, there has been an increase in human resources per 1000 inhabitants and a strengthening and stabilisation of health facilities, with the exception of health centre extensions, which have suffered a notable fall. This can be explained by a reduction in population in rural areas by efforts to concentrate uses into health centres, which are better equipped offering more services.

Table 4 – Evolution of some indicators for the health system in Portugal

	2001	2008		2013	
	Total	Total	The Public Sector	Total	The Public Sector
No. hospitals	217	189	48.7%	226	52.7%
Hospital beds	42089	35803	*	35478	69.2%
Beds/100,000 inhab.	407	339.1	249.7	339.3	239.1
No. health centres	392	377	100%	387	100%
Health centre extensions	1953	1778	100%	1199	100%
No. doctors	33233	38932	81.9%	45289	87.7%
Doctors/1000 inhab.	3.2	3.7	*	4.3	*
No. Nurses	40230	32965	89.9%	36990	90.1%
Nurses/1000 inhab.	3.8	5.4	*	6.3	*

Legend: *No data

Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, https://www.ine.pt

Justice

Public services relating to justice underwent successive alterations in the organisation and operation of courts as initiated by Law No. 52/2008, of 28 August. In 2011, the legal system consisted of three geographical levels (Law No. 46/2011, of 24 June and its respective regulation): 4 Legal jurisdictions, with headquarters in Lisbon, Porto, Coimbra and Évora; 59 *círculos judiciais* (2 in the Autonomous Regions of Madeira and the Azores); 217 district courts (7 in the Autonomous Regions of Madeira and the Azores). This diploma called attention to the need for deeper reforms, an idea that was reinforced in the *troika's* Memorandum. Following this, at present, the judiciary is governed by the Law of the Judiciary Organization (Law No. 62/2013, of 26 August) and the Regime Applicable to the Organization and Functioning of the Judicial Courts (Decree-Law No. 49/2014, of 27 March). These changes have the following aims: (i) extend the territorial basis of the judicial districts, making them more connected to the regional urban centres and population movements; (ii) establish specialised courts at a national level, not just concentrated in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto; (iii) implement a new model for the management of district courts. Regarding the second point, there already was considerable provision for the *Family and Minors* and *Labour* specialities in the national territory before the reform of the judicial map, and so the current reform only brought about greater spatial coverage for the *Penal* and *Civil* specialities.

From the territorial point of view and regarding their proximity to citizens, most of the courts remained but the justice system became organised around 23 district courts (one for each former district capital, with the exception of Lisbon and Porto, with three and two district courts, respectively. Fourteen districts had specialised resources at all levels). Therefore, out of the previously existing courts, 20 were closed (they handled less than 20 cases a year), 264 were converted into 218 central chambers and 290 local chambers) and 27 became *secções de*

proximidade (literally proximity chambers), 9 of which operate under special regimes. There was a focus on specialisation, with the specialised sections increasing from 233 to 390. The central chambers, with jurisdiction in their district, are divided into *civil chambers* (handling and judging lawsuits worth more than €50,000.00) and *criminal chambers* (preparation and trial of cases provided for in law within the jurisdiction of a collective court (involving more than one judge or jury) and chambers with *specialised jurisdiction* (e.g., criminal investigation, enforcement, labour, trade and family and minors). Local courts of first instance have the mission to handle and try legal actions not attributed to the central court of first instance and these include generic jurisdiction chambers, which may concern civil, criminal, petty crimes and "proximity" chambers, as well as extended territorial jurisdiction courts.

The justices of the peace courts, extrajudicial courts with jurisdiction to resolve common civil lawsuits up to €15,000 (excluding family, inheritance and labour law) were created in 2001 (Law No. 78/2001, of 13 July). In January 2016 there were 24 justice of the peace courts in mainland Portugal, 14 municipal and 10 groupings of municipalities.

Table 5 highlights the increase in the number of courts between 2001 and 2008, which underwent a slight reduction with the reform of 2008 and a marked change with the reform of 2013.

Table 5 – Evolution of the number of courts, by type

Courts	2001	2008	2009	2013	2014
	337	**349**	**327**	**329**	**37**
1st instance	332	343	321	323	31
General jurisdiction	197	196	181	181	-
Specialised/specific jurisdiction	135	147	140	142	-
District court	-	-	-	-	23
Widened jurisdiction	-	-	-	-	8
Higher	5	6	6	6	6

Source: INE, Statistics Portugal, https://www.ine.pt

Office services

Public administrative services have a varying typology, and services relating to Finances, Social Security and Registries and Notaries (*Instituto dos Registos e do Notariado* - IRN) will be analysed here. Between 2005 and 2011 these services registered some changes leading to a significant impact on the territorial reorganisation of their networks, and they were modernized making use of information and communication technologies (ICT). The crisis and subsequent need to rationalise resources accelerated the structural change of these services.

As regards the Tax Authority (AT) services, given the growing provision of public services on the Internet, the troika's memorandum proposed to rationalise its personal assistance network.

This measure sought: (i) to bring the finance services network in line with international standards and practices; (ii) to save financial resources through reducing costs on infrastructures and current expenditures; (iii) to reallocate human resources to activities generating greater added value. The 19th Government, as part of the *Aproximar* (Coming Closer) programme, carried out an assessment of its reorganisation, based on a composite indicator of productivity and homogenised production, which included variables related to assets, expenditures, earnings, tax justice and collection. Following this, although the possibility of closing tax offices was admitted, this did not actually take place. As such, almost all municipalities have at least one finances service and it is expected that this spatial distribution will remain, even in low-density areas.

As regards the physical provision of services relating to the Ministry of Solidarity, Employment and Social Security (*Ministério da Solidariedade, Emprego e Segurança Social* - MSESS), it has been rationalising its network through the setting up of joint services with the entities it governs [Social Security Institute (*Instituto da Segurança Social* - ISS); Institute of Financial Management of the Social Security Service (*Instituto de Gestão Financeira da Segurança Social* - IGFSS) and the Institute for Employment and Vocational Training (*Instituto do Emprego e Formação Profissional* - IEFP)]. This process, currently underway, was started with (i) the 2014 integration of ten IGFSS sections, in the district ISS head offices; (ii) the sharing of service spaces between the ISS and the IEFP; (iii) the use of municipal council spaces; (iv) the services offered by the '*Lojas do Cidadão*' (administration and services single points of contact). The setting up of a joint service network - which has required informatics systems interoperability between the various institutions – has enabled citizens to deal with services related to the ministry in charge of these in only one location. In the Guide for State Reform (Government of Portugal, 2014), the concerns are related only to the economic and financial sustainability of the institution.

One of the main changes which has taken place in the services currently forming part of the Institute for Registries and Notaries was the aforementioned privatisation of notarial activity. The public notary offices that remain function as autonomous services, or in an annexation regime with civil, land, commercial and auto-mobile registries. There are also nine Notary Offices with Specialised Competences, almost all of them located in former district capitals in the north and centre of the country.

Another important shift was the reorganisation of the registry networks initiated in 2011, focused on rationalising installation and operating costs, in optimising human resources and maximising use of the premises of the Ministry of Justice (MJ). This process is linked to a new form of services provision, in which services related to registries are concentrated in the same physical space rather than a fragmented operational logic. This integration has been facilitated by the incorporation of ICT, particularly front offices. At the end of 2013, there were 84 civil registries annexed to commercial and land registries, 46 land and commercial registries incorporated in civil registries, and 46 land/commercial registries integrated within civil registries. First and second land registry offices have also been joined together in Cascais, Sintra, Maia, Oeiras and Coimbra. These measures were implemented through support from protocols with the Agency for Administrative Modernisation (AMA), the AT (tax offices), the Institute for Financial Management and Justice Equipment (IGFEJ) and several town halls. The main aim of these partnerships is to provide facilities for the rehousing of registry services. This process continued in 2014, with the merger of civil, commercial and land registries in Lisbon and Porto and the

coming together of registries in second-generation '*Lojas do Cidadão*' in various parts of the country, which in certain cases also made specialised services available, such as Desks for Citizen Cards and for Portuguese e-Passports. In general, the main offices of each district have a civil registry, a land registry and a commercial registry with jurisdiction in the district council area. There can be more than one registry of the same type in the main office or parish offices with more than 30,000 residents, when the service volume in the same district so justifies. However, the more recent tendency is to annex different types of registries within the same district.

The '*Loja do Cidadão*' in Lisbon opened in 1999, providing a format which made a diversified set of public and private services available during extended opening hours. In its initial stage the concept was limited to the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto, but in 2009, under the *Simplex* Programme (Presidency of the Council of Ministers, 2006), the "second-generation" model started operating and a year later there were 19 units (Tomé, 2013c). This expansion occurred in the district capitals in country areas and in small and medium-sized cities and coincided with an OECD recommendation (2008:17), according to which "(...) '*Lojas do Cidadão*' form an important framework model of user-centred 'one stop shops' [complemented by] a global strategy to provide multichannel services, with the provision of additional options for service delivery channels combined with transactional advanced administrative e-services." Their territorial spreading was justified by the need to provide "a greater integration of services based on life events [and] geographically and financially rationalize the public services distribution model, without losing their proximity to citizens along with savings on installation costs." (RCM No. 87/2008, of 27 May).

The Guide for State Reform (Government of Portugal, 2014) kept the policies in place for the *Lojas do Cidadão*, particularly in terms of digitisation becoming the norm, as well as a focus on the provision of on-line *public services en masse*, assisted on-line help (taking advantage of partnerships between central public administration, town halls and civil society). The Strategy for the Reorganisation of Public Administration Desk Services (*Estratégia para a Reorganização dos Serviços de Atendimento da Administração Pública* - ERSAAP) provides more information on two policies currently taking place which are directly related to the *Lojas do Cidadão*: a new management model for the *Lojas do Cidadão* and the creation of a complementary entity, the *Espaço do Cidadão* (literally the "Citizen Space"). The new management model for the *Lojas do Cidadão'* is based on their management being contracted out to the municipality, rather than undertaken by central administration. There are already some *Lojas do Cidadão* operating in this way (e.g. those in Rio Maior and Santarém) and the pace of openings is expected to increase. At the end of 2015 there were 37 *Lojas do Cidadão* in operation. In the meanwhile, and in addition to this format, the *Espaço do Cidadão* is an idea based on a "single window" concept, digitally assisted, located in post offices, town halls and parish councils. It aims to ensure a minimal lower cost presence of the State throughout the national territory. Although it has a "minimum" format, it can help bring public services to citizens, and fight info-exclusion and promote social and territorial cohesion. According to ERSAAP, "This network will take advantage of the massive investment the State has made in the reorganization and digital provision of public services, reducing the current gap between the broad supply of these services and the low demand for them by citizens" (RCM No. 55-A/2014, of 15 September: 4964-58). The development of the Citizen Space Network is taking place in conjunction with local government and the private entities, fostering a shared management model adjusted to

the needs of each territory. The aforementioned document adds that "the territories of lower population density, where the supply of traditional public services is lower, will be the most privileged areas. By creating 1000 Citizen Spaces between 2014 and 2015, this complementary network to the LC network, will provide the country with a considerable network of public services points of delivery close to citizens." However, at the end of 2015, according to figures released on the AMA website, there were still only 347 units operating in the country, providing around 170 different public entity services.

Regional case studies

Methodology

The demarcation of the regional case studies was based on the territorial dynamic modelling in mainland Portugal (2011), carried out by Tomé (2013a, 2013b and 2015). Thirty-six indicators and variables were considered, grouped into six themes: population; buildings and housing; economic system, territorial attractiveness and competitiveness; employment and living conditions; urban centralities; transport, accessibility and mobility. The analysis of this geographical information resulted in a typology in urban, rural and transition areas, with the former having most of the public services (education, health, justice and administrative) analysed (Table 6).

Table 6 – Public service facilities (no. and %), by service group and by territory type in Mainland Portugal

	Rural Territories		Rural-Urban Transition Territories		Urban Territories		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Education	193	3.4	876	15.4	4636	81.2	5705	100.0
Health	281	7.6	637	17.3	2771	75.1	3689	100.0
Administrative	70	3.8	417	22.4	1378	73.9	1865	100.0
Justice	7	2.3	63	20.3	240	77.4	310	100.0

Source: Tomé (2015)

Starting from that typology, three regional case studies (CS) were selected, involving sixteen municipalities:

- CS1: this corresponds to *metropolitan/densely urbanised territories*; it includes Lisbon and five municipalities of the Setúbal peninsula (Almada, Palmela, Seixal, Sesimbra and Setúbal);

- CS2: *urban-rural axis*; it includes six municipalities of Alentejo (Beja, Cuba, Vidigueira, Viana do Alentejo, Portel and Évora);

- CS3: *rural areas*; it includes the four border municipalities of the Baixo Alentejo (Barrancos, Moura, Serpa and Mértola).

In the CS1, Lisbon, the capital of the country, has a structuring role in the national urban system, polarizing it demographically and economically, and concentrating facilities and services, especially those at a higher hierarchical level. On the south side of the Tagus river, Almada and Setúbal are the municipalities with the largest populations, specialized facilities and services, with the former benefiting from greater proximity to Lisbon and the latter from the importance of its port and industrial activity. The central area of the Setúbal Peninsula includes urban areas of low/medium density (Fernão Ferro/Quinta do Conde/Azeitão), some of illegal origin, shared by the municipalities of Seixal, Palmela, Setúbal and Sesimbra. Its function as a "dormitory" area has been reinforced with recent improvements in road and railway networks.

In CS2, the cities of Évora and Beja dominate the organization of the regional urban system, with the former ever closer to Lisbon and subject to its influence. Improvement in accessibility between Évora and Beja seems to have made this city more vulnerable, with the loss of some services to the other. The remaining municipalities are more rural in character, but enjoy proximity to those two urban centres and the axis that connects them.

CS3 is a border area with Spain, which has had negative social and demographic dynamics for decades. The public services available within it are scarce and not very specialised.

To understand the way people use the various public services in those territories, an on-line survey was carried out between March and May 2015. This was intended to: (i) describe the use of different public services in the last two years; (ii) become aware of the location of the establishments used, the associated travel times (main residence - establishment), the service formats (if applicable) and the reasons for their choice (if applicable); (iii) identify the services and activities where there is compleme ntarity between the public and private sectors; (iv) determine the degree of satisfaction with the different public services; (v) assess expectations regarding the need to use the services in the following three years.

In order to define the sample, the starting point was established as carrying out 810 surveys, which corresponded to a $\pm$3.44% margin of error for a 95% confidence interval. The questionnaire, previously tested, was sent by email and through social networks (Facebook and LinkedIn) and also distributed by professors of the New University of Lisbon and the Polytechnic Institute of Beja, which disseminated it in the study areas. The 16 municipalities making up the 3 case studies were classified into 5 categories, in accord with their population levels, and a minimum number of surveys per municipality was established in accordance with their category: A (Lisbon) – 250 surveys; B (Almada, Seixal and Setúbal) – 60 surveys; C (Palmela, Sesimbra, Évora, Beja) – 50 surveys; D (Moura, Serpa) – 30 surveys and E (Portel, Viana do Alentejo, Cuba, Vidigueira, Mértola and Barrancos) – 20 surveys. According to these criteria, the envisaged 810 surveys were divided as follows: 530 in the CS1, 180 in the CS2 and 100 in CS3. The number of responses obtained was much higher, enabling a more rigorous selection process for its validation, with it being possible to consider variables such as the age structure and the rural/urban nature of the parish of residence, in order to minimize any resulting bias for the preferred distribution of e-surveys. Out of all the surveys received, 173 were eliminated, and 951 validated: 627 in the CS1, 224 in the CS2 and 100 in the CS3. The maximum error margin is thus $\pm$3.17% for a 95% confidence interval.

Main results

Table 7 shows the number of service units per groups and case studies. Education and health services stand out, given the variety of available types necessary to ensure implementation of comprehensive coverage policies (national health service and compulsory schooling from pre-school centres to secondary education).

Table 7 – Public services, by service groups and by case study (2015)

| | CS1 | CS2 | CS3 |
	No.	No.	No.
Education	408	79	43
Pre-school Centres	42	16	10
Primary Schools	274	52	29
Primary and Secondary Schools	12	1	1
Secondary Schools	37	5	2
Vocational and Artistic Schools	6	0	1
Higher Educational Institutions	37	5	0
Health	446	71	26
Primary Care	86	51	18
Hospital Care	9	4	7
Long-term Integrated Care	30	2	1
Contracted Services	321	14	0
Administrative	71	39	23
AT	24	6	3
ISS	10	9	4
IRN – Civil	6	6	4
IRN – Land	8	5	4
IRN – Commercial	8	6	4
IRN – Vehicles	10	7	3
Multi-purpose Administrative Services Centres (Lojas do Cidadão)	5	0	1
Justice	35	10	3
Courts	32	10	3
Justices of the Peace	3	0	0

Source: Tomé (2015: 454-459)

Figures 3 and 4 show the spatial distribution of public services, showing concentrations in accordance with the settlement structure.

Figure 3 – Location of public services, by type, in CS1 (2015)
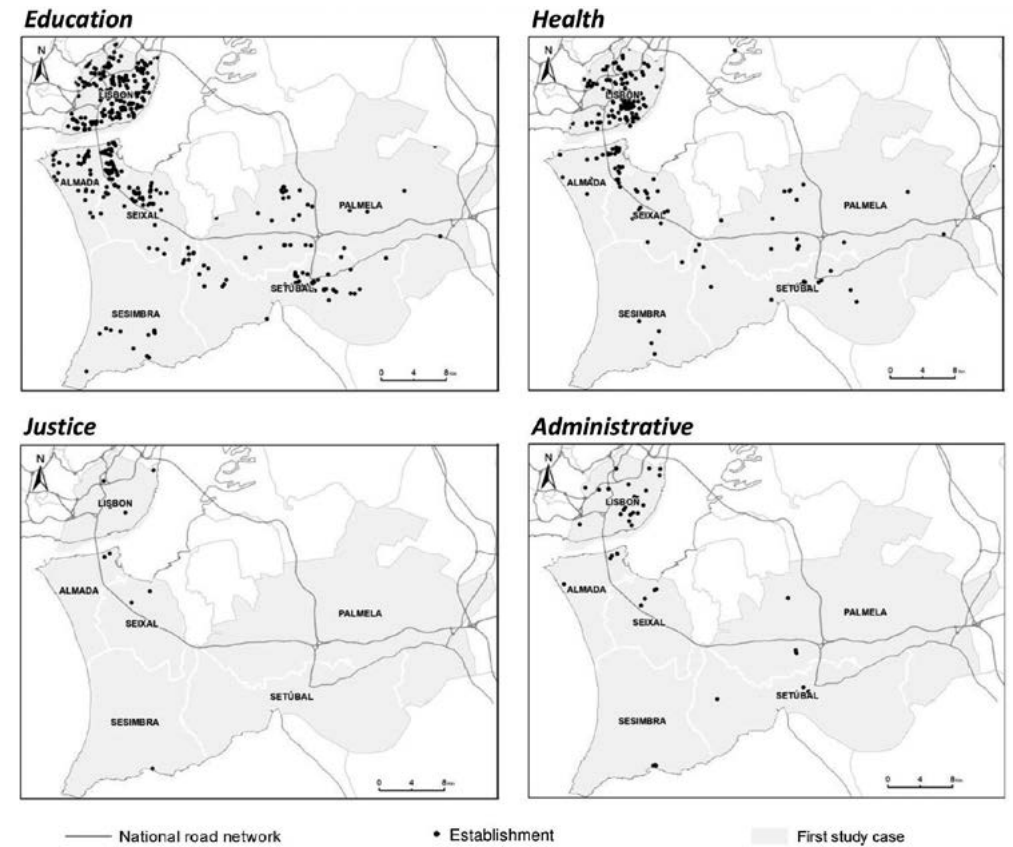
Source: Adapted from Tomé (2015)

Figure 4 – Location of public services, by type, in CS2 and CS3 (2015)
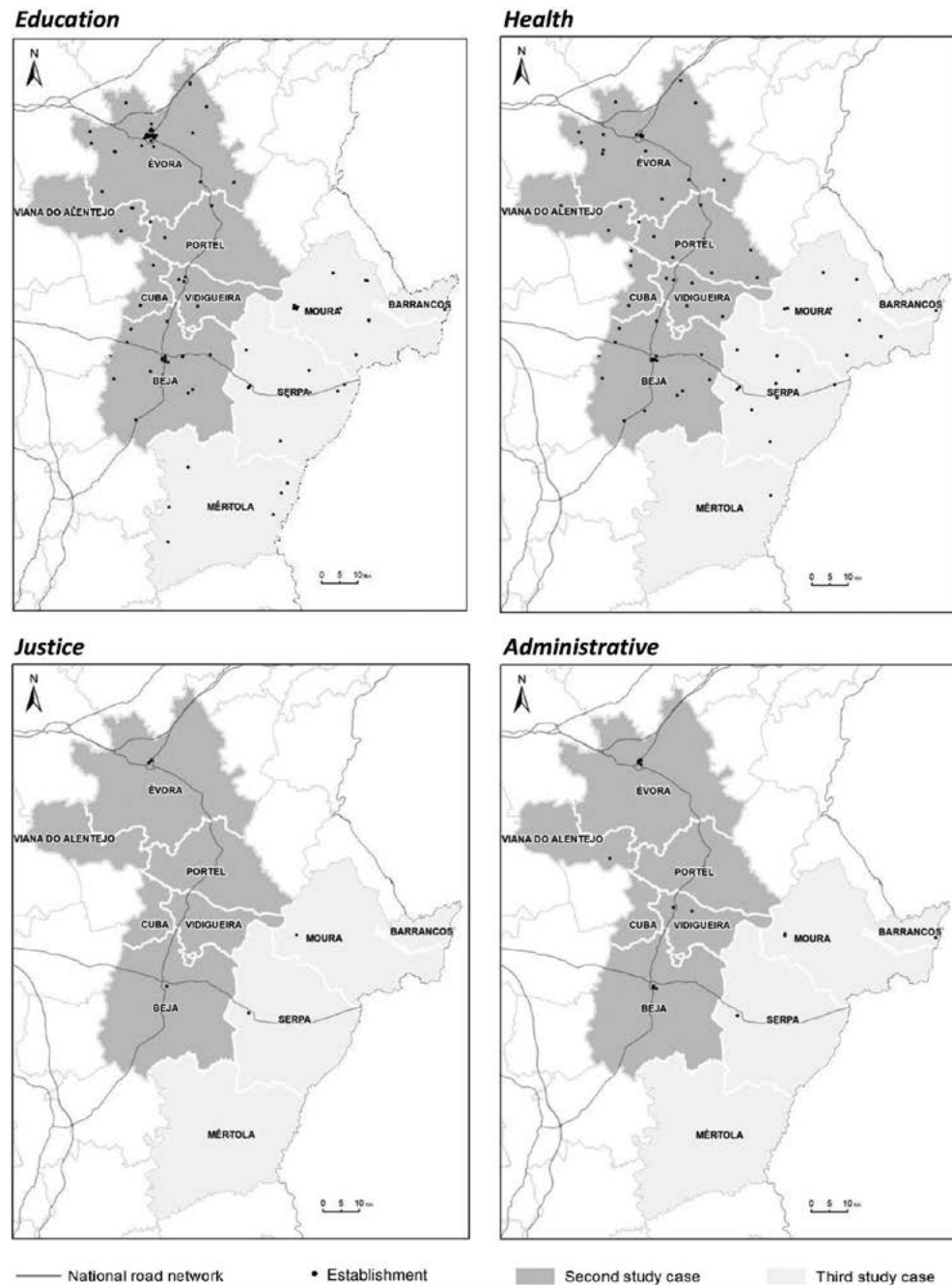
Source: Adapted from Tomé (2015)

Use of Public Services

The use of public services is similar in the three case studies: health services are most in demand by the populations, followed by public services related to administration, education and, lastly, justice (Table 8).

Table 8 – Respondents whose household members have used public services in the last two years

| Public services | Respondents (Number and % of total respondents) | | | | | |
| | CS1 | | CS2 | | CS3 | |
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Health	551	87.9	212	94.6	96	96.0
Administrative	551	87.9	204	91.1	94	94.0
Education	281	44.8	119	53.1	53	53.0
Justice	77	12.3	29	12.9	10	10.0

Source: Tomé (2015)

However, there are differences in each service based on its nature, frequency of use and complementarity of the public offer with the private sector.

In education, in the three case studies, most students attend basic education (1st, 2nd and 3rd education cycles - years 1 to 9) or higher education. The complementarity with the private services is highest in the CS1 (32.2%) and lowest in the CS3 (10.9%), which is associated with smaller private offer in the rural territories and the lower financial resources of households. The private sector involvement in educational services are mainly free time activities, school support and sports activities.

In health, proximity services are used by the largest number of respondents, although with a reduced frequency (2 to 3 times a year). Regional services are also in demand, by around 80% of the respondents, while specialised health services are the least used (22.9% to 34.4%). However, in both cases, use is rare (once a year). The largest usage rates occur in rural territories. In the public services analysed, the greatest complementarity with the private offer is in the area of health – metropolitan/densely urbanised territories (75.9%), urban-rural axis (63.2%) and rural territories (53.1%) – mainly for medical specialisation appointments. The choice of the private sector to obtain health care is, to a large extent, related to the existence of agreements with health subsystems, the speed in making appointments and subsequent care, the quality of the service and the quality/price ratio.

The justice services are hardly used by the respondents: 16.0% in the CS3; 21.9% in CS1; and 23.2% in the CS2. Among the courts most used, the most sought-after specialisations are civil, administrative, criminal, family and minors and labour. The scarce use of justices of the peace is connected with their smaller territorial presence outside the large urban centres, but also a lack of knowledge of this service by the population groups.

As regards administrative services, finance is the most sought-after and registry and notary services the least requested. Frequency of use varies between services, but there are clear differences between the three types of territories. In general, finance services are used 2 to 3 times a year, while social security, and registry and notary services are rarely used (once a year). In the service formats most sought-after there are different territorial trends: on-line portals and *Lojas do Cidadão* are accessed most in metropolitan/densely urbanised territories; specialised departments are used more in transition territories, which also show modest use of *Lojas do Cidadão* and *Espaços do Cidadão*; specialised departments also dominate rural territories, but there the *Lojas do Cidadão* and the *Espaços do Cidadão* have had relative success. Contrary to what happens in the other public services analysed, in the CS3 there is greater use of specialized/intermediary private agencies (9.6%).

Location and distance-time to the service

In education public services, it was seen in the three case studies that for preschool and primary education, most respondents use ones in their municipality and parish of residence. However, in general the ratio of the "in the municipality" and the "in the parish of residence" answer and the other options tends to decrease in proportion to the level of education. As regards higher education, the differences between the analysed territories are obvious, related to the availability of supply: in CS1 most respondents use institutions located in the municipality of residence but in another parish; in the other case studies the most representative answer is in another municipality (other than the municipality of residence and work). The distance-time between the usual place of residence and the teaching establishment varies, in most levels of education and in the different case studies, from less than 5 minutes to between 6 and 15 minutes. Only in higher education is the distance-time greater to these values in the CS1 (between 16 and 30 minutes) and in the CS3 (more than 60 minutes).

In health, proximity services are located mainly in the municipality and the parish of residence, regional services are in the municipality of residence but in another parish and specialized services in another district, unlike the municipality of residence and study/work. Health services are generally little used in the municipalities where individuals work or study. These locations are reflected in the distance-time from the place of residence to the closest health facility: for proximity services these are almost always between 6 and 15 minutes, although the number of responses "less than 5 minutes" is similar; in the metropolitan/densely urbanised territories, the regional services are between 16 to 30 minutes, in the urban-rural axis they are between 6 to 15 minutes and in the rural areas between 31 and 60 minutes; and for the specialised services these are between 31 and 60 minutes of the population (CS1) and over 60 minutes (CS2 and CS3).

Respondents showed that administrative public services, regardless of their type, have similar territorial patterns: in the CS1 and CS2, the three services analysed are available in the municipality of residence but in another parish (only social security in the CS2 is more represented in the municipality and in the parish of residence); and in CS3, all services are obtained by most users in the municipality and parish of residence.

The most mentioned location for justice services in all territorial contexts is the municipality of residence but in another parish. Among the public services analysed, those of justice - and, in particular, the courts - are those where there is a greater use in other municipalities than those of residence or for study/work, justified, to a large extent, by the territorial deployment of the courts and by specific legislation, which establishes the access criteria based on place of residence. In terms of time, it is in the Évora-Beja axis that the courts are more accessible (between 6 to 15 minutes). In the metropolitan/densely urbanised territories, distance-times of 16 to 30 minutes are dominant in the access to courts and to the justices of the peace and over 60 minutes in the rural territories.

Expectations of use in three years

By 2018, most respondents admitted they will use education services: 56.0% in urban areas, 69.6% in the urban-rural axis and 59.0% in rural areas. As for health, almost all (99%) expect to make use of public services. In both services, the public sector will continue to stand out in the provision to their respective populations, above all in the CS2, which is justified by the lack of private offer and lower purchasing power of its residents. Regarding the way in which the services should be provided, the respondents show preference for face-to-face service, possibly supplemented by telephone or on-line assistance for education and health.

As regards administrative public services, the overwhelming majority of the respondents expect to use services exclusively in the public sector, through on-line portals but, if necessary, resorting to face-to-face service for specific issues.

In the public justice services, due to this being difficult to predict, most respondents do not know whether they will use them or not, but, if they do, this will be face-to-face.

Reorganisation of public service networks from the individual and territorial perspectives

The respondents were also questioned about the impact of the reorganisation of networks in both individual and municipal terms. In all case studies, the majority showed difficulty in carrying out this assessment, mainly in the metropolitan territories. In these, the polycentric structure and high accessibility and mobility make it more difficult to understand geographical patterns and the difference between public and private offers. In the urban-rural axis and in rural areas, this perception is clearer, given the greater knowledge of the territory of residence and lower possibilities of choice due to lack (or absence) of supply. Those who express an opinion on this matter differentiate impacts from individual and territorial perspectives: in urban territories what is most emphasised is the harm to the individual, in contrast to rural areas, where the stronger sense of territorial identity gives rise to greater concern for the community.

To sum up, the results confirm that in urban territories the greater number and diversity of services reinforce the proximity effect and broaden the choices of users. On the contrary, in other areas, and more sharply in rural areas, the shortage of supply and the greater distances to travel to access services penalises their use. This condition is aggravated by the profile of the

residents, who tend to be more elderly and dependent on public transport, which is scarce. Thus, it is vital to find alternative forms of access to services in these areas, particularly concerning flexibility of opening and operational criteria (schools, health centres), and the provision of electronically supported fixed and/or itinerant multi-service formats (e.g. in the parish council).

Reflection from the perspective of territorial resilience and cohesion

Over the past 40 years, the network of public services in Portugal has undergone marked changes. With a democratic regime, a Welfare State was set up, supported by essential redistributive policies to bring the country out of its structural backwardness in development and reduce territorial inequalities.

Following the initial political instability, the decade that preceded Portugal joining the European Economic Community (EEC) saw the launching of policies with a strong social impact (education, health, social security, justice), which started to alleviate the widespread under-resourcing, but also contributed to aggravating national public accounts.

After joining the EEC (1986), the availability of structural funds through successive Community Support Frameworks provided infrastructure and facilities to the country, with ever greater and more diverse networks. This generalised coverage of territories, guided by the principles of equality and universality of access to services, thus contributed to reinforcing territorial cohesion. However, at the same time this led to a lack of investment in traditional sectors such as agriculture, fishing and industry, contributing to the weakening of the productive base of the country, making it more dependent on the outside. Strong public investment generated societal changes, with repercussions in the territories, reinforcing littoralization, dispersal in the occupation of densely urbanised areas, the emptying of city centres, and the widening of low-density territories. The different rhythms in the design/application of policies and territorial dynamics (induced, or not, by these) generated imbalances, and even contradictory effects, between the responses which were implemented (and which became prematurely obsolete) and the emergence of new needs (the response to which has not been immediate).

However, a sequencing and combination of exogenous and endogenous events has contributed to a significant change from the previous framework, sharpening the existing contradictions. As regards the external aspect, the demand resulting from Portugal being included in the Eurozone (2001), the consequences of the enlargement of the EU to the east (2004) and the effects in Europe, particularly in southern countries, of the American financial crisis (2008) affected the capacity for public and private (external and internal) investment in the country. As regards the internal component, the first signs of crisis showed the difficulty of bearing the costs of operating and maintaining infrastructures for and networks of facilities (without EU support). At the same time, the crisis accentuated imbalances in that model of creating infrastructure with regard to socio-demographic developments, already previously perceptible but neglected. These, by themselves, justified reorganisations of the networks, seeking to introduce greater rationality in their operation, which could be seen in some cases, without taking into consideration specific local aspects (e.g. closure of primary schools with a number of students less than a pre-established limit, which has been increasing). In fulfilling the

troika's Memorandum, focused on public expenditure reduction and its deficit, the neoliberal Government went against the dominant thinking in Europe marked by public disinvestment in services of general interest, paving the way to the extinction, contracting, subjection to a free competition framework and the privatisation of public services.

The principle of equity, which requires the availability of infrastructure and public facilities as well as universal access to services of general interest, was passed over for criteria of (presumed) efficiency. The spatial and functional concentration of these services has resulted in difficulties in adjusting to demand needs and preferences. In low-density areas spatial equity in access to public services, when considering the distance to the points of delivery and of choice, has been penalised, especially taking into account the spread of the population, the accentuated ageing of the population and their decreased mobility. The territories are more vulnerable and territorial cohesion has been compromised.

To summarise, there was a period of euphoria, with an excess of voluntarism for public policies, stimulated by Structural Funds, which also led to perverse effects, which have perhaps been underestimated (especially the over-sizing of equipment and inadequate spatial distribution), which reached a critical period, marked by the difficulty of public authorities in supporting the operational and maintenance costs of the previous model. The crisis has aggravated these negative effects, which have penalised territories, thus making them more vulnerable.

References

Alves, T. (2005a). *Geografía dos serviços: reestruturação produtiva e inovação social*. Centro de Estudos Geográficos. Lisboa.

Alves, T. (2005b). The decentralization of the public administration in Portugal information society and the development of services in rural areas. in Alves, T. (coord.). *Serviços e desenvolvimento – que oportunidades para as áreas rurais?*. Centro de Estudos Geográficos. Lisboa.103-118.

Baum, C. and Maio, A. (2000). *Gartner's four phases of e-government model*. Gartner Group.

Bent, S., Kernaghan, K. e Marson, D. B. (1999). *Innovations and good practices in single-window service*. Institute of Public Administration of Canada. Toronto.

Capucha, L., Duarte, A. and Estevão, P. (2013). Políticas de educação em Portugal. in Rodrigues, M. L. and Adão e Silva, P. (orgs.). *Políticas públicas para a reforma do Estado*. Almedina. Lisboa. 279-294.

Carmo, R.M. and Barata, A. (2014). Introdução: o Estado Social não é gordura, é músculo. in Carmo, R.M. and Barata, A. (org.) (2014). *Welfare State: De Todos Para Todos*. Tinta-da-china. Lisboa. 9-21.

Chauvière, M. (2001). Déconstruire la rhétorique et la proximité. in CORUM (ed.) (2001). *La proximité, quels enjeux pour les services públics?*. Mario Mella Edition. Lion. 121-129.

Comissão Europeia (2004). *Livro Branco sobre os serviços de interesse geral*. Edição própria. Bruxelas.

Comissão Europeia (2008). *Livro Verde Sobre a Coesão Territorial Europeia, COM(2008) 616 final, Bruxelas* http://ec.europa.eu/regional_policy/consultation/terco/paper_terco_pt.pdf

CORUM (ed.) (2001). *La proximité, quels enjeux pour les services públics?*. Mario Mella Edition. Lion.

Coutinho, M. (2000). Administração pública voltada para o cidadão: quadro teórico-conceitual. *Revista do Serviço Público*. n. º 3: 40-72.

Crisóstomo, S. (2013). O sistema nacional de saúde em Portugal. in Rodrigues, M. L. and Adão e Silva, P. (orgs.). *Políticas públicas para a reforma do Estado*. Almedina. Lisboa. 261-277.

Ferrão, J. (2000). Relações entre mundo rural e mundo urbano - Evolução histórica, situação actual e pistas para o futuro. *Sociologia, Problemas e Práticas*. 33: 45 -54.

Ferrão, J. (2013).Território. in Cardoso, J. L., Magalhães, P. and Pais, J. M. (org.). *Portugal Social de A Z. Temas em Aberto*. Expresso. Lisboa. 244-257.

Governo de Portugal (2005). *Plano Tecnológico - Uma estratégia de crescimento com base no Conhecimento, Tecnologia e Inovação*. Edição própria. Lisboa.

Governo de Portugal (2014). *Um Estado Melhor.* Edição própria. Lisboa.

Hartley, J. (2005). Innovation in governance and public services: past and present. *Public Money & Management*. vol. 25: 27-34.

Harvey, D. (1973). *Social Justice and the City.* Blackwell. Oxford.

Hespanha, P., Ferreira, S., Pacheco, V. (2013). O Estado Social, crise e reformas. In CES/OCA, *A Anatomia da Crise: Identificar os problemas para construir as alternativas*. 1º Relatório Preliminar do Observatório sobre Crises e Alternativas. CES/OCA. Coimbra. 161-249.

INE (2003). *XIV Recenseamento Geral da População/IV Recenseamento Geral da Habitação – Dados comparativos 1991-2001* (CD-ROM), Edição própria. Lisboa.

Marques, M. (2009). *Serviço público, que futuro?*. Almedina. Coimbra.

Marques, T. S. (2004). *Portugal na transição do século – retratos e dinâmicas territoriais*. Edições Afrontamento. Lisboa.

Martin, R. (2012). Regional economic resilience, hysteresis and recessionary shocks. *Journal of Economic Geography*. vol. 12: 1-32.

OCED (2008). *Rethinking e-Government Services User-Centred Approaches.* OCED. Paris.

OECD (2011). *Assessing and monitoring rural-urban linkages in functional regions: A methodological framework*. OCED. Paris.

OCED (2013). *Portugal: reforming the state to promote growth.* OCED. Paris.

Pereira, M. (2009). Desafios contemporâneos do ordenamento do território: para uma governabilidade inteligente do(s) território(s), *Prospectiva e Planeamento*. vol. 16: 77-102.

Presidência do Conselho de Ministros (2006). *Simplex'06 – Programa*. Edição própria. Lisboa.

Rivas, D. (2012). Explorando algunas trayectorias recientes de la justicia en la geografía humana contemporánea: de la justicia territorial a las justicias espaciales. *Cuadernos de Geografía, Revista Colombiana de Geografía*. 21: 75-84.

Teigão dos Santos, F. (2009). Territórios resilientes enquanto orientação de planeamento, *Prospectiva e Planeamento*. vol. 20: 13-28.

Tinholt, D. (coord.) (2013). *Public services online 'Digital by default or by detour?' – Assessing user centric eGovernment performance in Europe – eGovernment benchmark 2012*, Bruxelas, Comissão Europeia

Tomé, R. (2011). *Comércio e serviços em áreas urbanas de génese ilegal – o caso da Quinta do Conde*. Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Lisbon (Master's dissertation).

Tomé, R. (2013a). Lojas do Cidadão: do formato do centro comercial de serviços aos pontos de atendimento integrados. Que perspetivas de evolução? in APG, *IX Congresso da Geografia Portuguesa*. Edição própria. Évora. 601-606.

Tomé, R. (2013b). Podem os Sistemas Complexos Adaptativos ajudar a geografia a compreender a evolução da oferta e procura dos serviços públicos e das políticas e estratégias territoriais que lhe são inerentes? in APG, *IX Congresso da Geografia Portuguesa*. Edição própria. Lisboa. 880-887.

Tomé, R. (2013c). Lojas do Cidadão: do formato do centro comercial de serviços aos pontos de atendimento integrados. Que perspetivas de evolução? in APG (org.), *IX Congresso da Geografia Portuguesa*. Évora. 606-611. ISBN 978-972-99436-6-9.

Tomé, R. (2015). *Serviços públicos em diferentes contextos territoriais: (re)organização das redes e relações com os sistemas urbanos.* Ph.D. Thesis. FCSH, UNL, Lisboa.