

**Shaping an urban space: the revitalization process of  
Mouraria in Lisbon**

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**PhD thesis in Urban Studies**

**December, 2015**



Thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Urban Studies under the scientific supervision of Prof. Luís Vicente Baptista  
and Prof. Sybille Frank

Grant awarded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology  
(Ref. SFRH / BD / 75760 / 2011)



## Acknowledgments

I thank my supervisors, Luis Vicente Baptista and Sybille Frank, for their guidance and support; the local interlocutors, particularly Nuno Franco, Rosa Riveiro, Leonor Clara, Francisco Lima da Costa, who helped me during the fieldwork; the officers working in Mouraria including from the local office for their availability which cannot always be taken for granted when it comes to public institutions; representatives of associations (in particular *Crescer na Maior*, *IN-Mouraria*, *Mouraria + Emprego*, *Renovar a Mouraria*), and the local population that I talked to and interviewed for their availability and patience in providing their testimonials and opinions; friends and colleagues with whom I shared my ideas and anxieties, especially Daniela Morais, Marianna Monte, Maria João Gomes and Nina Amelung; Lucia Caistor for her help with the English writing, and last but not least, my family who for four years had to put up with me going to and talking about Mouraria.



# **Shaping an urban space: the revitalization process of Mouraria in Lisbon**

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## **Abstract**

The present thesis addresses revitalization processes, an important strategy for the contemporary city, based on a redefinition of the urban fabric, taking as a case study Mouraria in the so-called historic part of Lisbon, an area which had been considered by different actors, both internally and externally, as requiring an intervention in order to respond to physical decay and social vulnerabilities. The research aimed to analyze how a territory is shaped, by following local interventions and capture the changes that happen in a context of transition.

In view of the global transformations with local consequences, urban policies tend to prioritize a concerted action at the local level via interventions that reflect the growing trend of combining economic growth and social justice. In this respect, by working in partnership, this model aims to enhance the competitiveness of cities and the socioeconomic development of territories by supporting entrepreneurial initiatives, improving public space, and boosting the housing market. These approaches focus on territories as evaluative goods, where new possibilities are to be explored by aesthetically elevating the landscape and recreating a local symbolic identity that is promoted for leisure and consumption.

In this sense, the presence of organizations that work in the social sector, and increasingly from the cultural industry, which is considered by local government as a key element in the redevelopment of local meanings, is to be encouraged. At the same time, startup financing to trigger social entrepreneurship, a penetration of the middle class, which is attracted by locally-created opportunities, the media's role as well as online networks in disseminating trends in terms of urban realities, are important aspects in redefining a territory. In the reproduction of social action, new forms of appropriation, relocation and delimitation can be identified but also perpetuation.

**KEYWORDS:** revitalization, culture, entrepreneurship, social capital





## **Moldando o espaço urbano: o processo de revitalização da Mouraria em Lisboa**

**Madalena Sandmann Corte-Real**

### **Resumo**

A presente tese aborda processos de revitalização, uma estratégia importante para a cidade contemporânea que tem por base a redefinição do tecido urbano, tomando como estudo de caso a Mouraria na chamada zona histórica de Lisboa, uma área que havia sido considerada por diversos atores, tanto interna como externamente, com tendo necessidade de uma intervenção a fim de responder à degradação física e vulnerabilidades sociais. A pesquisa teve como objetivo analisar como é que um território é moldado, ao seguir as intervenções locais e captar as mudanças que acontecem num contexto de transição.

Tendo em conta as transformações globais, com consequências locais, as políticas urbanas tendem a priorizar uma ação concertada a nível local, através de intervenções que refletem a crescente tendência em combinar crescimento económico e justiça social. Neste sentido, ao trabalhar em parceria, este modelo tem como objetivo aumentar a competitividade das cidades e o desenvolvimento socioeconómico dos territórios ao apoiar iniciativas empreendedoras, melhorar o espaço público e impulsionar o mercado imobiliário. Essas abordagens concentram-se em áreas enquanto bens valorativos, onde novas possibilidades deverão ser exploradas ao elevar esteticamente a paisagem e recriar uma identidade simbólica local que é promovida para lazer e consumo.

Neste sentido, a presença de organizações que trabalham no sector social, e cada vez mais da indústria cultural, que é considerada pelo governo local como um elemento-chave na reconstrução de significados locais, é de incentivar. Ao mesmo tempo, um financiamento que sirva de arranque para acionar o empreendedorismo social, a penetração da classe média que é atraída pelas oportunidades localmente criadas, o papel da comunicação social, bem como das redes sociais virtuais em disseminar tendências em termos de realidades urbanas, são aspetos importantes na redefinição

de um território. Na reprodução da ação social, novas formas de apropriação, relocação e delimitação podem ser identificadas, mas também de perpetuação.

**PALAVRAS-CHAVE:** revitalização, cultura, empreendedorismo, o capital social

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# I. INTRODUCTION

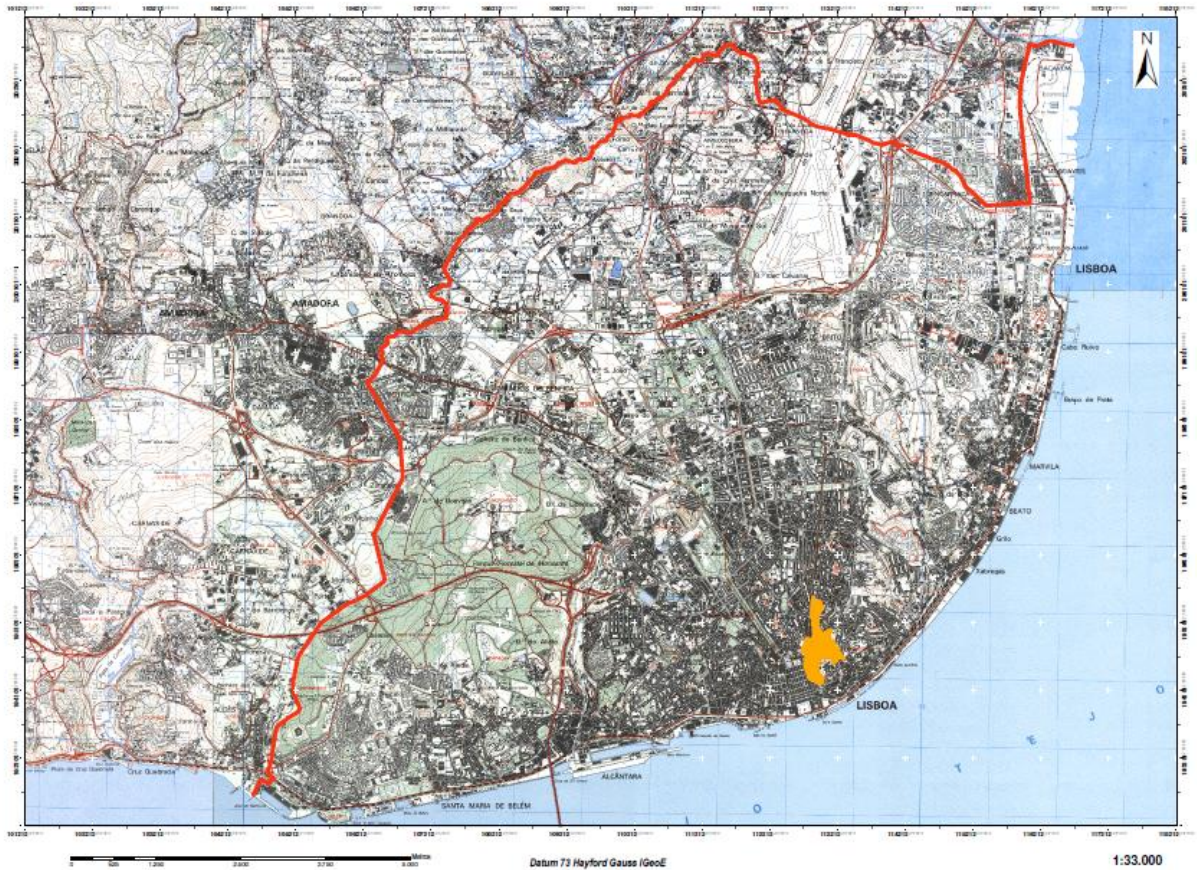
## 1. Framework

The present investigation aims to contribute to the reflection on revitalization processes in deprived territories of the inner city, taking as a case study Mouraria in Lisbon. These interventions follow a multi-targeted approach that engenders cultural, socio-economic and spatial transformations.

In the past, this area had received people from rural areas that came to Lisbon to work, and in recent decades immigrants from different parts of the world have also settled here. It has also been marked by socially marginalized groups, and in the last few years it has become attractive to a certain segment of the middle class who choose to live in an aesthetically appealing and central territory.

The Municipality of Lisbon, after having identified local problems (high unemployment and low qualifications, social stigma, vulnerable populations, deterioration of public space and buildings), decided to implement two complementary programmes: the *Action Programme* or (PA), and the *Community Development Programme of Mouraria* (PDCM), a process that started in 2011. The aim of these local government interventions was the improvement of public space and boosting of social and economic development.

Around 44 partners participated in these interventions from public institutions to sociocultural associations, in addition to the numerous players that were attracted to the territory due to a sudden recognition of its potential. Under the framework of socio-spatial change, the present analysis considers not only what is undertaken through the programmes but also the broader dynamics brought about by these measures.



**Figure 1. Delimitation of Mouraria within the City of Lisbon. Source of the Map: IGeoE**

With about 5,800 inhabitants (about 1% of the city), Mouraria (see Appendix 1, figure 30) is located in the historic centre of Lisbon, stuck on the slope of the castle. Currently, the area that is undergoing intervention and designated as Mouraria was spatially defined by the city council as a territory being particularly needy to be revitalized. In this sense it does not correspond to the borders associated with the neighbourhood of Mouraria, although even among the local population there is no consensus considering its delimitation. Among its inhabitants, spatial and social frontiers shrink or widen according to their sense of attachment and the positive or negative representations (as analysed by Menezes 2004).

At the edges of the territory are two squares, of which one in particular, Intendente (see Appendix 1, figure 3), used to have a rather bad reputation and underwent a major intervention. In front of the territory is another square, Martim Moniz (see Appendix 1, figure 29), which was awarded to be managed by a private company.



**Figure 2. Delimitation of Mouraria**

**Orthophotomap of Lisbon. Source: CML interactiva (<http://lxi.cm-lisboa.pt/lxi/>)**

Presently, after several interventions undertaken in this territory during the twentieth century incorporating different perspectives, Mouraria is once again the subject of a process initiated by the local government.

## **2. The prefix re- in the concepts of urban interventions**

The way the city is conceived has been shifting over decades with changing theories and proposals for action. The prefix 're' meaning again or withdrawal in the sense of restoring something which is not up to standard, has been used in concepts indicating new approaches in terms of urban interventions that succeeded the previous ones being questioned: renewal, requalification, rehabilitation, regeneration, revitalization.

Three concepts will be highlighted in relation mainly to specific historical periods from a social, political, cultural and economic perspective. Urban renewal is a term

defined as the process of physical transformation often associated with large-scale interventions. It has a particular resonance as a description of urban policy developed in many North American and European cities in the decades of the mid-twentieth century (Couch, Sykes, and Börstinghaus 2011: 3). It favours the demolition of buildings and their consequent replacement by new construction, usually with different morphological and typological characteristics, and/or new economic activities adapted to the process of urban change (Moura et al. 2006: 18).

The concept of regeneration as emphasised by Pinho, has undergone an evolution since the 1960s, emerging with a concern around conservation and preservation of the physical fabric but increasingly related to sustainable development, spatial planning and social cohesion. Emerging in the framework of architectural heritage conservation policy, it quickly gained a broader meaning considering new social, economic, environmental and cultural challenges (2009: iii). This wider meaning intersects with the idea of revitalization as combined approaches.

Revitalization (see Moura et al. 2006: 21-22) is being commonly regarded as an integrated approach in terms of urban functions, partnerships and resources aimed at developing “economic viability”, “environmental responsibility” as well as “social and cultural equity”. It considers the territorial specificities but also their influence at a broader level. It relies on cooperation at different scales (from national to local) but favours a focused intervention that strengthens the mobilization and participation of different actors in a space physically delimited by a concerted action. The revitalization process is developed, in the medium and long term, in the interests of a sustainable intervention, linking opportunities, competitive advantages and an urban localized context that is increasingly globalized. As underlined by the authors it is based mainly on "opportunity projects", in collaboration with private / public (investors), and on relationships with local communities.

The general aims of these interventions include improvements in public space and infrastructure, support for competitiveness and innovation as well as the promotion of a positive image so as to attract people to invest, live and visit the area but also to help local populations trying to improve their socio-economic conditions.



'Revitalization' is used in the present research not because it is referred to in city council programmes; it is even considered to have a negative meaning in the sense that something has to gain a new vitality. The concept, in view of the previous definitions, seems especially suitable to describe a joint action that was conducted in Mouraria and that aims to promote territorial development.

### **3. Zoom-in analysis and research scope**

In view of the doctoral programme on Urban Studies under which the investigation is being conducted, and quoting Häußermann and Siebel (2004: 217), the city is an extremely complex object where societal developments can be read. The scientific study of the city should be interdisciplinary and based on a multi-level perspective to analyse and understand the influences which become visible, for instance at the district level. As underlined by these authors, in view of globalization processes, urban social space is strongly influenced by international communications and economic interdependence, by the change in cultural content and symbols, and not least by migration movements.

The contemporary city has to cope with growing urban diversity including socio-economic disparities and population with diverse migratory origins, different domestic forms and lifestyles in a setting where local identity is increasingly marked by different realities.

In this sense, the concept of territory, in the present analysis, is conceived as the reflection of global and local transformations marked by an intensification of inflows, networks and different social relations, and the present study intends to carry out an analysis on the spatial redefinition that occurs, taking into account a certain urban development perspective and the complexity of social dynamics. External agents impose modes of domination on how the territory should be modified, and under these

circumstances *the* research question addresses *how the process was undertaken under the influence of numerous actors in order to redefine a place.*

In Western Europe, after a period of massive suburbanization, local governments are reinventing and capitalizing territories in the inner city, including some of the old neighbourhoods marked by socioeconomic vulnerabilities and physical deterioration. *How is a territory shaped?*

At the same time, previous social interventions undertaken in deprived territories are more and more called into question at different policy levels regarding their efficacy. Social cohesion is to be enhanced in an increasingly diverse world, in the sense of promoting social inclusion through equal opportunities, minimising disparities and avoiding polarisation; promoting social capital in order to improve outcomes and overcome disadvantages, not only for individuals but also at the territorial level; and finally focusing on the importance of governance for urban competitiveness on the basis of dynamic communities and partnerships between different actors (Jenson 2010: 3-16).

More civic engagement, social entrepreneurship, enhancement of social networks between different groups, new actors with innovative and creative approaches and community empowerment are now seen as catchwords to tackle such urban realities directly. In this process of socio-cultural transformation, different actors, namely individuals, non-profit organizations, research centres, enterprises, come into play and are exercising an increasingly central role in the redefinition of a city's territories. As entrepreneurial initiatives that combine profit-making with social-cultural interventions, these players are applauded for reviving rundown areas to the city, that is, to a majority of the population and visitors. At the same time they are also regarded as promoting opportunities to the locals by opening the area to the outside and in this way contributing to the enhancement of social capital by supposedly creating new networks for the local population. *How successful are these approaches and how are they applied in practice?*

Regarding processes of socio-spatial change, these territories of social exclusion are increasingly noticed and valued for their economic potential, especially in the

context of the interest of the inner city for tourism, but also the rediscovery by a certain portion of the population who wants to live in the centre.

Under this perspective, local cultural policies assume an important role in promoting the production of cultural activities and in the enhancement of local symbolic identities as key elements in the appropriation and transformation of space. In this sense, investment in cultural activities of local authorities in Portugal has clearly superseded the central government<sup>1</sup>, and with its growing relevance for marketing it helps to put territories on the map of competitiveness (Lopes 2000; 2009: 176). Costa (2000: 958) highlights the importance of cultural production particularly in the centralization of the inner city's marginalized areas, and in this context the increasing role of more secondary actors and activities that have become relevant in the urban context with an increasing concern around notions of image and consumption.

With regard to the inner city, some districts have especially marketable features for the international promotion of the city where revitalization processes try to enhance the material as well as the immaterial cultural specificities of the territory through an aesthetic upgrade. Urban landscapes, considered distinctive in historical, cultural and morphological terms, and also territories with a markedly immigrant population, are appropriated and reinterpreted according to a marketable perspective. *How are the local cultural assets used? How did the external perception change?*

In this process, it is necessary to find the right actors, and territories are redefined by local decision makers in conjunction with socio-cultural organizations and entrepreneurs while being promoted by the media, thus giving legitimacy to the interventions. Major critics in regard to this reinvention of territories and consequently the questioning of the benefits of these entrepreneurial perspectives for the disadvantaged long-time residents and occupants include the commodification of

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<sup>1</sup> The consolidated expenditure of the Ministry of Culture in 2012 exceeded 167.7 million euros, meaning a decrease of 22.2% compared to figures for the previous year. As regards the local administration, according to a survey of local councils, in 2012 expenditures of municipalities with cultural activities amounted to 401.5 million euros, translating to a decrease of 5.3 million euros over the previous year. The decrease is due to an 8.9% fall in current expenditure (28.5 million euros) as capital expenditure increased (26.7%) (INE, 2013).

culture and the loss of authenticity (Zukin 2010), real estate speculation and gentrification processes (Zukin 2010; Smith 2002; Zukin 1982) through displacements of the previous low income population triggered by artists as well as others related to cultural industries. These, in turn, are substituted by a wealthier population as these areas become attractive (Zukin 1982).

The rapid transformations in terms of the globalized economy are having socio-spatial effects, bringing to the city a conjunction of different urban realities. *How is space appropriated by the different groups that are present in the territory?* As mentioned by Lefebvre (2000), (social) space and (social) time are products of society. The concept of space comprises the mental and cultural, the social and historical simultaneously in a process of discovery, production and creation. The production of space develops non-linearly and includes conflicts, struggles and contradictions but also agreements, understandings and alliances.

For the author, social space is produced by a three-dimensional process, namely the spatial practice referring to the everyday-life and urban routes within perceived space, the representations of space conceived by planners and technocrats and therefore the dominant space in our society, and the representational space lived through its associated images and symbols (Lefebvre 2000).

Taking as a starting point the increasing competition between cities in the international arena and the historical evolution of the approach in deprived territories of the inner city in the last decades, the goal of the research is to look at the process of revitalization in light of the following:

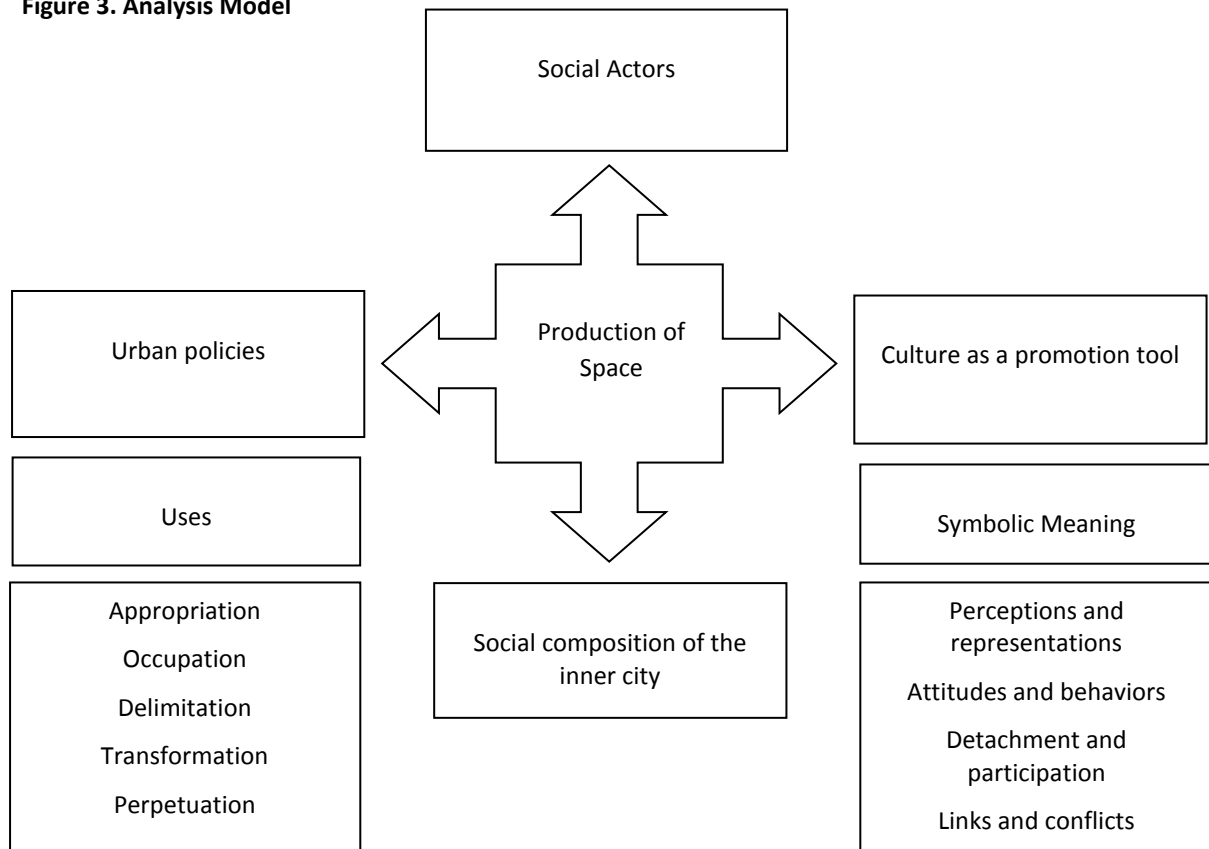
- The reproduction of social action in view of the people that use this area on a daily basis and considering forms of appropriation, delimitation, relocation and perpetuation;

- The production of space taking into account the different actors involved in this process, and consequently their attitudes, forms of participation, conflicts and networks within and outside the territory;
- The symbolic representation and spatial discourse that are transmitted and advertised in this process of change based on the use of local cultural assets and the cultural industry, central to the redefinition of the territory.

Considering territories in the inner city, one of the goals is to promote the city landscape as a potential for leisure and tourism. At the same time, in view of the situation in Portugal in the last years, especially the economic austerity measures, the reduced social transfers from the national level, and the need to deal with unemployment and other social vulnerabilities, the local government has been under increasing pressure to mitigate these problems.

In the present study, the shaping of a territory, triggered by the city council that intends to introduce in the territory an economic revitalization programme, collides with some existing social practices. In this analysis, the relations between different users and uses on a given spatial framework within a context of socio-cultural transformations constitute an important element for analysis.

**Figure 3. Analysis Model**



As part of an urban policy perspective, the intention is to examine the conditions as well as the operational structure associated with the process in order to identify how certain practices trigger certain outcomes that can be considered in other interventions and territorial settings.

#### **4. Fieldwork and methodology in terms of the structural framework of the research**

The work is based on a case study, which can be defined as an intensive approach with focus on a specific context. In order to conduct a comprehensive in-depth analysis, data is gathered from different sources of information, such as conversations, documents, and behavioural observations during the process along a four-year research that tried to capture the changes taking place and also their complexity. As referred to by Flyvbjerg (2001: 84, 136), case studies often contain a substantial element of narrative, approaching the complexities and contradictions of real life. The intention,

according to the author, is to apprehend what is done and how, in an effort to understand and explain social phenomena.

Flyvbjerg (2011: 302) underlines that although widely used, case studies as a methodology are in general held in low regard in academic research, given that it is no more than an individual case. The author (2001: 84, 86) notes, however, that the proximity to reality entailed in a case study, and the learning process which it generates for the researcher, will often constitute a prerequisite for advanced understanding, and it can certainly contribute to a cumulative development of knowledge in a given field.

The motive for choosing a case study relies on the principle that in the framework of globalization, albeit following international trends, context matters in terms of “a set of alternatives made of constraints and emblems, within which individual (or collective) actors *can* or *have* to choose. In this sense, a context implies a classification exercise that allows actors to define events as constraining or enabling, to posit meanings and to act strategically” (Kazepov 2005: 6).

Cordeiro (2003: 185) enhances that cities are characterized by their uniqueness, the result of a bundle of idiosyncratic traits resulting from environmental, historical, socio-economic and cultural factors. Löw (2008: 79) also points to the importance of considering the local specificities, by emphasizing the intrinsic logic of cities, a category with which both the wilful development of a city and the resulting creative force for structuring practice come into play. According to the author (2011), despite the fact that no city develops beyond the national and global system, its structural distinctiveness in terms of space, time, social practices, local governance and emotional meanings locally linked must be taken into account. Therefore, urban policies follow international trends even though it always has to encounter local specificities, which justify the case studies.

One of the reasons for the selection of this territory was the fact that the implementation of the programmes concurred with the years of study. Each research project has a story, and this started from previous professional experience. This area had been approached before by me when I working at the Portuguese Institute for Drugs and Drug Addiction, tasked with the responsibility of identifying and monitoring areas

of priority intervention in Lisbon with respect to drug consumption. Within the effort of addressing the problematic of psychoactive substances, a plan was implemented in 2008 aimed at developing interventions at the local level (Integrated Responses Programme) in territories previously defined regarding specific target groups with the goal of empowering partnerships between different organizations as well as involving community participation.

In 2006, a visit was made with a harm reduction team doing street outreach work in this territory, considered as particularly affected by drug trafficking and consumption. In 2008, an assessment of the city was completed, highlighting the area with regard to prevalence data on the availability and consumption of psychoactive substances as well as different socio-economic vulnerabilities or risk factors. Along with this process, a more detailed analysis was done by the Institute that is also a partner since the beginning of the implemented programmes that are being considered in the research.

In view of the previous responsibility of evaluating and monitoring projects and the contact with numerous social interventions, to follow the process was considered a challenging opportunity.

As a limited number of tools only provide a partial picture of the reality under study, in the present analysis, a multi-method approach was employed to support different subjects of the work structure. As underlined by Teddli and Tashakkori (2011: 286), the combination of mixed methods involves selecting and then synergistically integrating the most appropriate qualitative, quantitative techniques in order to be able to more thoroughly investigate a phenomenon of interest.

The study uses different data sources such as legislation, statistics and reports from public institutions as well as from private organizations. Information gathered includes newsletters and bulletins from the borough councils, flyers, posters, websites and Facebook accounts (of the municipality, and different organizations that intervene in the area), blogs (including citizen movements that promote reflection around the city's development), photo exhibitions, documentaries, films, debates, seminars and



workshops, semi-structured interviews, along with observational fieldwork and contact with formal and informal actors.

From a theoretical standpoint, the focus is on urban policies and how the present trends affect deprived territories in the inner city. Since urban policies are also determined by national and supranational strategies, in addition to the *Action Programme of Mouraria* and the *Community Development Programme*, other documents were analysed including guidelines issued at the international, European, national, regional and local level on urban issues, particularly about regeneration/revitalization, culture and social exclusion. An analysis was considered, on interventions directed at these territories since the second half of the twentieth century.

In order to help describe the area, various studies on Mouraria were taken into account related to different topics such as the different foreign communities that are present. In terms of statistical information that could render some support to the characterization of the territory, there are some constraints: the boundary does not correspond to an administrative definition, which divides the city (it includes two boroughs and part of three other boroughs), so small subsections of the three boroughes were included. The data for several indicators is not available at this disaggregated level. In terms of quantitative assessment, socio-demographic data, mainly from the last census (INE 2011), was taken into account and compared with the reality in the municipality of Lisbon. Since the last survey corresponds to the beginning of the revitalization process, this information provides a framework of the territory when the process started. In order to complement the information on social indicators, data from the employment office and local organizations on prostitution, homelessness and drug addiction as well as conversations with this same population, giving them voice, were taken into account. Trips were also made with street outreach teams (that work with drug addicts and homeless).

The investigation considered different journalistic accounts (from the national press to local newspapers, magazines, in particular the leisure guide *Time Out* and *Monocle* that reports on global affairs, business, culture and design) in order to capture the image projected by the media in the last years regarding the territory. An

exploratory research and content analysis in the national newspapers was done since 1986, related to the first operations of urban regeneration in Lisbon's old neighbourhoods, namely in Mouraria and Alfama. This sought to answer the following questions: what topics are covered? How has the image of Mouraria / Martim Moniz and Intendente changed over time? Has the news about the territory emerged more often since the revitalization process? What is transmitted about the undergoing intervention? A table was made with a summary of every article, newspaper, date and subject(s).

From 2008, a year before the application of the consortium led by the municipality for European funding till the 15th of December 2015, articles that came out during those years about this area in four national newspapers (two daily and two weekly newspapers, respectively: *Público*, *Diário de Notícias*, *Expresso*, *Sol*) were analysed in view of the content of the articles in relation to one or more topics and presented on a chart. It was considered that these newspapers provided an adequate perspective (it appears that the subjects tend to be repeated successively in the press so it was not seen as necessary to include others). For each year, the number of times that a certain subject was broached were counted. The themes that have been compiled since 1986 were now aggregated for the eight years according to these major subjects: physical decay (deterioration of public space and buildings, garbage); issues related with social marginality (criminality, drug trafficking and consumption, insecurity, homelessness, prostitution, police raids); politics (elections, campaigns, political parties, politicians); demonstrations; immigration and multiculturalism (events, stores, social dynamics); cultural practices, leisure and heritage (including fado, city festivities, events, tourism, buildings); requalification plans, interventions in public space, rehabilitation, real state (and also mobility, policing and video surveillance); provision of social amenities and services. For these years, the increase in a web engine search about the territory was also considered.

A random research in different newspapers about some periods throughout the twentieth century, particularly in the fifties when major changes were planned and

implemented in the territory, was also done. The aim was to apprehend the perception of the territory over the decades.

The continued and prolonged fieldwork that was undertaken adopts an ethnographic character through visits to the territory that were done on a regular basis since the second semester of 2011 till December of 2015, and is based on participant observation in which according to Burawoy (1991), “the ethnographer confronts participants in their corporeal reality, in their concrete existence, in their time and space” (p. 291), gauging the everyday life of a territory as registered by field notes and photographs taken. “It is an enterprise which consists of the examination, reflection, and shaping of human experience” (Tedlock 2011: 334). Bernard (2006: 359) stands out that the researcher itself becomes the instrument for data collection and analysis through his own experience.

An observation script helped register the field notes recording what was seen, heard and experienced (referring also to the date, time of the day, place, people that are present and activities). Apart from observing daily life, numerous public events were attended like concerts, festivities, markets and exhibitions, as well as meetings promoted by the actors.

In the shaping of a territory, space becomes an essential element of analysis. As referred to by Massey (2005):

First, that we recognise space as the product of interrelations; as constituted through interactions, from the immensity of the global to the intimately tiny (...)  
Second, that we understand space as the sphere of the possibility of the existence of multiplicity in the sense of contemporaneous plurality; as the sphere in which distinct trajectories coexist; as the sphere therefore of coexisting heterogeneity (...)  
Third, that we recognise space as always under construction.  
(P. 9)

In view of the fieldwork and in order to capture the process, different activities were followed, first sporadically, in an exploratory way in 2011, in which the local office

was approached. Some contacts with local organizations were also made, including participation in a guided tour to the Chinese community.

At the end of that year, I also had the opportunity to start participating in several of the open meetings organised between 2011 and 2014 by the local office responsible for the implementation of the programme and assisted by different partners as well as guests like researchers. In this respect the openness of the local office must be highlighted. Here, the different organizations involved had the opportunity to present certain concerns as well as to provide information about their projects, and the one responsible for the local office conveyed to all the state of play including information from the City Council.

From the beginning of 2012 until mid-2014, I visited the territory on a regular basis: several times during the week at different times of the day, passing through different parts of the territory, sitting in a café, on a street bench, walking around, having lunch, and taking the opportunity to approach people. Through regular contact, during formal events, by visiting organizations or meeting people by chance in different contexts, conversations occurred with the central protagonists participating in the implementation of the programmes. People working locally in different institutions were approached since they have a thorough knowledge of the area, namely leaders of local councils, teachers, social assistants, the clerk and the community mediator as well as heads and collaborators of associations, more or less involved, and researchers that work or had been working in the territory. Finally also residents and shopkeepers were asked about the situations or dynamics with which the neighbourhood was being confronted.

Much of the information was gathered through informal interviewing grounded on the principle of following the phenomena in the concrete context and in which, as referred by Bernard (2006: 211), the researcher just tries to recall conversations heard during the course of a day and that is based on a continuous presence in the territory as well as a constant writing down of field notes. In line with the author this method was both useful at the beginning while settling in as well as through the ethnographic fieldwork to build a better understanding and to gather new topics of interest.

Unstructured interviews (Bernard 2006: 211) were also undertaken tracing a plan in view of the information I wanted to capture and characterized by a minimum of control over the people's responses by meeting the interviewees in informal contexts like cafés and restaurants, giving them time to express themselves in their own terms, and at their own rhythm.

Semi-structured interviews were undertaken to people from different local institutions and some leaders of non-governmental organizations in order to obtain information with respect to interpreting the meaning of certain phenomena (Kvale 1996: 5-6). Relatively open questions were used to guide the conversation, keeping in mind the subject around which the information was meant to be acquired from the interviewee. It is also important to mention that although mainly informal interviews were undertaken, people were always aware of the fact that I was a researcher and were informed of the purpose of the study.

All this analysed information was based on the idea of an in-depth description during a specific time span when trying to follow the process of a case study, and this was made possible, in quantitative terms, by monitoring the news about the territory, gathering data from some organizations and, qualitatively, by observing and by listening to people in the field during this period.

While acknowledging that a survey is not based on these principles since it gives a picture only of a particular period and several enquiries throughout the research were considered excessive in terms of work, it was decided, as previously defined in the project proposal, to carry out a one-moment measurement. It helped characterize the population, complementing data from the census of 2011, and give an idea (about two and a half years after the interventions started) of the opinion of the local population.

A street intercept survey (Bernard 2006: 161) was conducted in Mouraria of residents, aged 18 or older (see Appendix 2). The questionnaire was done during the months of November, December 2013, and January 2014. A study referring to *The Feasibility of a Street-Intercept Survey Method in an African-American Community* (Miller et al. 1997) also quoted by Bernard (2006) employed this method to capture a

representative sample of the eligible population within a geographically defined catchment area and stands out the high response rate, the high interview completion rate, low interview interference rate, and a reasonable interview yield rate.

In theory, a simple random sample of 370 people in a population of 5050 (population of two boroughs, Socorro and São Cristóvão, and subsections of Graça, Santa Justa and Anjos) has a margin of error of 4.91% for a confidence level of 95%. In a random selection of cases every unit of analysis has an equal chance of being chosen for study (Bernard 2006: 146) and in this sense previously defined households are usually used. Instead of going to households the interviewing site was the public space addressing every third person I ran into on the street. People were approached in different parts of the territory, at different times of the day, during the week and on weekends. The residence area was questioned to assure representativeness from different chunks of the territory.

The whole territory was covered starting from different points. During the work I realized that there were movement peaks and therefore the interviews focused on particular time spans: in the morning from 8:30 a.m. till around 10:30 a.m. when people are going to work, but also when more people are doing daily routines like shopping in the supermarket or having a coffee outside the house; between 12:30 p.m. and 2:30 p.m. related to lunchtime; in the evening, from 5:30 p.m. until 8.00 p.m. when people are returning home. In the area there are crossing points where people pass by from different parts of the territory to access the lower part and that were strategically used.

To ensure proportional representation, the sample considered gender and age groups, calculating the relative weight (%) of each of the strata in the population. Following the census, in the survey, 25% are foreign residents. People were approached in the street in their everyday activities. They were informed that the questionnaire was part of a research project that aimed to know the opinion of the population about the interventions that were taking place in the area and if they were willing to give their opinion. People starring out the window, a very present characteristic in the territory, were also approached. The intention was also to catch older people who hardly or never go out, a specific group that arises particular concern and that was considered in the

programmes. In one situation the person asked me to enter in order to finish the interview. Each questionnaire took about 15 minutes and the number of refusals was rather low (18%). The work was completed when the desired number of respondents was achieved.

**Table 1. Stratified sample of the survey according to the target universe**

Age-group		Gender		Total
		Male	Female	
18-40	Count	84	60	144
	% of Total	23	16	39
41-64	Count	70	60	130
	% of Total	19	16	35
>64	Count	37	59	96
	% of Total	10	16	26
Total	Count	191	179	370
	% of Total	52	48	100

**Source: INE, Census of 2011**

The questions assessed sociodemographic information like age, gender, nationality, work status, level of education, number of years that the interviewee has been living in the territory, the reason for moving into the area, if the interviewed was also working in the territory, information about the household, the type of existing relationships (family ties, friendship, and neighbourhood) and the representation of the territory. Their opinion about the interventions that were taking place (positive or not) as well as of the new organizations/people were also taken into account. Through open questions the perceived improvements and the negative aspects that persisted were registered. Finally, their involvement and attendance at the existing associations and events were considered.

Between April and June of 2013, I was away from Lisbon as a research fellow in Berlin. From the second semester of 2014 till the end of 2015, the territory was still visited but again more sporadically, focusing more on compiling information and writing up the research.

Leeds (1994: 240), taking into account the study of a locus, stresses the importance of the city context and the need to look at other similar cases because no example can be understood alone. So it was regarded as an important complement to this study, looking at interventions in urban centres of other European cities like Berlin. Why Berlin? Considering the representation of cities in the media, *The Spaces*, a digital publication that writes on architecture, design, art and properties, ran an article with the question: “Is Lisbon the next Berlin?” (Lorenz 2015). Apart from the fact that both are not among the leading cities of Europe in view of their importance in the global economic system, Lisbon seems, in the last few years, to be assuming some characteristics of Berlin with an image related to affordable rents and low-cost living in comparison to other capitals in Western Europe, as well as a growing start-up scene that is attracting young creatives.

In Berlin, since the early 1990s, there has been a proliferation of projects related to cultural consumption through the promotion of different attractions and events, and more recently with strategies supporting and marketing cultural production, ‘creative industries’ and neighbourhoods in terms of a city that has become a magnet for young European artists and designers (Novy and Colomb, 2013: 1823). Marginalized neighbourhoods have become particularly popular for touristic purposes and other mobility patterns like students and hipsters moving into Kreuzberg, especially known as a Turkish enclave, and also historically identified as a subculture and alternative scene (Novy 2011a).

Berlin is, however, also considered as having increasingly socio-spatial patterns of polarization (Mayer 2013a: 95), and it has several territories with special development needs addressed in the *Social Integrative City (Die Soziale Stadt)* Programme. Its goal is to counteract the widening of socio-spatial rifts in cities. The



Programme fosters participation and co-operation and is a new integrative policy approach to urban development in Germany (<http://www.sozialestadt.de>).

Taking into account Lisbon, the so-called historic districts in the inner city are being increasingly marked by various social dynamics. Such contexts, characterized by symbolic specificities that form the local culture, are crossed by significant change processes made of a multi-intersection of scenarios of structural, relational and cultural dimension (Cordeiro and Costa 2006: 75). Based on the construction of meanings associated with these neighbourhoods (picturesque, typical, authentic), Alfama (Costa, 1999: 52-57) in particular has been a tourist destination with visitors walking through it, attending the fado houses or participating in the city festivities.

Popular neighbourhoods, often associated with marginal practices such as prostitution, have aroused the interest of external agents. Mainly in the 1980s, Bairro Alto served as a central focus for a new bohemian movement. Since the late twentieth century, it has an even greater influx of night-goers, including European tourists and Erasmus students (Frúgoli, 2013: 18). Finally, Cais do Sodré, next to the riverside, once an old sailors' district, has also in recent years assisted in heralding a new context of night entertainment and cultural venues, or as referred to by Nofre (2013), one that has changed from the sordid to vintage, from marginalization to distinction.

Regarding Mouraria, a few years ago, tourists were recommended not to pass through it. In different cases, a few individuals have become key drivers in the development of these dynamics in view of local transformations (leading to the implementation of a certain cultural production for consumption and leisure) and in this sense, this territory is no exception.

The latter territory, however, differentiates itself from the others by the fact that it has been the target of a strong concerted intervention, with the particularity of having been largely triggered by the city council in financial and strategic terms. The aim was to promote a local identity, to develop social interventions, to improve public space and local infrastructures, and to attract private agents linked to the cultural industry but also people that open new spaces of consumption and invest in real estate. An interesting

feature is the increasing presence of dynamics that cross cultural production, with social support and entrepreneurship.

Recognizing the need for more socio-territorial cohesion in the city, the programme targeting *Neighbourhoods and Priority Intervention Areas of Lisbon* (BIP-Zip) was implemented by the local government wherein Mouraria was the beneficiary of several projects.

Meanwhile, the Lisbon city council has been investing in the implementation of projects and events in the field of entrepreneurship, with a strong focus, as referred to on the website of the municipality, on areas of self-employment and innovation as well as the creation of hubs to support start-ups (<http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/investir/empreendedorismo>). In accordance with this guideline and in terms of the present case study, pro-business interventions were endorsed by the local government in order to change the area.

With the aim of following similar approaches, and given the numerous events relating to urban studies conducted in the city, I had three visits, amounting to a four-month stay, as a visiting research fellow with the graduate school of the *Technische Universität Berlin*. This was an opportunity to be in contact with actors engaged in local offices of territories undergoing local intervention, attend conferences, participate in colloquiums, observe various dynamics, and establish contact with researchers and theorists working on these particular issues.

Finally, considering the writing up of the research it is worth mentioning that regarding references in different languages, quotations were transcribed in a free translation.

## 5. Organization of the chapters

With regard to the organization of the research, it relies on a thematic, structured approach, divided into chapters and sub-chapters. The work has a main theoretical thread, dealt with at length in the second chapter, which examines a more pro-active approach in urban policies by local governments over the last decades. Trends in city administration suggest greater involvement of different actors, public and private, and a greater effort by mayors to achieve competitive advantages in the international context (Kearns and Paddison 2000; Begg 1999; Mayer 1991; Harvey 1989). Interventions are considered more at the territorial level and under the perspective of fostering growth inner cities are regarded as particularly attractive as centres of consumption and entertainment. Local assets are heavily branded while cultural production assumes a central role in the configuration of an image to sell. In a time of less social transfers, the implementation of social policies is redefined, becoming more targeted to priority areas, and under the pretence of making the third sector more autonomous from public funding through social entrepreneurship.

Urban policies are time-bound, and in this sense the purpose is to capture how revitalization processes have emerged with respect to urban developments in the international framework. The present research has also considered the analyses of the approaches conducted in territories of Lisbon's inner city in the past, in conjunction with the trends outlined in Western Europe and the conditions that have promoted different perspectives, an aspect that will be looked at more closely in the third chapter.

In a globalized world that is constantly changing, some of these areas have become more and more a conjunction of distinctive narratives. The spatial confluence of different social dynamics is a specific element that has to be considered, which will be analysed in the fourth chapter. The purpose is to consider who lives in this territory of the city centre in terms of key trends in the densification of cities. In this context, several identified groups were characterised in terms of specific social dynamics but who obviously do not represent the entire population.

Cities are increasingly individualized as collective actors and as central subjects with their own agenda and identity. With their specific brands, they enter in the increasingly tough arena of international competition for talents, resources, development perspectives, and prospective projects (Matthiesen 2010: 192). In this sense local governments try to enhance territories that have specific (tangible and intangible) valuable features likely to be monetized to attract city-users, investors and new residents. At the same city councils seek to call on human capital, especially young people with high academic qualifications and artists that enliven the urban environment. Looking at these strategies in a context of local redefinition is a theme that will be deepened in the fifth chapter.

In the development of programmes, a process has been followed that describes the approaches of the numerous actors involved as a result of different dynamics, interests and visions, particularly space pioneers, a wider concept used by Christmann and Jähnke (2011) to refer to different participants engaged in the transformations of urban spaces. In this context, the sixth chapter will consider the shaping of the territory while taking into account the analysis of interactions and in particular the role of socio-cultural organizations.

The last chapter seeks to present a reflection on the revitalization process undertaken in Mouraria by systemizing the research development steps and summarizing the main results, both for the case study and the broader reflection on the addressed issues. Finally, this chapter also addresses the limits of the present research, paving the way for new lines of investigation.

## **II. BETWEEN COMPETITIVENESS AND SOCIAL POLICIES IN DEPRIVED TERRITORIES OF THE INNER CITY – THEORETICAL QUESTIONS**

This chapter will look at the theoretical issues that analyse, in the context of urban policies intended to foster socioeconomic development and competitiveness, the use of cultural resources for local promotion, the restructuring of social policies and the involvement of different actors in the redefinition of territories through partnership-driven programmes.

Analysing urban policies means examining a particular period in terms of the predominant factors that are interconnected within a specific context in history. So whereas in the modern city planning was focused on large-scale interventions and ordered according to a functionalist structure, in recent decades localized measures have prevailed over major interventions. As underlined by Hannigan (1998) after an era of city sprawl that led to the development of suburbs, and the recognition that offices were not enough to re-energize the city centre that was empty after working hours, the goal was to create a vibrant downtown to attract people. In this context, urban revitalization should be undertaken with innovative partnerships between public and private sectors along with entrepreneurial and proactive city leaders (p. 47). Neighbourhoods that had been experiencing long periods of disinvestment are being considered a particular target in view of their economic potential. Zones stigmatized with poverty and social exclusion, considered “no go areas” in the 1980s, are now places to visit, to be revitalized under the banner of combating crime, unemployment, welfare dependency and social vulnerability (Peck and Tickell 2002: 395).

At the theoretical level, within urban studies, several discourses have identified changes in the last decades in view of trends in the effort by local authorities to foster economic development (Jessop 1997; Mayer 1991; Harvey 1989). In this context, Mayer (1994: 317-318) refers to an increasing engagement from local government in promoting competitiveness, new forms of public-private collaboration, a rising subordination of social policies to economy and labour markets, as well as an intensified

spending on culture and leisure facilities to upgrade the local image in order to capitalize territories.

City leaders have always tried to attract enterprises, but now local politicians have been developing increasingly proactive development strategies (Mayer, 1994: 317) fostered by “promoting the capacities of their respective economic spaces in the face of intensified competition in the global economy” (Jessop 2000: 88) using an intersection between economic, political and social-cultural narratives as an answer to rectify past failures and look for new solutions (Jessop 1997: 30).

The local state has gained more prominence and an administrative change from urban management to urban governance (Kearns and Paddison 2000), means the presence of different actors in the definition of place. The main shifts are related to new forms, reduction or restructuring of public services, and an intensified relationship between the public and private sector with changes in its traditional duality (Mayer 1991: 8). The public authority retreats from certain initiatives and is replaced or supplemented by private, semi-public or non-governmental organizations.

Transformations in the economic and political spheres are regarded as shifts from a ‘Fordist’ to ‘Post-Fordist’ society, from ‘organized’ to ‘disorganized capitalism’, from an ‘industrial’ to a ‘post-industrial’ society, or from an ‘industrial’ to an ‘information’ society with considerable impacts on the urbanization process. Harvey (1990) stresses major changes in the capitalist system from a Fordist rigidity to flexible accumulation. The post-Fordist period is associated with an intensification of interaction on a global level in terms of capital and human mobility with an increasing complexity of social life. Castells’ (1996) network society transcends boundaries and is spreading its power of capital, goods, services, labour, communication, information, science and technology globally in an era where everyone is influenced by global issues. The breakup of the Fordist-Keynesian post-war period inaugurated an era of rapid change, flux, risk and uncertainty.

Harvey (1990: 10) refers to the ephemeral and the fleeting in opposition to the eternal and the immutable. The author also underlines a major development in the so-

called service sector, the emergence of entirely new sectors of production, new ways of providing financial services, new markets and, above all, a constant need for innovation at the commercial, technological, and organizational level. Increasing flexibility and mobility have allowed employers to exercise a stronger influence on labour control of the workforce so that working conditions have become more precarious in a context of unemployment in developed countries. Flexible accumulation has emerged in opposition to the rigidities of Fordism, defining labour processes, labour markets, products, and patterns of consumption (Harvey 1990: 147). Highly paid jobs in technology and finance, in opposition to low paid service providers and industry labours (Mayer 1991: 3), can be registered not only among different regions but also within a region or metropolitan area. Mayer (1991: 2) and Sassen (2000: 5) pointed to a social and spatial polarization in the city as well as in the region, and the reduction in social interventions at the national level which intensifies the situation.

Considering economic restructuring, the welfare state crisis, the decline of industrial facilities that became obsolete or were transferred as well as unemployment, local governments, namely in Western European countries, had to respond with programmes at the social and employment level. In this context and in view of the global competition, there has been a growing attempt to attract investment. Local expenditure now seeks qualitative assets of the city and promotes entrepreneurship connected with innovation and new technology in order to foster growth. The current discourse on urban competitiveness policies shows the key role that cities currently play in the development of the region and country. Following Scott (2008), cities are not just “passive excrescences of the capitalist economy” that are affected by the international arena and reflect major consequences like national crises, they are also catalysts of spatial competition” (p. v).

In this sense, just as Schumpeter’s (2003: 132) entrepreneur’s business prospects are to revolutionize, be inventive and reorganize an industry, cities have to create value and become innovative and where Le Galès and Harding (1998) stand out the mayor’s leadership. For Jessop (1998), however,

there are few cities which are systematically oriented to securing sustainable dynamic competitive advantages via continuing economic, political, and social innovations that are intended to enhance productivity and other conditions of structural and systemic competitiveness. And even those that do have such an orientation tend to fail for various reasons to ensure continued capital accumulation. (P. 79)

As stated by the author, weaker forms of competition rely on image promotion and other assets like modifications in formal and substantive regulatory, facilitative, or supportive measures aimed at capturing mobile investment. In this sense cities are likely to fail “since competitiveness is always relational and dynamic, the competitive game always produces comparative losers as well as winners” (Jessop, 2000: 83).

Apart from looking to explore particular advantages (location, natural resources, public and private investments in infrastructures and human capital) for the production of goods and services, Harvey (1989: 8-9) also pointed to a fierce struggle to acquire the functions of high finance, government, and information (including the media). The marketing of the city as a location for business depends to a great extent on the conception of an attractive urban image where the author highlights a growing focus by cities on consumption and quality of life.

In their rivalry for a place in the global circuit, cities try to stand out in different rankings like ‘best places to live’, ‘best universities’ and ‘best tourist destinations’. In this fierce struggle among cities to become competitive, as referred by Harvey (1989: 8-9), gentrification processes, cultural innovation, physical up-grading of territories, consumer attractions and entertainment play a crucial role.

### **1. Culture and entertainment for local promotion**

The cities’ economy is increasingly organized around spaces of consumption rather than of production (Zukin 1982), and “by the end of the 1990s, consumption is



understood to be both a means and a motor of urban social change” (Zukin 1998: 835). In this context, the diversity of urban lifestyles is considered more and more by city officials as a source of cultural vitality and economic renewal that can be branded as offering varied opportunities for cultural consumption (Zukin 1998: 836). Based on the theory of Florida (2002: 173), a key element of the economy is the ability to attract people with high cultural capital because they are the driving force of regional economic growth. To achieve this, quality of life must be offered. Following the author’s principle that the creative class prefers cities that are open and tolerant, social, ethnic and as a result cultural diversity have entered into the equation of competitiveness.

In recent decades, several authors have underlined the relation between economy, culture and entertainment in terms of the struggle to stand out in the global context. Clark (2004: 8) stresses the *City as an Entertainment Machine* and that to compete, mayors have to add, along with growth and production, consumption and entertainment. As emphasized by the author (2004), “Urban public officials, business, and non-profit leaders are using culture, entertainment, and urban amenities to (seek to) enhance their locations – for present and future residents, tourists, conventioners, and shoppers” (p. 1).

In Hannigan’s *Fantasy City*, the new urban economy is rooted in tourism, sport, culture and entertainment. To promote an urban entertainment project and its theme, it must be strongly branded, offer preferably day and night amusement and present different components by way of a variety of configurations (1998: 2, 3). “Above all, the city has to appear as an innovative, exciting, creative, and safe place to live or to visit, to play and consume in” (Harvey 1989: 9). Boyer (1994) underlines in the “city of spectacle” a sense of theatricality that is offered to the spectator through art, buildings and re-appropriation of city images and symbolic meanings (p. 48).

According to different theorists (Hannigan, 1998: 4; Harvey 1989: 11), in cultural competition, cities keep on using similar strategies. In an attempt to stand out, and given how difficult it is to find new solutions to global problems, in the field of cultural production it is possible to identify large investments of capital, driven by large operators in the dissemination of a dominant and hegemonic culture in which the cities

end up calling the same architects to design iconic buildings, promote music festivals, open art museums and compete for the same sporting and cultural events (World Expo, European Capital of Culture, Olympics, World and European Cup). Harvey (1989: 12), taking into account the process of international competition, questions “How many successful convention centres, sports stadia, Disney-worlds, harbour places and spectacular shopping malls can there be?”

In the appropriation of territories as potential spaces for leisure, old neighbourhoods in the inner city have been particularly attractive in the last decades. Zukin (2010: 2) states that current approaches try to bring back local roots that are reinvented for consumption purposes; each city uses its specific assets or a set of structural reminders (Harvey 1989: 9), a heritage or a tradition that is appropriated to be promoted.

By seeking solutions to local problems, traces of the past are reinterpreted in order to bring out local identities based on the idea of a legacy to be preserved. Cultural revivals, both physical and immaterial, become privileged means of attracting tourism. In this sense, territories are handled by local policy makers according to their potential to foster the city and supported by the media, thus sustaining the undertaken transformations.

Pre-existing landscapes, considered unique in historical, cultural and morphological terms, are regenerated, starting with the upgrading of public spaces. For Zukin (2010: 234), referring to Harlem, reinventing authenticity begins with the creation of an aesthetic view of local culture in order to redefine a neighbourhood long stigmatized by poverty to a cultural legacy. Zukin (1995: 2) relates the malleability of culture with discussions around fear, security and social exclusion. Former industrial areas, harbours, neighbourhoods, in short - spaces taken as devitalized and territories considered marginalized, are reclassified in order to define a new urban identity.

What was seen as a slum yesterday, with prostitution and drug problems, turns into a neighbourhood to be visited. As stated by the author, through the power of culture, newcomers are attracted to territories with new spaces related to specific tastes

and different kinds of sociability that substitute the everyday places of long-time residents (Zukin 2010: 4).

The revitalization of urban space comes into play when all other economic strategies have failed. The common element is to create a cultural space that links tourism, consumption and lifestyle. Regardless of its troubled past, the territories receive a new meaning and through appropriation of their positive aspects the transformation of places become a commercial construction that misrepresents the past (Hannigan 1998: 184).

Zukin (1995: 151) alludes to the aestheticization of the physical aspects of urban space and the increasing democratization of urban policies which would suggest that this process of governance implies the inclusion of community identities and popular tastes. However, as underlined by the author, people involved in cultural dynamics tend to be elitist in their membership and positioning regarding taste, so that such hegemony cannot improve the quality of life for most of the population.

Finally, in capitalizing on culture, the author discusses privatization. Shaping public space of interaction and constructing a visual representation of the city imply that “who occupies public space is often decided by negotiations in terms of physical security, cultural identity and geographical community” (Zukin 1995: 24).

In these processes, inner city planning is paying increasing attention to commuters and city-users at a time when the population is essentially differentiated into consumers and those without access to consumption, brought about by the substantial number of the “structurally disadvantaged”, and the fact that development of the “entertainment machine” is “structurally uneven” (Clark et al. 2004: 297).

The “fantasy city” is isolated from the surrounding neighbourhoods, physically, economically and culturally, as well as from the city’s problems (Hannigan 1998: 4). Harvey refers to the increasing fragmentation of the city into different territories into communities, neighbourhoods and “street corner” societies. He underlines that instead of an action based on the territory in which interventions such as housing and education

are first of all oriented towards the locals, the conception of a place with flagship projects is less directed to the majority that lives there. For the author, rather than the improvement of conditions in a given territory as a primary goal, the interventions rest on speculative interventions in terms of economic development, and they even redirect concerns and often resources from major problems (Harvey 1989: 6-8). Edwards refers to inner-city policies as distinctive in the sense that whereas in the past mainline strategies were followed by means of resource delivery mechanisms, presently economic and physical redevelopment have become final goals. For the author, the purpose of inner city policies to improve the quality of life of those who live in disadvantaged areas seems to have been lost along the way (Edwards 1995: 695-697).

## **2. New approaches in social policies**

After an era in which social policies in Western European countries would intervene in a regulatory and distributive manner seeking to diminish social inequalities, phenomena like globalization of labour and real estate markets, economic crisis as well as the questioning of the redistributive, bureaucratic and paternalistic Keynesian welfare system were major aspects contributing to shifts in urban policies.

Considering the roles of the different political levels in the city context, authors refer to the increasing struggle of different actors trying to influence the local vocation in the global arena. Jessop (2000) states that “various economic, political, socio-cultural pressures and forces (...) have undermined this primacy of the national level” (p.84). According to the author, this period seems not to favour a particular scale and the national level is not necessarily the primary actor, with increasing supranational and subnational roles to be taken into account (Jessop, 1997: 33). Mayer (1995) refers to a “greater salience” of the local government which does not necessarily mean “greater strength, autonomy, or a shift in the balance of central/local relations; in fact, local authorities have extended their strategic and active intervention at a time when they have been under increasing political pressure” (p. 233). Begg (1999: 796) stresses that

urban performance is much affected by national and supranational economic trends nevertheless, and according to the author, there are many aspects of policy that a city can control. The author also points out that the performance of the city will have an important impact on the country's overall positioning.

National governments are considered by city leaders as less able to help (Kearns and Paddison 2000: 845) and have thus considered the necessity of taking over the reins in view of positioning the territory in the global world. At the same time, the local government is under enormous pressure, as more and more responsibilities and risks have been decentralized or moved to the local level, while transfers from the central government are being reduced (Mayer 2007: 92)

In a neoliberal context, urban problems like unemployment and dilapidated territories with socioeconomic problems are considered to be addressed under the agenda of fostering economic growth. Peck and Tickell (2002: 383-384) remind that like globalization, neoliberalization should be understood as a process, not an end-state, from the dismantlement and deregulation in a context of destruction and discredit of the Keynesian-welfarist and social-collectivist institutions to the emergence of neoliberalized state forms, modes of governance and regulatory relations.

During its development in the 1990s, discourses around new reforms came up which considered community regeneration against welfare dependency and promoting it around the activating state. In terms of mode of delivery, social capital, civic engagement, as well as the inclusion of partnership-based development programmes are to be enforced (Mayer 2007: 92; Peck and Tickell 2002: 390).

Due to the decrease in subsidy flows from the central government and consequently the necessity to prioritize economic development policies at the city level, (entrepreneurial) mobilization and coordination of respective endogenous potentials (Mayer 1991: 8-10; Harvey 1989: 4) are to be promoted. According to Mayer, municipalities are more engaged in reducing unemployment by creating strategies that foster a positive ambiance, attract investment and business, improve the city's image,

and create public–private partnerships in a process of local revival and economic development (1991: 5).

Short and Kim (1999) refer to “the transformation in urban governance from the welfare-state model towards the economic development model” (p. 118). The focus is to submit social policies according to the new economic reality. Social policies are directed to meet economic policies, creating a stable environment in which business can operate (Jewson and MacGregor 1997: 9).

Mayer (1994: 321) as well as Kearns and Paddison (2000: 846) point out that not only is there less expenditure in welfare but also that social support is less embracing in its coverage and distributed in an uneven form, which means that social welfare measures are now “an arena of struggle”. The provision of collective services are moved into the background, not only through a quantitative decline but also through a restructuring involving more non-state (private, non-profit, intermediary) organizations in the provision of these services wherein the local government assumes a rather controlling and regulating function (Mayer 1991: 8).

To provide welfare benefit is one component of area-based initiatives in urban redevelopment programmes (Kearns and Paddison 2000: 846). The purpose is not only to upgrade people’s living conditions but also to change top-down measures and promote the inclusion of different actors. The new model is intended to play a role on various fronts: to be multi-targeted with different purposes, multi-actored involving numerous partnerships, multi-layered regarding the levels of the administrative system, and multi-sectorial considering different policy areas (Güntner and Walther 2013).

Social measures go hand-in-hand with employment strategies that consider economic development as a shift from “passive” to “active” labour market policies towards employment procurement and training (Mayer 1991: 8-9). As in other services, social provision is increasingly offered by various private, non-profit and semi-public organizations and initiatives, which supplement or replace traditional public roles (Mayer 1991: 8). The state transfers specific functions to the regional or local level, where the municipality, depending on local conditions, initiates and regulates the

process of innovation and cooperation between public and private actors (Mayer 1991: 9). Mayer (1994: 320) also highlights an increase in the number of non-state organizations or public agencies that follow market criteria in the supply of public services.

Territories become testing grounds for projects that are locally adjusted. With the restructuring of the welfare state, a shift in urban policy has also taken place: unlike traditional urban development in deprived neighbourhoods intended to protect against real estate and investment pressure and displacements, projects that would not have taken place in the past are now, under an “activating state”, promoted under the banner of changing the bleak situation of a territory (Güntner and Walther 2013: 12). In this sense, urban (re)development is increasingly connected with fostering growth, promoting an economic vitality that is associated with investments, namely real estate and commerce.

These measures show the duality of these processes: one related with ‘urban renaissance and competitiveness’ in an increasingly globalized post-industrial economy, and on the other hand, the need to reduce socioeconomic disparities among territories as noted by several authors (Couch et al. 2011: 2011: 20, 48; Walther and Güntner 2002: 268).

### **3. Urban governance at the territorial level**

Healey (2003: 104) defines governance as “the processes by which societies, and social groups, manage their collective affairs” in an attempt, following Kearns and Paddison (2000), “to manage and regulate difference and to be creative in urban arenas which are themselves experiencing considerable change” (p. 847).

The areas of intervention are subject to different scenarios affected by the political, social, economic, spatial and temporal context and the local redefinition depends first of all on the local government that initiates the processes of cooperation

among different actors. This includes various forms of partnerships between state and firms, but also increasingly the involvement, in revitalization programmes, of local representatives and in general the third sector. Jessop (2000: 84) and Mayer (1991: 9) point out that cities were places of capital accumulation, and local governments were concerned to allocate, in an equitable form, redistributive policies that were nationally defined and guaranteed including subsistence, housing and infrastructures. In this regard, Mayer refers that social movements were demanding more participation in urban policies as well as social rights. Presently, as underlined by the author, social infrastructures, political culture and ecological foundations are considered economic assets and new forms of coordination and networking between different partners have been introduced (2007: 91). With citizen participation and grassroots empowerment, it would seem that the goal has been achieved by incorporating community-based interests and participation (Mayer 2003: 108, 122).

Space redevelopment has become a process of negotiation and decision making, involving private and public actors from an early stage of planning in different forms of cooperation. In order to foster economic development, the relations between different arms of government, including horizontal and vertical public levels, are intensified. Urban governance takes place increasingly outside traditional public structures along with the involvement of functional interests that are activated at the local level (Mayer 1994: 321-322).

Güntner and Walther (2013) identify several principles in territorial programmes. Through the cooperation between different levels of government and other stakeholders (partnerships), resources are pooled in order to fund interventions through contracts and agreements and by applying for programmes (namely at the supranational level like the European Union). Instead of referring to the entire city, specific areas are identified and prioritized through an assessment that stresses different vulnerabilities. Another characteristic of these interventions is a decentralized control and monitoring model based on neighbourhood management, a method locally decided and carried out with the involvement of residents, local initiatives and organizations. The processes are meant to be integrated, covering different fields of action and linking various



approaches (integrated action plans), in order to connect territorial upgrading with social and cultural measures while promoting the local economy. Finally, in terms of implementation, the interventions are limited not only spatially but also temporally in the effort to effect change, especially through the promotion of new ideas and collaborations, as well as the attempt to foster this development primarily through start-up financing (Güntner and Walther, 2013).

Taking into account the aim of improving local conditions (place making) through the creation or enhancement of networks between different actors, including neighbourhood initiatives like social movement organizations, local social capital ought to be enhanced. Considering the municipality's strategy to mobilize local potential in urban revitalization, different policies like employment are dependent on community initiatives in the district. Mayer (1994: 325) points to the penetration of the third sector into the logic of the state and market, in the sense that some organizations become enterprises, while others, on the other hand, are tied to municipal programmes.

Through the course of citizen and community empowerment that is being built into the process, these groups are expected to achieve certain goals, to later assume management tasks and secure future sustainability. In the past, the third sector delivered services; nowadays, with less public funding, these organizations tend to involve themselves in profitable activities to become financially viable. It aims to address social issues through entrepreneurial strategies whereby it is granted, as underlined by Jähnke, Christmann and Balgar, the potential to facilitate socially innovative achievements, to address societal challenges and to initiate sustainable solutions. The activities of social entrepreneurs are considered to have both spatial preconditions and to provoke spatial effects (2011: 8).

Governance seeks "creative" solutions often justified by the complexity of urban systems and societies, considering the capacity for innovation to be adapted to specific urban contexts, a process in which actors working in sociocultural activities are both welcomed and eager to participate.

For Lovering (1995), local governance is a deliberate construction of new, local political actors and discourses from above. While having little impact on the local economy and on the opportunities for locals, it has created, according to the author, “a new service class, including individuals from business, local government, academia, the community orientated private-sector, voluntary organizations and other interest groups” (p. 120).

Harvey, speaking of an “orchestrated production”, highlights mechanisms for social control in the way it creates the illusion that everyone can participate in the promotion of an urban image that contributes to the production of social space, which in turn creates a sense of belonging to the place. Through a rhetoric of urban governance, concerted interventions at a local and community basis are to be promoted and considered necessary for competing in the international arena (1989: 14). The involvement and projection of a territory may foster a feeling of engagement, place attachment and of civic pride as well as social solidarity that contributes to neutralizing the sense of alienation and anomie identified by Simmel (Harvey 1989: 14). As stated by the author (1989):

If everyone from punk and rap artists to ‘yuppies’ and high bourgeoisie can participate in the promotion of urban image through their production of social space, then at least some sense of belonging to this place can be felt. The orchestrated production of an urban image can, if successful, also help to create a sense of social solidarity, civic pride and loyalty to the place and even allow the urban image to provide a mental refuge in a world where capital looks more and more to a less localized way. Urban entrepreneurialism (as opposed to distanced bureaucratic management) engages a local identity and, as such, opens a series of social control mechanisms. (P. 14)

For Harvey (1989: 16), however, urban entrepreneurialism must also be considered in terms of its potential to transform urban development through territorial networks, by resisting and contesting the dominant system at the local level. Taking into account the principle of governance, the power to organize space is derived from a complex array of forces mobilized by different social agents. It is a conflictual process,

especially in ecological areas with high social heterogeneity (Harvey 1998: 6). The author also mentions the notion of the city as a collective corporation and the changing potential of progressive development in terms of a spatial context in which dominant economic trends can be challenged (1989: 14-16).

The involvement of new actors and the slogan “services with the people instead of for the people” (Mayer 1991: 10) is seen as positive both by the left (an opportunity to empower the population) and right (less welfare and state intervention) (Mayer 1994: 330; Harvey 1989: 4;). In this commitment, success and failure (Jewson and MacGregor 1997: 9) are shared while contest is reduced.

Mayer (2006: 300; 2007: 91) underlines that mainly in North America and Western Europe, social movements and community groups are since the 1980s, becoming part and parcel of “official city” planning. The author states that at a time when cities are promoting place marketing, enterprise zones, tax abatements, public-private partnerships, support for local development as well as new forms of social control and workfare policies, the inclusion of civic society stakeholders ends up being a form of compliance with the process of market oriented growth, mitigating conflict and using their skills, knowledge and work.

For Mayer, when considering competitiveness and revitalization, “communities” are not only emphasized but also instrumentalized (2007: 92). The author also posits fragmentation and detachment among movements in which some of them follow an institutionalized, professionalized and entrepreneurial perspective, benefiting and cooperating with the local state while other groups are engaged as cultural activists and squatters (Mayer 2006: 302-303).

Mayer considers that as urban policies promote downtown interventions and try to upgrade the territory to attract investment, new residents and tourists, with consequences for locals that do not fit in, many movements have been struggling against these effects. Nevertheless, these community-oriented movements tend to be integrated in neighbourhood management programmes (Mayer 2007: 92-93).

Urban changes have, on the one hand, increased polarization and displacement by upgrading central areas at a time when austerity cuts are not only affecting the most disadvantaged but also segments of the middle class, namely students and young people in general. On the other hand, those changes are offering useful opportunities to social movements to be part of the city's marketing, to which they are most welcome (Mayer 2013b: 11).

Jewson and MacGregor (1997) question how far partnerships can deliver accountability while maintaining a balance between efficiency and equity: "Which interests, and which players, will be included in partnerships and which will be left outside? Who will be the leaders within partnerships? Whose agendas will prevail?" (p.9).

North and Bruegel note that whereas in the past community empowerment meant conflict and active counter-politics, now it is synonymous with consensus and partnership-driven interventions under urban governance. In this context authors question resistance: "Community economic development, in short, is cheap and fashionable, and diverts attention away from calls for either more expensive Keynesian-style macroeconomic approaches, or major redistribution of wealth" (2001: 175).

Mayer (1994: 332) states that by targeting social issues emphasizing economic innovation and competition, it will enlarge inequality which ultimately also affects economic stability, and in this sense the challenge of social movements is to put pressure at the local level to avoid social segregation and marginalization and to meet local needs. Bearing in mind the present conditions available regarding both state and market relations, urban movements that benefit from stability, access and networks have to be more all-encompassing regarding precarious groups (Mayer 2006: 303).

Social movements should take advantage of being used as a bargaining tool. Bearing in mind that urban governance is now based on the representation of functional interests active at the local level, since the local authority has to respect to some degree the particular functional characteristics of the other actors involved in the new 'partnerships', and considering that all the involved participants control the resources

necessary for the policies to be effective, even social movements have a real basis for negotiation (Mayer 1994: 331). Considering how far it has become possible to have truly inclusive regimes, Mayer (1994: 331) and Harvey (1989; 1991) note that the challenge of planning and policy practices consists not of defeating this process, but making the post-Fordism period more accessible for marginalized groups in order to avoid polarization and strengthen the democratic potential of new forms of governance.

#### **4. Final remarks**

Cities are increasingly considered the engines of economic growth and in this context local policies are to promote entrepreneurship and local empowerment. Whereas welfare policies were meant to offset market failure to respond to local needs, under the context of fiscal austerity, with a national and local redistributive policy withdrawal as well as its questioning regarding efficiency to respond to social exclusion and deprived territories, tailored programmes should be implemented that try to apply solutions through capacity-building. At the same time, there is a need to streamline the city in the international market and promote urban landscapes, including old neighbourhoods as something unique to be enhanced. The goal is to make these areas attractive for investment and tourism, an increasingly expanding activity.

While considering the global, the national and the regional-level, problems should be addressed at the lowest level based on an open approach through networking of different partnerships. These measures result in urban revitalization initiatives to be developed territorially using their cultural assets for economic purposes and by supporting entrepreneurial initiatives. The processes should be led by an empowering governance structure based on shared action involving the public sector in a multi-level and multi-sectoral way, with emphasis on the leadership of the local government but also including various private partners, community participation, and the third sector.

Who are the actors involved and how far do they represent the most disadvantaged locals? How can this be reconciled with the intention of an integrated

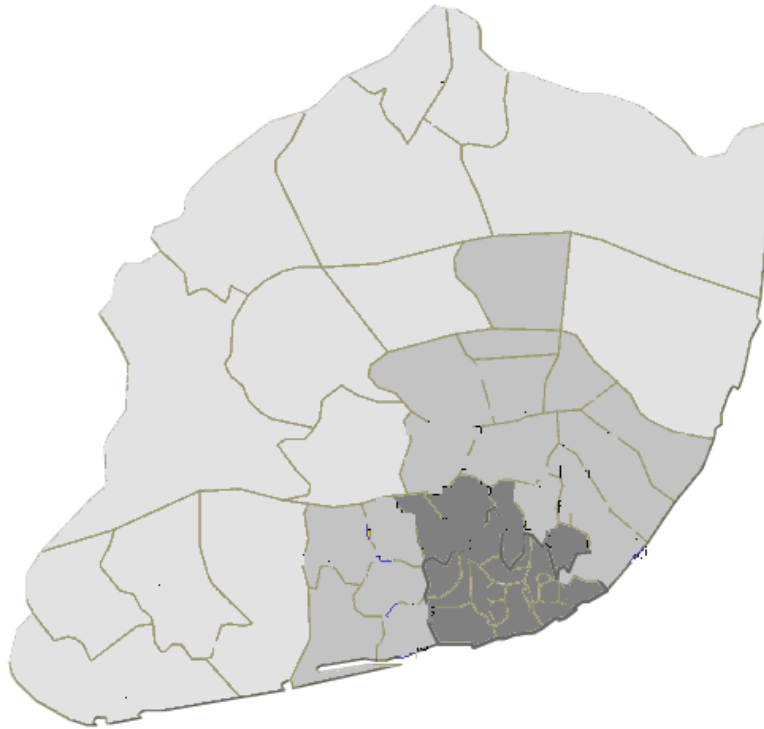
approach combining profitable spatial management as well as addressing and protecting the vulnerable populations? These are important aspects that must be considered.

### III. OLD NEIGHBOURHOODS IN THE INNER CITY: FROM RENEWAL TO REVITALIZATION

This chapter aims to present a reflection on the development of urban policies in Lisbon taking into account the way how old neighbourhoods in the inner city were approached in the last decades and bearing in mind trends in Europe since the post-war period.

In terms of contextualization, the city is inserted in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, encompassing 18 counties that, according to the census of 2011, has about 2.8 million inhabitants representing about a quarter of the Portuguese population. At the economic level it concentrates about 25% of the working population, 30% of the national enterprises, 33% of the jobs and contributes with more than 36% to the national GDP (<http://www.aml.pt/aml/territorio/>). Lisbon occupies a surface of 85 km<sup>2</sup> with half a million residents and has been marked, since the 80s of the twentieth century, by an aging population (presently with an average age of 44 years), by depopulation as well as urban sprawl through an increase of inhabitants in the margins and surrounding counties.

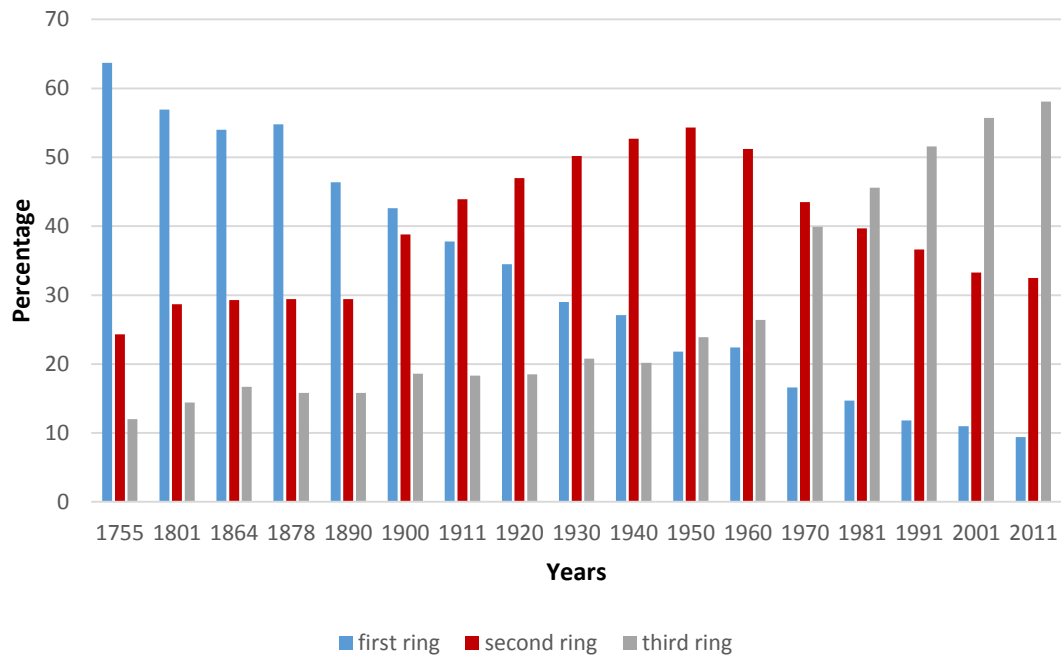
Baptista and Rodrigues (1995), characterize Lisbon considering three rings that mark the urban dynamics in view of the population growth evolving from the inner part to the outskirts represented in the following map by different grey shades.



**Figure 4. Rings representing urban dynamics in view of the population growth. Source: Baptista and Rodrigues (1995)**

The first ring is composed by the historical part of the city that encounters the renewed downtown with straight and perpendicular streets, planned after the earthquake of 1755 as well as the neighbourhoods with a medieval layout and where at that period 64% of the residents were living, an area that registered a continuing fall regarding the proportion of the Lisbon population; the second ring comprises the nineteenth-century period culminating in the modernist city in the first half of the twentieth century, a period in which about half of the Lisbon's population was concentrated in this area and that started to fall in the fifties; and finally the third ring representing the outlying boroughs that dominate the concentration of population after the seventies and has presently nearly 60% of the Lisbon inhabitants as can be seen in the following graphic.





**Figure 5. Urban dynamics (from 1755 till 2011) in view of the population growth (percentage) from the inner part to the outskirts: represented by the historical part of the city (blue), the modernist city (red) and the outlying boroughs (grey). Data Source: Baptista and Rodrigues (1995) and Census of 2001 and 2011 [INE]**

## 1. The modern city and its questioning

Up until the 1960s, urban planning was focused on a long history of visionary ideals (viz. Howard, Le Corbusier, and Frank Lloyd Wright) on how to guide the development of cities and regions through large-scale interventions. Modern city planners, following the principles of the Charter of Athens of 1933 summarizing the *Fourth International Congress of Modern Architects (CIAM)*, questioned the conditions of many neighbourhoods in inner cities with excessive density, a lack of sanitarian conditions due to small-size housing, absence of maintenance, a lack of green spaces, and their usual location in the least favourable territories where people with low socioeconomic conditions are segregated (art. 9-15). A rezoning was advocated in terms of the four key elements of a functioning urban unit: dwelling, work, leisure, and transportation (art. 77). In this sense, height should be introduced in order to offer the

possibility of freeing up spaces for modern traffic circulation and for recreational purposes (art. 82).

In this development, coupled with the hygienic approach and diffuse urbanism in Europe, renewal was widely advocated, including old city centres where buildings were replaced by new ones based on the priority to address the urgent housing needs, thereby resulting in a profound transformation of the city landscape. Little importance was given to old vernacular architecture and mainly iconic buildings were preserved.

In parallel, urban centres were increasingly marked by the expansion of the tertiary sector (banking, insurance, real estate, offices and hotels), accompanied in general by an urban renewal, marking a profound rupture with the social fabric that was often overlooked. Accessible only to the higher social classes, those that could not compete with the escalation in real estate speculation, or by choice wanted to live in the suburbs in more unobstructed areas, tended to leave the centres which in turn contributed to the closure of retail.

The outsourcing of residential areas and the high real estate prices have led to the associated loss of housing and depopulation in central areas that used to be empty after working hours and on weekends. Associated with this phenomenon, a policy of widespread urbanization and the construction of residential buildings in the margins and peripheries of cities have taken place, especially for families who could thus acquire modern, more economical, and more spacious dwellings with better mobility made possible by the automobile. While the metropolis was extending to the outlying areas, many inner city areas were decaying. This urban model has clearly shown its limitations, having raised many problems such as traffic congestion, pollution, high energy consumption, high costs in infrastructure, socio-economic segregation, the emptying of urban centres, the loss of vitality of public space, and the consequent feeling of insecurity.

During this period (1960s and 1970s), many territories in the United States and Europe experienced social unrest due to concentrated poverty, racism, environmental issues and the financial insolvency of inner cities - problems that had repercussions for

the entire metropolitan area and beyond but whose costs and consequences were distributed unevenly (Berke 2002: 22).

In Northern Europe, the two decades after World War II were marked by economic and welfare growth that tended to reduce social and economic disparities among cities (Le Galès 2005: 238). The social question became a priority in the agendas of urban policies in the 1970s, when there was a sharp decline in the secondary sector and consequently unemployment for many urbanites, a situation which was particularly significant in industrial and port metropolitan areas such as the Ruhr, Antwerp, Liège, Marseille, Hamburg, Bilbao, but also London and Paris (Le Galès 2005: 238-239).

Britain, the first European country to be affected by the recession and the process of restructuring into a post-industrial society, along with an increase in unemployment and a decrease in GDP per capita, started to focus on the situation of its inner urban areas both physically as well as socioeconomically, and on the necessity to intervene more broadly (Couch et al. 2011: 4).

At this time, several authors began to question the advocated planning model, like Lefebvre claiming *Le Droit à la Ville* (1968) and Castells (1972) who, in his book *La Question Urbaine*, draws attention to the need to analyse the urban structure beyond mere functional classification. Due to the intensification of the urbanization process as well as the crisis of the 1970s, social issues are increasingly considered as urban problems which for Castells indicates the incapacity of the system to meet collective needs.

In *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*, written in 1961, Jacobs (1994) weaves a harsh criticism of U.S. policies on urban renewal. Large sums of public money were being spent in urban planning to achieve what the author considers to be nothing other than monotony, sterility and vulgarity. The excessive use of the automobile was the reason for an erroneous urbanism. In her book, she advocates the perpetuation of small blocks with a variety of local shops. A dynamic public space and a neighbourhood with diversity and sufficient appeal would be the best way to avoid marginalization and to safeguard order at the expense of imposed policing. The author also supported the

preservation of older buildings, especially due to their low economic value, thereby accessible to the neediest. At that time she did not anticipate that many of the old buildings were to have a great demand and an increase in economic value.

In this sense, after the post-war period in Europe based largely on the renovation of historic areas in favour of reorganization and the need to augment the supply in terms of accommodation, voices appeared claiming the extension of the concept of heritage, namely the preservation of older neighbourhoods. Previous practices were being questioned, while restoration interventions were broadened by recognizing that the concept of monument could not be understood as an isolated element but should rather consider the historical importance of an extended urban fabric.

At this time, the *Venice Charter* of 1964 came out emphasizing the need to preserve:

... not only the single architectural work but also the urban or rural setting in which is found the evidence of a particular civilization, a significant development or a historic event. This applies not only to great works of art but also to more modest works of the past which have acquired cultural significance with the passing of time (art. 1).

Despite these increasing concerns, the city of Berlin for instance went, between 1963 and 1981, through a so called “areal redevelopment”, an approach focused on the widespread demolition of housing stock that is in need of renewal, as well as the building of new, modern housing developments. In 1963, the *First Berlin Urban Renewal Programme*, approved by the Berlin Senate, took place and which considered the demolition of 10,000 housing units (Holm and Kuhn 2011: 653). The authors underline that measures were criticized as they destroyed neighbourhood structures, did not involve the population while low-cost housing stock was demolished, and rents of the new dwellings were often higher.

Within the crisis of the Fordist city planning in the late 1970s, squatter movements appeared which contributed to the implementation of a rather careful urban renewal (*Behutsame Stadterneuerung*) in the 1980s (Holm and Kuhn 2011: 644).

As referred to in *Perspektiven einer IBA Berlin 2020 – ein Strategisches Gutachten*, the protest addressed urban policies, specifically demolition and renewal, and the centre of the movement was Kreuzberg, a very specific inner city district where most of the problems occurred. The district had the potential of resistance (less elderly people, many welfare recipients, high percentage of immigrants mainly Turks, students and new movements (“punk town”)) (Bodenschatz and Polinna 2011: 13) at a time when the development of an alternative cultural production was also taking place.

As referred by the authors principles were based on the recognition of the urban qualities of buildings that were to be demolished, preservation of a mixed usage in neighbourhoods with traditional streets, town squares, block structures and patios, adhering to the principles of the *European Charter of the Architectural Heritage* of 1975 which highlights the irreplaceable cultural, social and economic values of the conservation of architectural heritage. This movement was spearheaded to a considerable extent by students from the middle class – today referred to as “creative intellectual youth” - whose employment prospects appeared to be rather bleak (“no future”) (Bodenschatz and Polinna 2011: 13-15).

The main targets of the careful urban renewal were participation, the preservation of multi-use neighbourhoods, and gradual regeneration of the real estate at affordable costs. This approach has

...opened up the chance to focus on the consolidation of the existing housing stock and support for living and working in the same area to assist and retain the existing population and – mostly small – business and employers. More locally sensitive approaches to modernization, self-help strategies, encouraging local people to invest in their housing stock, support for small businesses, reusing abandoned industrial and commercial facilities and buildings for local economic development, strategies for community participation including children and

young people concerning the quality of green, open space and playgrounds, are all indicators of this change of perspective. (Couch et al. 2011: 28)

Holm and Kuhn (2011: 655) highlighted the fact that in the 1980s, in Kreuzberg, new forms of control and governance were being put into practice, together with the Fordist funding instruments.

## **2. Lisbon: from modernism to the first public regeneration programme**

In Portugal, considering the Congress of Architects that was held in 1948, the debates and resolutions, which claimed the rationalism of the Charter of Athens, came to exert a profound influence on architectural production in the decades that followed.

When Duarte Pacheco became mayor of Lisbon along with the position of public works minister in 1938, the *De Groer Plan* was set off and was considered the largest urban project plan since the renewal after the earthquake in 1755. It was regarded essential that the downtown area would fit the new modern requirements and concentrate on a business centre. In this sense, one of the priorities was to allow for a good traffic circulation by connecting the main roads.

The old city, with its narrow streets and modest dwellings, did not match the vision of modern health and its requirements. In the name of progress and in view of the city's functionality, a good car flow should be prioritized, giving access to important areas of the city, and Mouraria would be one of the first territories to be targeted. The neighbourhood ought to be pulled down not only in the interest of the city but also of the local inhabitants. These principles, as well as the proposed plans, were acclaimed by the press in the late 1940s, showing well the prevailing perspective at the time. It would seem urgent to create, in the dominant view, civilized conditions through decent, safe and sanitary housing in both physical and moral terms. A national newspaper, *O Século*

(1948), refers to Mouraria and its transformation as the reflexion of the city of the future.

In this sense, during the 1940s and 1950s, the entire lower part of the neighbourhood was demolished, including the Palace of the Marquis of Alegrete from the seventeenth century, and later the Marquis of Alegrete Arc (in 1961) which was one of the ports of the Fernandina City Wall dating back to the fourteenth century (St. Vincent Port), as well as a church and a market hall. According to the plan, the old Moorish quarter with its alleyways would give way to modern housing and retail stores but the project was never implemented.

Except for the emblematic monuments, urban heritage was overlooked, having been seen as an obstacle to development. In the municipality of Lisbon, mainly between 1935 and 1949, systematic expropriation was done in order to develop and realise large-scale projects (Pinheiro 2011: 348). Between 1945 and 1970, urban changes stood out including the development of neighbourhoods according to modern planning.

Regarding demographic evolution, due to the strong economic development in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto, intensification in the 1960s of migration from rural areas to urban agglomerations in search of a better life took place. A strong secondary sector as well as a growing tertiarization attracted a lot of people who, for economic reasons, preferred to stay mainly in the periphery, near the industrial factories, often in very precarious conditions. With the revolution in 1974, the pressing necessity to accommodate thousands of people from the colonies contributed even more to the illegal and poor housing construction.

Both in Lisbon and Porto, for the immigrant population from rural areas in the late nineteenth century and throughout the twentieth century, the problem of housing became a major issue. Cities were densified in an accelerated manner.

In downtown Porto, several so-called islands at the rear of some bourgeoisie houses have appeared, accommodating the industrial working class without any decent conditions. In Lisbon, a lot of poor people have moved into the territory being studied.

In an article on a weekly magazine at the beginning of the twentieth century, an author described the sad picture of hostels where the wretched rested on rows of mattresses, representing all the refuse of a city like Lisbon (Sampayo 1906: 493).

It was in the city of Porto that the first seminal study of urban regeneration in Portugal's historic centres was presented, and it is still considered a reference. The study of *Urban Renewal of Barredo* (1969) is extremely innovative in the way it deals with the various aspects of an integrated form of physical restoration, encompassing the community. Coordinated by the architect Fernando Távora, it aimed to foster a global patrimonial municipal policy that included, in addition to historical and architectural preservation, the social, cultural and functional dimensions. However, only with the creation of the *Commissariat for Urban Renewal of Ribeira / Barredo Area* that the regeneration of the historic centre of Porto between 1974 and 2003 (and political change) took place, based on some of the proposals (Pinho 2009).

In 1976 the National Soil Policy<sup>2</sup> was presented, taking into account the principles and standards considered fundamental for facilitating the intervention in urban historical centres. The legislation referred to the definition of *Critical Areas of Urban Recovery and Conversion* which involved the declaration of public utility and possibility of administrative possession of any property situated in the area, as a means for temporary occupation, demolition, refurbishment work or repair. In order to prevent land speculation, restrictions on demolition of buildings and usage were also included.

Between 1970 and 1985 (launch of the national urban regeneration programme), Lisbon continued to register a consolidation of the outlying boroughs of the city as well as a lack of rehabilitation processes in the historical part of the city except for some reconstructions in the downtown area (CML 2004).

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<sup>2</sup>Decree-Law N.º 794/76



### 3. The decades of the 1980s and 1990s – a changing paradigm

In terms of a shift in the economic model, *The Challenge of Slums* (UN-HABITAT, 2003) states that the late seventies and eighties represent the end of an era in more advanced societies, marked by continuous growth and a concern to reduce disparities through public support. As referred by Güntner and Walther (2013), the modern European cities of the twentieth century, namely the German city of the post-war period, were long considered "social" because local and national policies could act in the direction of social equality. Employment and promotion were assured by the labour market, while the welfare state intervened in a regulative form, and city governments sought to ensure redistributive equal opportunities for all.

The authors underline that this socially oriented urban policy went through profound changes with the upheavals of globalization in terms of labour and housing markets. With the industrial centres of Britain and France being first to be affected by social and economic crises, major cities of Western Europe followed suit, such that many city governments began in the 1980s to prioritize a business-like approach over public investments and social services (Güntner and Walther, 2013).

A paradigm shift is gradually taking place from a predictable and compartmentalized society to an unpredictable one influenced by different external factors. These increasing changes will pose unprecedented challenges to urban policies:

The technocratic tradition of spatial or urban planning, based on the concentration of powers, on trust, on the capacity to predict and on the homogenized vision of the targeted-society, necessarily gives rise to processes of cooperation, of compatibility, of auscultation and mediation, of the assumption of uncertainty and subsequent acceptance of adaptability, that is, of varying degrees of regulation suitable to the levels of knowledge and consent. (Portas, Domingues and Cabral 2003: 18)

The 1980s were marked by an intensification of concerns around urban policies at the international level, especially in relation to the physical decay of some territories, inequality, environmental problems and loss of local cultural identities. Urban regeneration arises as an attempt to solve a number of concerns that emerged at the time. In addition to the basic rights to adequate housing and to improve the quality of life of the resident population, the recovery of an entire architecture in order to preserve the distinctiveness of different territories and its cultural identity were considered. This type of redevelopment also brings with it environmental concerns through the reuse of existing buildings, valuing of local materials, defending the compact city at the expense of urban sprawl, the use of public spaces and an awareness of the importance of a greater involvement of the local population for the success of the intervention.

This decade settled the foundations of the actual interventions in terms of regeneration as an integrated approach, as shown by *The Rehabilitation of the Existing Housing Stock* (UNCHS 1982). Even though in practical terms physical restoration prevails, the document refers to the necessity of planning a territory in its entirety, and not just isolated buildings, not to mention integrating the socioeconomic aspects of the local inhabitants and their cultural identity, placing the emphasis on improving the quality of life.

Under the slogan "A better life in towns" (1980 and 1982), the European Campaign for Urban Renaissance, organized by the Council of Europe, emphasised community development and public participation together with improvement in the physical urban environment, the rehabilitation of the existing housing stock, as well as the creation of social and cultural opportunities in the cities.

At the same time in the 1980s, documents show a tendency by the State to retreat as far as direct financing of buildings' rehabilitation is concerned while recognizing the need to protect tenants with lower incomes (UNCHS 1982):

If market forces were allowed to operate, rehabilitation programs would need only guidelines and standards from the public sector, and financial resources would be provided entirely by existing or new owners. The result,

however, might not be satisfactory, since present occupants might become homeless and structures of historical and other intangible value might be lost. It follows, therefore, that if the public sector intervenes in respect of rent levels, prices and environmental and other standards, it must also ensure financial support for the implementation of such guidelines. However, rent control in general has had severe adverse effects on the mobilization of private financial resources. The dilemma for the public sector is to safeguard the interests of low-income tenants while at the same time getting private landlords to rehabilitate. (P. 38)

Culture has gained a new importance together with socioeconomic concerns. It is looked at with a broader meaning including the local immaterial heritage and the local identity that must be preserved<sup>3</sup>. Culture is viewed as a means of economic development, while the importance of the local level in promoting participation in cultural life including collective participation in an increasingly diverse society is also considered<sup>4</sup>.

In addition, a greater attention for environmental issues started to be taken into account. Under the principle of the *Brundtland Report* (WCED 1987), sustainable development provides for the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own.

The *European Urban Charter* (1992) presents a series of principles on good urban management at the local level, addressing key issues that were put at the time, namely the importance of cooperation among the various policy levels, among towns, and between local authorities and citizens. It stresses the importance on local identity, in view of preservation of the historical and cultural heritage increasingly recognized as crucial for the vitality of cities and their economic performance:

Conservation of the heritage can often mean successful urban economic regeneration. It increases the attractiveness of a city, both for tourists and the

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<sup>3</sup> *Mexico City Declaration on Cultural Policies*

<sup>4</sup> *Bremen Declaration: Town and Culture: New responses to cultural problems*, pp. 4-5

business sector. Adaptive re-use of old, particularly industrial, buildings can often be sound economic solution, providing opportunities for housing, hotels, business/office centres, etc. (*European Urban Charter 1992: 24*)

The growth of cultural tourism throughout Europe is underlined, as the continent's historic towns and cultural events attract numerous visitors. In this context the document highlights the economic benefits and inter-acknowledgement between different cultures and communities but also the need to avoid the negative effects through the involvement of the local actors, including residents. It refers to the importance for the vitality of a town to have balanced urban residential patterns and to preserve the residential character of the city centre. Considering rehabilitation programmes often taken in these areas, authorities should protect original residents from displacements as well as ensure a mix of population (pp. 21, 27, 38, 40).

It emphasizes city centres as important symbols of the European cultural and historic heritage, the provision and management of open space in the city, including car reduction, as well as architectural creation and development as having a crucial role in the quality of the urban townscape (pp. 11-20), aspects that will be particularly regarded in the revitalization of cities, namely in the inner city. Considering heritage preservation, recognizing the heavy financial commitment, the charter refers that funding requires the involvement of the private sector, which should be encouraged by public incentives (p. 23).

These considerations happen in a context of increasing concern over territorial development, as well as the recognition of great disparities between countries but also at the national, regional and metropolitan/city level. The *Urban Audit* (European Commission 2000), applied to 58 cities among 15 Member States during 1998-1999, collected data about living conditions in Europe, illustrating:

- That although GDP in most cities is higher than the national average, social problems are very concentrated in cities;

- That the proportion of old people is rising faster in the cities where the audit was carried out rather than on the country as a whole, while the proportion of young people has fallen;
- That unemployment is higher in most cities than the national figure;
- That according to the poverty index, on average, 23% of the population is living on less than half the national average income;
- A territorial polarization, increasing traffic pollution, and a higher crime rate in the cities.

The results also showed a rising proportion of foreigners, a trend growth of one-person households and single-parent families, a rising share of women in the job market, and the fact that falling employment in the industry is almost offset by more jobs in the services sector.

Advocating the promotion of social and economic cohesion, community initiatives like URBAN arose that proposed an integrated approach through programmes managed at the local level, pretending to involve local communities. The programme supported the need to increase the competitiveness of European cities, highlighting that cities, while being the engine of growth in their regions, had a lot of deprived population, even in those with greater economic success (European Commission 2003).

In the 1990s, poverty is replaced by the concept of social exclusion which has a broader meaning involving people that are left out of the labour market, from proper housing, from full citizenship, and who are often territorially segregated. The necessity of acting on a multi-sectoral level in order to deal with social distress, environmental degradation, crime and economic decline in certain territories but also to consider them in the broader context of city areas are more and more being taken into account<sup>5</sup>.

At a time when 80% of the European population were living in cities, it has become necessary to recognize that issues addressed by the EU would have repercussions mainly for the urban environments, and hence the need to explicitly

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<sup>5</sup> COM(98) 605 final. *Communication to the Council, the European Parliament, the Economic and Social Committee and the Committee of the Regions: Sustainable Urban Development in the European Union: A Framework for Action*, p. 12.

include urban development problems. At the same time, cities are considered to be the EU's driving economic motor for growth and centres of innovation<sup>6</sup>.

In the late twentieth century, territorial policies followed the trend of trying to increase competitiveness, demanding innovation and commodification of land through the development of strategic planning, and multiplication of partnerships with links between public and private actors. A concern pertaining to deprived territories underlines not just the socioeconomic consequences for the metropolitan area but also opportunities for revitalizing certain areas: "The presence of distressed urban areas, whether in the centre or in the outskirts of a city, alters the pattern of metropolitan employment and investment, reducing the city's capacity to pursue area-wide goals, most notably competition and sustainability" (OECD 1998: 10).

Unlike the past, wherein social movements and citizens questioned institutionalized processes, they are invited to be part of the process in a spirit of cooperation and commitment:

From information to active involvement, dynamic citizen participation is a precondition for the construction of the political identity of the European Union. There is a unanimously recognized trend: city dwellers are increasingly invited to act as partners rather than protesters. Scenario workshops try to bring together, on "neutral grounds" and on "equal terms", various traditionally opposed local groups in order to formulate a consensus on a vision of a sustainable city. Enlightened consensus-building requires art and science from thinkers and doers; it needs decision-makers striving to become change-makers. It also needs instruments to establish equitable communication (Eurofound 1998: 6).

Policy development and territorial marketing in order to distinguish a particular territory in the increasing competition between cities in the context of a global market has become an important issue. The effort at promoting and publicizing the process,

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<sup>6</sup> COM(98) 605 final, p. 3.

claiming transparency, and capturing private investment is an aspect that is now being considered:<sup>7</sup>

Accept that information and publicity should be, from the beginning, an integral part of urban regeneration programs, with its own budget and a personnel responsible for providing information to and from residents, building contractors, investors, etc., about such programs (art. 34);

Accept equally that the marketing and promotion of exemplary projects, the improvement of the image of a region or town as a stimulus to investment and the belief in architectural preservation as a selling point should be integral elements in all major improvement programs (art. 35).

The specificities of certain territories are being more and more promoted for better competitiveness in the global market. In Berlin, for instance, the fall of the wall in 1989 and the reunification of Germany in 1990 change the spatial structure, thereby affecting the priorities for urban and regional development with new programmes and instruments to be considered in urban policies:

The new spatial structure of the whole country and the new priorities for urban and regional development put new challenges to areas to discover the scope for indigenous growth: to define and exploit locally specific characteristics and strengths that could be used as a foundation for city marketing and local economic development. In this context historical and topographical characteristics gain a special meaning as starting points for made-to-measure marketing and development strategies. (...) By the end of the decade this approach promoted another dimension of change in perspective in urban regeneration. [And also] The discovery of culture as an important stimulant for regeneration, development and change, the re-evaluation of the historical dimension. (Couch et al. 2011: 29-30)

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<sup>7</sup> Resolution 98 (2000) on historic towns in Europe.

As discussed by Holm and Kuhn (2011) after the reunification, in view of the enormous rehabilitation needs of around 180,000 dwellings in old buildings, together with the crisis in public finance and privatization of property, the interventions were mostly funded by property owners, and the authorities tried to control building and social goals through planning legislation and in particular involving contractors and tenants' committees to moderate the processes more and more in a "negotiation-oriented administrative action".

Squatter movements or movement circles from around the housing struggles of the seventies and eighties are now service providers in the context of neighbourhood management (Mayer 2009: 17).

#### **4. Lisbon in the panorama of the mid-1980s till the end of 1990s**

Within the context of Europe, according to Le Galès (2005: 239), from the mid-1980s European cities have enjoyed economic growth, particularly the capital of small countries such as Helsinki, Stockholm, Dublin and Lisbon. The old industrial cities that had gone into crisis have also become more prosperous, particularly in Germany. The author points out that growth had leveraged suburbanization and metropolization which then triggered new processes of fragmentation and new conflicts in the urban dynamic process.

With the entrance of Portugal into the European Economic Community, and as referred by Salgueiro (2001), the country had access to foreign investment inflows, particularly in the financial sector. The period marks a decrease in the industry in traditional areas, but an increase in the area of high technology and services. Greater qualifications and earnings were enjoyed by families, while more consumption habits as well as different lifestyles can be identified, albeit with increasing polarization and inequalities (pp. 56, 58).



In the 1980s, Lisbon loses 18% of its population due to a strong decentralization of residences and activities that offer products for different segments (including offices and condominiums but also shopping malls and hypermarkets). The development of a selective re-centralization process gives little importance to the downtown area. Companies settle in places with better responsiveness in terms of car and road accessibility in the margins of the city and in the suburban area (Salgueiro 1997: 183). Location, uses and dimension mark the period with new forms of planning in a break with the rigidity of the zoning city (Salgueiro 2001: 67). A real estate boom takes place, and in 1986, Amoreiras, the first major postmodern building that joins commerce, offices and luxury housing, opens (Salgueiro 2001: 67).

At this stage, urban regeneration initiatives began to be developed, targeting degraded historical territories. Alongside these redefinitions and demolition of old buildings, measures emerge around regeneration as a result (Costa 1999) from the recognition of some neighbourhoods as needy and thus deserved to be recovered both by locals and external elements, claiming preservation and quality of life. The author in his research in the old neighbourhood of Alfama in the 1990s, when it was regenerated, refers to the precarious conditions of the dwellings; nevertheless, most of the residents wanted to stay in their neighbourhood.

In the city of Lisbon, two pilot projects were implemented in Mouraria and Alfama, together with the creation in 1986 of the Local Technical Offices located in the neighbourhoods that were an extension of the municipality, made up of several technical areas, mainly architecture and engineering. This followed the establishment in 1985 of a broader perspective of regeneration that also considered a territory in its social, economic and cultural aspects, even while focusing mainly on restoration aimed at supporting, technically and financially, the municipalities. The proximity between people and the technical staff, its presence in the intervention areas, and the agility of the procedures were all seen as key advantages (Costa 1999; Pinho 2009).

Instruments like the definition of a critical area facilitated the interventions. Costa (1999: 444-445) refers that it was therefore possible to expropriate and take possession of buildings in need of urgent intervention, especially in situations of

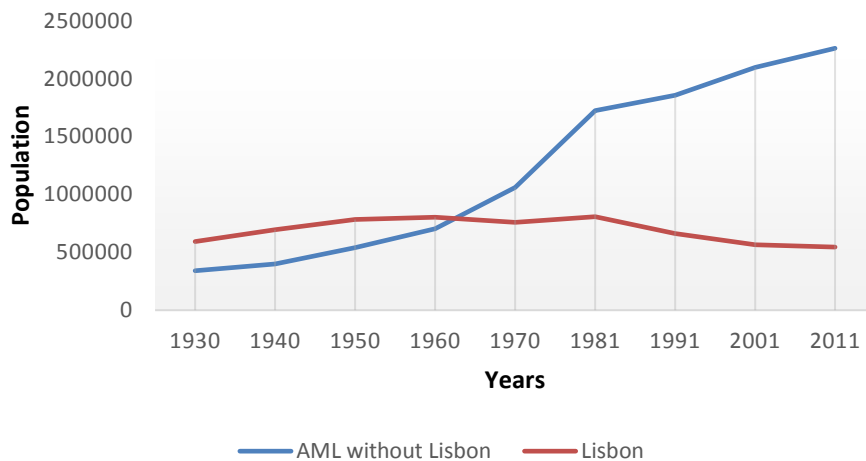
impending downfall, of manifest inability or refusal to carry out works by the owners or in view of the importance of certain buildings to the process. Among other things, it also enabled the protection of tenants in case of the building's downfall. Finally it allowed the city council to intervene in order to establish some restraint on speculative dynamics, and to avoid or limit certain transactions that would induce the exit of residents through compensation after the rehabilitation of dwellings to be rented at higher prices.

Costa (1999) underlines that the RECRIA Programme, created in 1988, made it possible for landlords that received low rents to rehabilitate their houses with public financial help (from state and municipality), as well as get technical and bureaucratic support. Some limitations pointed out were the fact that residents living in their own home would not be covered by financial support, and many landlords did not want to move ahead due to the high state of degradation. The poor quality of some interventions and increased revenues despite the rules of containment were also some of the situations pointed out (pp. 445-446). Other programmes followed to financially support regeneration.

The *Urban Lisbon's Rehabilitation Strategy* (CML 2010) emphasises the fact that in the 1990s, through the Municipal Directorate of Urban Rehabilitation, the interventions were extended to other areas of the city, while the existing ones were enlarged together with the allocation of more local offices and the provision of additional human and financial resources (with an increase of officers from 70 to 300 and an annual investment from 3 million Euros in 1989 to around 37.2 million Euros in 2001). Local offices were responsible for the management of the intervention area, the launch and supervision of municipal and coercive contracts so as to follow up the co-financed works, as well as the social support given to residents. The borough councils, under small repair protocols, were provided with financial means in order to quickly respond to urgent needs (pp. 41-42).

In the 1990s, the strategic city plan is conceived (1992) and the city registers the urban expansion of a borough in the north of the city (Lumiar), as well as a vast renewal on the oriental part.

In the last three decades, while the city's population declines to a total of 262,269 inhabitants (33%), the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (without the municipality) had an increase to about 538,577 residents (31%). Compared to a sharp fall in the 1980s, the last census of 2011 registered a slight loss of 3%.



**Figure 6. Evolution of the population in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (without the municipality of Lisbon) and the municipality of Lisbon between the census of 1930 and 2011 (INE).**

While major shopping malls and condominiums proliferated safe and clean, many areas of Lisbon were decaying or were simply deserted outside normal working hours.

At the end of the twentieth century, Lisbon is the municipality of the Metropolitan Area with the highest average age. The double rate of aging is a reflection of weak natural growth and development trend in the peripheries. The boroughs in which more than 30% of residents are under the age of 25 are to be found at the northern margins of the city, territories that suffered from a large growth in housing construction.

This is also the area that in the 1990s registered a population growth, while many boroughs lost over 20% of their population, some even exceeding 30%, including some historic areas such as Mouraria. The borough of Encarnação was the only area in the centre that maintained growth (also in the census of 1991), probably related to the fact

that it includes Bairro Alto, a territory associated with a cultural enclave (alternative and bohemian) whose development started in the 1980s and underwent a regeneration process in the 1990s.

## **5. The twenty-first century – in the name of competitiveness**

At the end of the twentieth century, the *New Charter of Athens* (1998) summarizes in the following points the current concerns and new guiding principles of urban policies that resulted from a discussion among eleven countries of the European Union: to enhance economic competitiveness and employment; to promote social and economic cohesion; to improve transport and Trans-European Networks; and to contribute to sustainable development and quality of life in terms of furthering citizen participation in the decision-making processes.

The valorisation effort of the inner and compact city follows the trend observed since the early years of this twenty-first century in Britain, defended in *Towards an Urban Renaissance* (1999) and in a document updating and strengthening its strategy (2005), proposing sustainable communities that are well designed, well connected, and have a diverse range of uses adaptable to change.

In the second report, changes in British cities are registered such as increased residential density, a movement back into the city, better performance by local authority, a significant increase in investment in public transport infrastructure, more sustainable buildings, more private investment, more decentralization, and greater financial effort in order to deliver sustainable communities. Nevertheless, social inequalities, environmental problems and the need to attract younger people continue to be major challenges (The Urban Task Force 2005: 1-2).

Cities are increasingly seen by the European Union as catalysts in terms of productivity and competitiveness, but also where most critical problems have to be

addressed in relation to environmental issues and social exclusion. In this sense, Structural Funds for 2000-2006 specifically considered the urban dimension concerning objectives of social and economic cohesion, namely by intervening in distressed urban neighbourhoods. Also, the *Charter Leipzig* in 2007 draws particular attention to the necessity to act in deprived urban areas for the sake of achieving an integrated urban sustainability.

The *Toledo Declaration* appeared in a context, as stated by the document, of global financial, economic and social crisis that affected Europe's economy and hence Europeans' quality of life. The onus was on European cities to rise to the occasion in both short and medium terms, but the task also meant facing structural and long-term challenges in terms of urban regeneration and its strategic potential for a smarter, more sustainable, and socially inclusive urban development in Europe (EU Ministers on Urban Development 2010).

In fact, as the second *Urban Audit* mentions, as greater concerns arise in terms of sustainability, cultural identity and the need for more citizenship, increasingly the city also emerges as a conjunction of polarized territories. Economic prosperity is highly concentrated, but the potential for growth exists across all kinds of territories. In prosperous cities, the standard of qualification is high but social inclusion remains a key priority for the urban dimension of policy cohesion. The urban paradox persists in terms of jobs that are concentrated in cities, but many city residents do not participate in the labour market. The report also enhances the fact that the scope of most city administrations is more dependent on political autonomy than on city size and budget (Rheinisch-Westfälisches Institut für Wirtschaftsforschung 2010: 140-144).

In view of the Europe's low average growth rate, unemployment and demographic aging the European Commission proposes a strategy (Europe 2020) for a smart, sustainable, and inclusive growth focused on innovation, higher education, skills

and jobs, more resource efficiency and ensuring economic, social, and territorial cohesion in order to reduce poverty<sup>8</sup>.

In *New Lines of Division in the New Berlin*, Mayer underlines that in Berlin, “twelve years after the fall of the Wall the city indeed is no longer divided by a ‘death strip’, but new, more and less visible boundary lines have come to traverse the city, establishing socio-spatial patterns of polarization not known before” (Mayer 2013a: 95).

In Germany, considering polarization, the programme *Social City (Die Soziale Stadt)* was implemented in 1999 with the aim of addressing growing socio-spatial polarization in cities as well as upgrading and stabilizing deprived neighbourhoods. Apart from investing in the regeneration and redevelopment of buildings and the living environment, the programme also aims to improve the living situation of neighbourhood residents (German Institute of Urban Affairs GmbH 2008: 5).

According to Mayer (2013a: 106), however, the main purpose of this programme is to enhance the attractiveness of the city by removing the most visible manifestations of urban decay such as vandalism and deterioration of public space (perceived as threatening the image and consequently the competitiveness of the city).

In order to boost cities and territories the power of culture is increasingly seen as a means for sustainability and development. UNESCO (2013) refers to cultural and creative industries as some of the most rapidly growing sectors in the world as well as cultural tourism. Culture can help promote social cohesion and youth engagement, is essential for innovation, and is a source of social resilience. The Council of the European Union refers to cultural heritage as a strategic resource for sustainability, playing an important role in creating and enhancing social capital (Council of the European Union 2014: 1-2).

In 2011, the concept of Historic Urban Landscape is introduced<sup>9</sup> by UNESCO, and heritage, including its tangible and intangible components, is seen as a key resource in

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<sup>8</sup> COM(2010). 2020 final. *Communication from the Commission: Europe 2020: A strategy for smart, sustainable and inclusive growth.*

<sup>9</sup> *Recommendation on the Historic Urban Landscape, including a Glossary of Definitions.*

enhancing the liveability of urban areas, as well as fostering economic development and social cohesion in a changing global environment (UNESCO 2011).

## **6. Lisbon – ‘open, friendly and cosmopolitan’**

In twenty-first century in Lisbon, the macro-cephalous character of the city remains while the number of residents keeps falling. Data from census of 2011 show that regarding the inter-municipal movement, it continues to be the main destination for most of the resident population in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, since 425,747 people enter the city for work or study reasons, which is more than 85,000 over that of the previous survey.

In 2013, an administrative reorganization of the boroughs took place, representing a reduction from 53 to 24 (consisting mainly in the junction of small boroughs in the historic centre), together with the decentralization of tasks and responsibilities which also involved the transfer of human and financial resources.

In terms of demographic evolution, 14 boroughs recorded a positive balance compared with the previous decade, including several inner-city boroughs. The aging index also registered a decrease in 39 boroughs. Nevertheless, Lisbon continued to have an aging population, suffering even a small increase in ten years. In 2011 the percentage of the elderly aged 65 and over (24%) was slightly higher than that of young people between the age of 0 and 24 (23 %).

According to census of 2011, only one borough, in the north of the city (Charneca), had a markedly younger age structure with population between 0-24 exceeding 30% (32%). Also, when taking into account the last survey, Lisbon lost inhabitants but continued to have an increase in the number of dwellings (of around 12%), a phenomenon in which a decline in family size (2.6 to 2.2) and an increase in the number of households have to be taken into account (which is explained by the changes in the type of families and the growing number of elderly people living alone). In this

context, the territory shows a decrease in population and simultaneously an increase in the number of families (4%). The rise in housing, like population growth, is mainly in the city's northern part. At the same time, the number of vacant houses remains significant (16%), with 8 boroughs in the inner city exceeding 30%. The historical part of the city hosts boroughs with more than 40% of buildings that are highly degraded or in need of major repairs. Taking into account the trend in the real estate market over the last decades, namely acquiring new housing through easy bank credit, the conditions of the housing stock in the inner city were worsening, with empty buildings left to decay as well as a rental market in short supply.

In 2012, a new rental law (Law n.º 31/2012 August, 14) came out which abolished rent control, aimed at faster eviction procedures, and introduced a clause of five years for most old contracts under rent control. The objective is that this will contribute towards rehabilitating buildings in the inner city and boosting the rental market, but it will also mean a significant increase in rent for many tenants.

Although interventions were undertaken, rehabilitation in the historic centre continued to present a particular priority at the national level, the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, and the municipality in particular. This has been a priority for different local authorities. More than 450 million Euros have been invested, 74% between 1990 and 2001, and 26% between 2002 and 2010. The technical and financial demands, however, were huge (CML 2010: 43).

Whereas during the above period in Portugal, there was still substantial financing for the restoration of buildings, and on efforts to maintain the local population, the tendency was for public funding to retreat in the rehabilitation of houses and to promote the involvement of private partnerships.

Different guidelines at the national and city level highlight the importance of urban rehabilitation: Portugal 2020 (2014), in which the programming principles are set out to mark the economic, social and territorial development policy to be promoted in the country between 2014 and 2020; Lisbon Strategic Charter 2010-2024 (CML 2009a);



Local Housing Programme of Lisbon (CML 2009b); and the Revision of the Municipal Master Plan of Lisbon 2012 (PDM Lisboa 2012).

According to the *Urban Lisbon's Rehabilitation Strategy 2011-2024* regarding financial constraints, the restoration of buildings, although crucial since it “is not compatible with a cohesive, friendly, welcoming and competitive city”, is the responsibility of the private sector. This rehabilitation must be considered under a market perspective but without overlooking the social dimension. The municipality has the task of improving public space, infrastructure and equipment in intervened areas, as well as providing the conditions that will encourage the private sector to intervene in rehabilitation (CML, 2010: 5, 11 and 13). The documents, however, do not give any clues on how to match profit with social issues, nor are any instruments provided.

In the inner city, rehabilitation of public spaces and housing, especially bearing in mind tourism which is having an increasing impact on the city, is taking place. In this context, the downtown and its surroundings, unlike decades gone by, again assume great importance and gain a new vitality with accommodation and shops, but also with the creation of start-ups as well as the arrival of design and architectural offices.

The building interventions have been generating great controversy and debate as far as they are based largely upon façade preservation without taking great care to maintain the heritage identity of the building as a whole.

After a big fire in the western part of the historic city in 1988, the area benefited from an intervention by a Portuguese architect internationally renowned (Siza Vieira), a project that included a subway station that opened at the end of the 1990s. This hill, also targeted when the city was *European Capital of Culture* (94), gained a new vigour and has some of the most valued areas of Lisbon in terms of real estate, while the eastern part remained a poor relative.

In order to put Lisbon on the international map, the present strategies include the intention to attract people seeking a rejuvenated and socially balanced setting and also to promote urban rehabilitation, extending the historical area to all the

consolidated parts of the city in terms of its historical, cultural and natural heritage. The city must be friendly, safe and inclusive, environmentally sustainable, and efficient. The recipe, which could be applied for any town in the world, is also to promote innovation and creativity while generating wealth and employment to be able to compete in a global context. To confirm the identity of Lisbon in a globalized world under a model of participation and financially sustainable government, are the aims that complete the framework (CML 2012a).

It is in this context that the redevelopment of Mouraria ought to be understood, wherein the city council seeks to frame international guidelines, the strategies for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area and, more specifically, to consider an overall approach that covers its surroundings. The interventions are meant to reduce the phenomena of exclusion and poverty, improve the quality of life, and open up the territory. As evaluative aspects, the local government highlighted the centrality of the territory in the city's historic part, its cultural and material heritage, multiculturalism and traditions linked with fado.

The notion of urban revitalization can here be applied which intends to reflect the implementation of programmes that take into account different dynamics and ideas in a process territorially adapted in which the common denominator is an attempt to combine economic, physical and environmental sustainability with social equity. This type of approach is implemented in order to enliven certain areas and activities, to convert certain buildings, by rehabilitating for instance industrial buildings for contemporary use, to improve infrastructures as well as public spaces. These programs also seek to give a new economic vitality by seeking to enhance entrepreneurship and real estate transactions.

The interventions consist of a negotiated agenda constructed and implemented in a concerted action between public and private partnerships, including enterprises, universities, local associations, informal groups, individual citizens - all of whom are involved either as investors, consultants, social entrepreneurs, or as volunteers based on a network of social relationships. These models also encounter greater concerns in

terms of monitoring, assessment and experience exchange intended to capture a reality that is prone to multiple, dynamic and creative solutions adapted to specific contexts.

In the case of Mouraria, the council, with regard to a set of social and urban problems, developed the *Action Programme* - "the cities within the city" (<http://www.aimouraria.cm-lisboa.pt/>), consisting essentially of interventions that started in the last trimester of 2011 in terms of public space and improvement to the urban environment and infrastructures, the re-functionalisation and rehabilitation of some buildings, and supporting initiatives in the social and cultural context (see Appendix 1, figure 1).

The municipality, in conjunction with several partners (public and private), promoted at the beginning of 2009 an application under the *National Strategic Reference Framework*, and saw it approved under the Social Cohesion - Cities Policy / Partnerships for Urban Regeneration - Programs, integrated in the Valuation of Urban Areas of Excellence inserted in Historic Centres. *Casa da Achada – Centro Mario Dionísio* (a cultural organization that promotes the ideals and work of a writer/painter/teacher), *Renovar a Mouraria* (a community organization engaged in the revitalization of the area), the *Lisbon Tourism Association*, the *Public Company of Urbanization in Lisbon*, the *Public Institute for Drugs and Drug Addiction*, and the borough councils of the territory – these all formed a cooperation based on a local partnership protocol in which each entity would contribute with concrete goals.

In parallel, and to consolidate the activities in the social sector, the *Community Development Programme of Mouraria* was implemented, and which counted numerous partners. According to the official document, the strategy focuses on capacity building of local institutions and population (CML 2012b: 3).

In order to facilitate an effective coordination of the various entities involved in this process, a specific management structure was established in the neighbourhood in July of 2011, which was designated as a Support Office for Intervention in a Priority Neighbourhood.

These interventions are included in a broader strategy of “urban renaissance” which encompasses the area across the Martim Moniz Square, the large avenue, and the area close to Intendente Square, with the rise of rehabilitated buildings, new residents and the emergence of cultural associations as well as places for leisure and consumption. A convent that was converted into a hospital, and which was closed in 2006, will reopen to the public with a multifunctional concept that includes areas for creative business, restaurants and a hotel. Also in this axis, and making use of old facilities in a furniture factory, the Carpentry of St. Lazarus will function as a cultural centre.

## **7. Summary**

Taking into account the way in which neighbourhoods in the city centre have been addressed in recent decades in view of global changes that have redefined approaches in the panorama of local management and the assumptions underlying the intervention in these contexts, different urban policies and guidelines at the various levels (local, national, European, and international) were considered in this chapter.

Territories in the so-called historic areas, after a period of inattention that extended in time differently in various countries, have attracted interest in their regeneration, taking into account the importance of preserving cultural heritage, and improving the quality of life of local residents based on a strong funding from the state in support of building interventions. This change was based on the growing recognition that emerged in the 1960s and 1970s among theoreticians and social movements, of the urban qualities of buildings that were being demolished, and the importance of maintaining multifunctional blocks combining aesthetic and social concerns.

At the end of the twentieth century, in an increasingly diverse society and growing urbanization, a recognition of the numerous problems that have to be addressed came up, namely territories of exclusion where population remains on the

side-lines of socioeconomic development and in which programmes are to be implemented. State and local governments present themselves more and more as unable to finance rehabilitation and thus calling for private partners to invest in real estate, while delegating social support activities to local associations - under the pretence of cooperation and openness on the part of urban policies to civil society. Civic movements are not protesters but are instead invited to work for a project. The power of culture is increasingly recognized, seen as a means of sustainability and development wherein state and local governments can rethink growth strategies and seek to identify new sources of dynamism.

In this context interventions involve to a greater or lesser degree numerous public and private identities in order to boost the neighbourhoods, by implementing socio-cultural activities, reinventing the public space, thereby rendering them aesthetically appealing to the visitor, and thus stimulating the housing market.

The municipality of Lisbon is also strongly engaged in promoting territorial development and strengthening urban competitiveness. Mouraria was partially demolished in the middle of the twentieth century as it did not correspond to the modernist requirements at the time. As with other so-called historic neighbourhoods, the territory went through regeneration processes since the mid-1980s even though in the first decade of the twenty-first century, it was still facing problems like deterioration in public space and buildings as well as heightened socioeconomic vulnerabilities. At the same time, the area contains local identities which are appealing to become privileged means of promoting an evaluative image in order to call people and investment. In view of the deprivation and decline that the territory had been subjected to, an integrated intervention was defined to create a new positive image.

Cities are increasingly facing social, economic, cultural and political challenges, with tangible effects in the definition of functional spaces and its identity. In considering people who seek out historic centres, Mouraria has brought together a heterogeneous population that will be further characterized in the next chapter.



#### IV. SOCIAL COMPOSITION OF MOURARIA

In view of the analysis of a territory in the inner city which is regarded as a geographical and social environment based on a set of particular characteristics in an urban context, Mouraria reveals dynamics that are found in large urban metropolises while reflecting the specificities of the city of Lisbon.

Which social forces influence the production of space? With regard to demographic trends, there are social changes that began in the 1960s and 1970s in Central Europe and North America, and later in Southern and Eastern Europe, which some authors call a second demographic transition (Kaa 1987; Buzar et al., 2007), a new phase of demographic development (Champion 2001) or a demographic revolution (McLoughlin 1991). A diversity of attitudes and lifestyles, changing demographic processes (migration, ageing, declining fertility rates), and smaller but also diverse forms of households are among the phenomena considered to have major impacts on the city.

Champion (2001: 661-662) highlights the ethnic composition of European countries that is becoming more diverse through greater international migration but also as a result of second-generation immigrants. The author refers to a steady increase of people from sub-Saharan Africa and Asia. The collapse of the communist regimes contributed to a flow of immigrants from Eastern European countries but also provided an easier access to people coming from Asia. In southern Europe, one important shift was its emigration pattern to the New World and its post-war involvement in the European 'guest-worker' system to an immigrant country.

Buzar et al. (2007: 657) underline a greater individualism and a weakening of traditional family structures, and therefore changes in the course of life in terms of household and a more complex array of social relations.

The increased mobility has also brought in people with high skills, sometimes called "invisible immigrants", who stay for a shorter period of time and that can also have significant local impacts (Champion 2001: 661).

Martinotti (1996) highlights the growing presence of city-users, a swelling population, namely visitors that come to the city to use its public and private services like museums, restaurants and shops who, in some cases and particularly in historical areas of city centres, are surpassing residents and commuters (that come mainly to the city to work), and a transnational middle-class (metropolitan businessmen) that consists of people who travel between cities for professional reasons. Both are having a profound effect on the way in which city planning is being done.

The complexity of the process of globalization and metropolization has shaped in particular the territory under analysis. Considering motivations for residential movements, quality of life was a reason for descendants of the settled inhabitants to move away from the area, and at present it is an option for some groups to come live in the inner city. The dynamics of urban sprawl experienced in the last decades in Lisbon has resulted in a process of depopulation in the historic part. In view of the present territory, aspects like small and poor quality dwellings as well as streets that have a limited car use and scarce parking areas did not help attract residents. Presently, certain lifestyles make people value living in these territories, in houses of architectural interest with plenty of amenities in the surrounding area, and where everything is at a walkable distance.

Mouraria has been characterized by an ageing population, socially vulnerable groups, and a physical deteriorated area. Especially in the last two decades, it has been marked by an immigrant population that brought in a multi-culturalism that identifies the area. Finally, the presence of new inhabitants seeking to dwell in the urban centres represents a group that will become more actively involved in the destinations of the city.

In terms of population dynamics in Mouraria, after a growth in the 1930s, and considering that the lower part was demolished, the population decreased considerably



in the two decades that followed until it rose again in the 1960s. However, from the 1970s the area systematically registered a depopulation process, being one of the territories in the inner city that lost more inhabitants in the 1990s. In 2011, there was a slight increase. As to the people who live in Mouraria, the next table shows that around 58% of the inquired inhabitants have been in the territory for more than 20 years (97% are Portuguese), and in recent years, an inflow of new residents, albeit less permanent, seems to be visible.

**Table 2: Number of years living in Mouraria**

Years	Frequency	Percentage
0-2	40	11
3-10	95	26
11-20	22	6
> 20 years	213	58
Total	370	100

**Source: Survey, 2013/2014**

Similar to what happens in the city, Mouraria has a strong presence of elderly population (23%) as shown in the next table, and an ageing index of 211% (census of 2011). This is a population particularly affected by the physical conditions of the neighbourhood: irregular pavements often in bad conditions and the sloping stairs of some buildings that make it difficult for some older residents to get out of their lodgings. Nor had the territory any green areas or a children's playground, a situation that only changed with the interventions in the public space.

**Table 3: Population by age groups in Lisbon and in Mouraria in absolute and relative numbers**

Population 2011							
Age Group/ Territory	Total	0 - 19	0 - 19	20 - 64	20 - 64	65 and more	65 and more
Lisbon	547,631	93,755	17%	321,822	59%	132,054	24%
Mouraria	5,796	836	14%	3,645	63%	1,315	23%

Source: INE, Census of 2011

The high state of urban decay and the number of vacant apartments is one of the structural problems of the city, which takes a significant toll on this territory since according to the census of 2011, 26% of the flats are not occupied. According to this data, 53% of the buildings are dated to before 1919, and 72% are rented out.

A significant portion of the housing is modest, of poor quality or have suffered constructional changes and adaptations over time. The apartments are, in general, small (nearly half are of 50 square meters or less) with access via steep stairs to make the most of the existing space. A walk around the territory and entrance to some of the buildings would raise doubts about their structural safety. In 2013, part of a building that was intended to be demolished came down. In 2011 (census), the percentage of small households with one or two members was 74%, which is in tandem with the general increase in households of only one person, not only among the elderly population but also in different age groups.

Considering the educational level, as presented in the following table, the data obtained through the undertaken survey, show a high number of people with very low school levels, but there is also a significant proportion with higher education, revealing the quite heterogenic context with regard to formal qualifications.

**Table 4: Educational level in Mouraria**

Educational level		Age group			Total
		18-40	41-64	>64	
None	Count	0	1	13	14
	% within age group	0	1	14	4
Primary school	Count	12	43	73	128
	% within age group	8	33	76	35
6 <sup>th</sup> Grade	Count	16	23	3	42
	% within age group	11	18	3	11
9 <sup>th</sup> Grade	Count	24	22	5	51
	% within age group	17	17	5	14
Secondary school	Count	46	15	1	62
	% within age group	32	12	1	17
Degree/master	Count	41	26	1	68
	% within age group	29	20	1	18
Doctor	Count	5	0	0	5
	% within age group	4	0	0	1

Source: Survey, 2013/2014

The official data (census of 2011) show that the main activities of the inhabitants in the territory are in retail and wholesale, accommodation and food service, and among men, also construction. According to the assessment that was carried out during the research, 41% of the employed people work in the area. Unemployment is a major problem: whereas in Lisbon the unemployment rate was around 12%, in Mouraria it

already represented 17% according to the census of 2011. At the end of 2013, beginning of 2014, nearly 18% of the people who answered the survey were unemployed or did some odd jobs. As presented in the next table numbers from the Employment and Training Institute show a significant increase in 5 years of registering the unemployed both in Lisbon and in the two boroughs that represent the main area of Mouraria where numbers almost doubled.

**Table 5: Number of unemployed registered in the Employment Centres (4th Trimester)**

	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013
Lisbon	16,850	22,236	22,914	25,471	29,787	32,427
São Cristóvão e São Lourenço	65	103	99	98	102	113
Socorro	152	246	258	266	260	301

Data retrieved from *Observatório Luta contra a Pobreza na cidade de Lisboa* (<http://observatorio-lisboa.eapn.pt/documentos.php>) Source: Instituto de Emprego e Formação Profissional

In view of the developments in the labour market following Kronauer (2010: 36), the last decades have experienced an expanding social exclusion and vulnerability: people with low qualifications are particularly affected by long-term unemployment; precariousness of the working conditions also among the most skilled layers; and finally the propagation of low wages contributing to the fact that even people with full-time work are not able to escape poverty, a situation that in Portugal has been intensified by the economic situation.

This is of particular concern in the present context of crisis. Regarding growing inequalities and their impacts (GINI), a report on Portugal concludes that the devaluation of the minimum wage relatively to the average wage has certainly contributed to the rise since 1985, of wage inequality. In view of regulations considered of being too protective of the workers' rights, the situation has gradually been changing, in a particular after the Troika's agreement (2011), causing impacts that are difficult to estimate but certainly not ignorable. The authors highlight that social expenditure has had an impact on income distribution and inequality level, helping to improve the living standards even though social policy measures conceived to address poverty and social

exclusion were never really designed to reduce inequality. Currently, social policies have been losing ground through a growing difficulty with access as well as lower benefits that are awarded. The previous effort to raise the population's average level of educational qualifications has also been reversed as a result of the implementation of the budget cuts. The conjunction of all these measures will inevitably result in higher inequality and, above all, increased poverty (Rodrigues and Andrade 2013: 3, 93, 94).

In the case of Mouraria, in addition to unemployment, also to be considered is the population with limited economic resources, low education, in disqualified jobs, odd jobs and casual work, as well as in the underground economy, a dimension that is difficult to account for. Furthermore, people who are dependent on social benefits, living in social housing, with few job prospects and numerous problems including arrested family members, youngsters that hang around in corners, some of whom involved in drug trafficking. The new leader of the borough council, elected in 2013, referred to the great needs in the territory, as people seek help, including food and medication.

### **1. The urban popular culture**

Mouraria has received successively people with more modest origins from rural areas, as well as Spaniards from Galicia whose presence in Lisbon was noted mainly between the eighteenth and mid-twentieth century (Fonseca et al. 2011: 30). They moved to this territory which functioned as a host area where their countrymen or relatives lived. As to the reason why dwellers came to live here, the ones who are living for a longer time stated during the undertaken survey that they were raised there, had family in the territory, or due to the proximity to work.

In his research on the old quarter of Alfama in Lisbon, Firmino da Costa (1999: 299) underlines a specific framework of interaction with a partially homologous configuration that characterizes rural contexts in some aspects that are also important

in villages in order to maintain the cultural practices. Mouraria is also associated with a strong presence of a popular urban culture that is marked by practices like the production and reproduction of fado by the locals who sing, play and even produce new songs. Fado, which probably began in the early nineteenth century, is unarguably part of the history of Mouraria, as well as of the other old neighbourhoods in the city that were home mainly to people of modest origins. As underlined by Susena (1994), it is an urban song, the result of a long tradition of Portuguese folk music that came to be mixed with Brazilian influences, especially with the departure of the court to Brazil and respective entourage largely from Lisbon and of the lower class. Fado was for the most disadvantaged an outlet to lament the grief and anxieties of their lives. As underlined by the author, since it also reflected the Portuguese state of mind, it started to win over the other social classes. The guitar and the viola were imposed and fado was heard both in the taverns and in the noble salons, becoming also increasingly professionalized.

The involvement in the festivities of the city, an event that is prepared by a local organization throughout the year, bears great significance. Despite the intense social changes that have taken place especially in the last two decades, cultural practices such as fado and popular marches that take place the night before the day of the city continue to persist in an intensive manner, with young adepts supporting and participating in them. Despite a multi-cultural environment, the marches are only performed by the Portuguese.

How does space induce behaviour? For this cultural identity, the morphological component of a tight urban fabric is predominant at the connection between the built environment and the social relationship of the residents. The life of the territory has an urban popular dimension which shapes the social practices of part of the population living in the area for a longer time, marked by a strong sense of belonging. These aspects are reflected in their representation of the territory. In the survey 67% of the long-time residents enhanced a positive image (“I would not move from the neighbourhood for anything”, “it’s my neighbourhood”) and 28% of these respondents have a negative representation (“problematic”, “it is not the neighbourhood it used to be”).

Costa (1999: 81, 298), in reference to Alfama, highlights the physically closed character, the proximity of the houses, the narrow streets, the extension of the house onto the street due to the small size of dwellings (see Appendix 1, figure 10), the importance of alleys, street corners, street benches, the presence of traditional trade (taverns and cafés) and the multi-functionality of the territory, as distinctive elements that foster a strong relationship (connection and conflict) as spaces of interaction that are important in the relations between different circles. Furthermore, in Mouraria, as well as in other old neighbourhoods in the inner city, local organizations play a key role by emphasizing, as underlined by the author, existing social links of local groups as well as networks of friendship that are central for ways of life and in influencing strategies.

## **2. The foreign communities**

Especially in the last 30 years, the Lisbon Metropolitan Area has been marked by an increasing diversity due to foreign populations. According to the last census, the region has more than 50% of the entire immigrant population in Portugal and Lisbon is the second municipality with the highest percentage of foreigners (6.30%) (INE: 2012: 2).

Portugal has been a host country since the mid-1970s considering the process of decolonization. Till that time, it was essentially an emigrational country. In the 1960s, some immigration was identifiable, especially Cape Verdeans, who responded to the need for workforce considering industrialization and construction expansion, the Portuguese emigration to central Europe, and the war in the colonies (Fonseca 2008: 52). With the process of decolonization, a significant entrance could be registered, mainly from Africa and especially from Cape Verde.

The entrance of Portugal into the European Economic Community, the proliferated image of prosperity and subsidy flows, much of which channelled into construction and infrastructures, attracted many immigrants to a country marked by

low unemployment rates. A new presence of immigrants emerged at the end of the 1990s from Eastern Europe, in particular Ukraine, Moldova, Romania and Russia (Malheiros et al. 2013: 33). Portugal's contraction and stagnation from 2004 contributed to the decline in its attractiveness. The Asian population also started to register a growth since the 1990s (Malheiros et al. 2013: 33). In the last decade, the countries of South America reinforced their relational importance (from 17% to 29%), mainly due to increased immigration from Brazil. Also, in the first decade of the twenty-first century, Asia strengthened its position (from 2.8% to 6%), thanks to the growth of the Chinese population. On the national level Ukrainians (9%) became the most represented foreign community together with the Cape Verdeans (10%) and the Brazilians (28%) (INE 2012: 5).

Contrary to the first waves of immigration from former colonies who concentrated in the suburbs of Lisbon, in neighbourhoods with poor and illegal housing, the later waves are more dispersed, with many concentrated in the centre of Lisbon, frequently in substandard housing that are often overcrowded with inflated rents and sub-lease (Malheiros et al. 2011: 92).

Regarding the attractiveness of Martim Moniz and the surrounding territory, like other central spots in inner cities in Europe often located near central stations, the area has been functioning as a point of reference and contact. Malheiros reminds of the fact that the zone of Martim Moniz has been historically a less noble entrance to the city, a space of transition to the surrounding rural areas, which justified the setting up of activities aimed at a transient population, such as garages and transport companies as well as resale trade (which allowed vendors outside the capital to obtain product supplies) and even prostitution. As stated by the author, the area is important especially for newcomers who are still looking for "their place" in the city. As in the past, the neighbourhood is still functioning as an important temporary host platform (Malheiros 2008: 149, 150).

Fonseca et al. (2010: 3) identified 29 different nationalities (also during the survey a significant number was registered, more specifically 26) who have made their entrance especially in the last two decades, namely people from European and



intercontinental migration routes – Africa, South America and Asia (essentially from Bangladesh, India, Pakistan, and China). According to the undertaken survey, the main reason they settled here was proximity to work and/or having had contacts here, namely family.

These immigrants depend largely on relations of trust to get a job and to move up. It is through social networks, based on contacts, relatives, friendship and the 'community' that the newcomers also manage to have access to economic resources, information and opportunities in general (Mandrill 2010: 253). Nearly 48% reported that they got their first job through relatives and friends from the same ethnic group (Malheiro and Steves 2013: 136). Among commercial relations, the networks go beyond their community as verified during the fieldwork, like for example, the case of a Portuguese shop owner who has a Bengali as employee.

In the mid-1970s, mainly Indians (from Mozambique in the context of decolonization) began to open businesses in the neighbourhood (Fonseca et al. 2011: 30). According to Malheiros, the retailers of Indian origin replaced stores that were commercially obsolete, strongly contributing to retrieving the dynamics and commercial attractiveness of the area, and thus attenuate the decline (2008: 153).

In terms of local shops, several movements and adaptations have taken place in the last few years: a Frenchwoman who has lived for years in Mouraria had a vintage store in the inner part of the territory and moved to an area where many tourists pass through to go to the castle. An elderly Portuguese gave up his grocery store and its neighbours from Pakistan took over the bigger space but left room for the vintage shop. Local trade has undergone major transformation processes wherein also some recent spaces ended-up closing.

One of the remaining Portuguese stores visited during the fieldwork has second-generation owners in a rented space. The owner complained about the economic situation. She also mentioned that many people prefer to go to shopping malls as well as hypermarkets and that this area is closely associated with resale. They only used to sell tableware but now they try to diversify. The building was bought by a Chinese for a

million euros and the situation of the shop is uncertain. The owner hopes that the present interventions will attract young residents who will turn to traditional trade.

Many stores have been set up by Indo-Portuguese, Bangladeshis, Chinese, and Pakistanis but also by people from African countries. These communities open their own business or work mostly for their countrymen. Mapril (2010: 250), in his study of Bengalis, reports that considering their high levels of education and the lack of opportunity to get qualified jobs, to have one's own business is an aspiration. The first Bangladeshis to arrive in Portugal are now owners of several shops and have even managed to become quite wealthy. According to this study, in the surrounding areas of Martim Moniz in 2008, they already occupied more than 150 stores, and the pioneers own most of the stores.

During the practical research, in a toy store for resale that is also a travel agency and money transfer, the Bengali employee reported that he first came to Cyprus, then went on to Spain, but some friends advised him to go to Portugal. Once arrived in 2010, he settled down in Mouraria where he had contacts and got a job. His wife remains in Bangladesh. He is learning Portuguese in a local association and gets along with people from Bangladesh, Pakistan, and India.

An increasingly representative group in the area are the Chinese, which, according to data from 2013, is the second largest community in the city of Lisbon (CML 2015: 13). Their strong presence in the territory is reflected in the press: "If you want to go to a Chinese doctor or eat real Chinese food it is not necessary to go to China, just go to Mouraria where the typical streets and homes of Lisbon hide a true 'Chinatown'" (Clemente 2011). The Chinese work mainly in retail (68%) (INE 2012: 19) and only 1% of the population is unemployed. The greater weight of recorded unemployment is in communities from African ex-colonies, notably Guinea Bissau (19.8%), Angola (17.3%), Cape Verde (15.7%), and Sao Tomé and Príncipe (14.7%) (INE: 2012: 15).

A study of the Chinese community in Portugal (Neves and Rocha-Trindade 2008), refers that the arrival of this population reflects its country's opening to the global market and a new policy of liberalization relative to emigration as well as economic

necessities in certain regions. On the other hand, as emphasised by the research, the movement (which started in the second half of the 1990s) can be characterized as an "immigration of opportunity", in the sense that the dominant motivation was the internationalization and exploration of opportunities in overseas markets and, to some extent, with the handover of Macau in 1999. Chinese companies work predominantly in the services sector, with particular focus on commerce, whether retail or wholesale, as well as in export-import, operating on a larger scale than the national market including Iberian and European (Neves and Rocha-Trindade 2008: 175-177).

According to Gaspar (2015: 3-7), the decade of the 2000s (in which the Chinese immigration registered a steady increase) is the moment that Asian migration to Portugal intensified due to the appearance of new immigrant regularization laws (Law No. 25/94 of August 19). More recently, the author stresses that the number of Chinese students has augmented as well as investors attracted by residence permit.

The Asian communities tend to be highly concentrated and can be found in the inner city, particularly in the area under study, creating a residential and commercial bloc that goes from downtown up to the avenue (Fonseca et al. 2011: 14). They have been settling in the axis of Martim Moniz / Almirante Reis Avenue, providing wholesale for stores and peddling. Every day, hundreds of packets with different kinds of goods can be seen being unloaded from the vans. The centrality of the area and the low property value were the main reasons for this settlement.

Mapril mentions that in 1993, the first Chinese merchant opened a store, but only three years later one of the shopping centres was already mostly occupied by Chinese traders - mainly from the province of Zhejiang. According to the author, in 2003, the Chinese Community owned already more than half of the retail stores in Martim Moniz and surrounding area (Mapril 2010: 249, 250).

"Every street in the neighbourhood of Mouraria accommodates at least three continents - Asia, Europe, and Africa" (Catulo and Leitão 2008). This diversity in the area, underlined by the press, is reflected in the different features of its landscape, through foreign characters announcing stores and services (even a driving school promotes its

service in mandarin characters in order to attract these customers) and providing information in different idioms, like rental opportunities. The diversity of people's outfits, the different languages that can be heard, satellite dishes on balconies, decorative elements hanging outside houses, smells and flavours of traditional foods from faraway regions when passing by the streets, social practices like cricket played by kids - drive home the presence of many cultures.

Their cultural reproduction is also marked by the existence of places of worship (mosques, Chinese evangelical church, Hindu centre) where especially on Fridays, a movement of men can be seen hurrying up a street and entering into a building that has a mosque, restaurants (some are meeting points frequented almost exclusively by a particular nationality), and other services (hairdressers, travel agencies, Chinese medicine, halal butchers, Chinese newspaper). The construction of a mosque is being considered for a street where most stores are run by Muslims.

Grocery stores owned by foreigners now compete with some of the Portuguese that persist. As referred to in two newspaper articles, the neighbourhood's grocer is "now called Mohammed" (Sobral 2012); "has fresh vegetables, drinks and all that is needed. And lots of colour" (Almeida 2009). These are usually convenience stores with long shopping hours. Some supermarkets who specialize in selling ingredients for African and Asian cuisine are being visited both by immigrants residing in the area and individuals seeking specific products for cooking. There are also numerous restaurants on offer of various origins: Mozambican, San Tomean, Pakistani, Bengali, Indian, Chinese, among others.

Near Martim Moniz, some meeting points of African nationalities can be identified and under the arcades of a building, there are African hairdressers, shops of electronic equipment, mobile phones and accessories (explored by south Asians), as well as a Portuguese restaurant.

The Martim Moniz Square in Lisbon is a place filled with people who are passing by or have an appointment. They carry legacies of Pakistan, Benin or China, but each legacy has a certain site: curry does not mix with chop suey; cassava does

not combine with tofu; sari is not confused with bubu. 'I step by here to see people of my land', says Lamine Kanté. (Catulo 2006)

This extract from the press reflects the coexistence of different social groups in the same territory, causing, as underlined by Malheiros et al. (2007: 24), spatial contiguity without social continuity.

Apart from these main groups that were characterized, that are more or less settled in the territory and where situations of very successful businessmen can be identified, the area also hides precarious situations and people in an illegal situation. This reality is present not only between these foreigners, but also includes other individuals of different nationalities, namely Romanians or from African countries as realised during the fieldwork.

### **3. The recently arrived**

Mouraria is attracting professionals and students who come to the inner city precisely because they provide the best conditions in order for them to follow their lifestyles. Centrality and being attracted to the historic part of the city as well as a "certain village atmosphere" were the main reasons given by this group during the fieldwork for choosing to live in this area. Unstable situations, continuous investment in training and increased mobility are contributing to transitional housing, cohabitation with friends, colleagues or partner. In a time of high unemployment and precariousness disguised as flexibility also among people with higher education, they carry certain advantages compared to most of the settled Portuguese population in terms of their social and cultural capital.

New inhabitants, looking for urban centres, are coming to this territory, namely Erasmus students, artists and especially freelancers with higher education who, as in other European cities, are attracted by the combination of cosmopolitanism with a

neighbourhood spirit and that is more affordable in comparison with other central parts of Lisbon. This presence is once again influencing cultural production and consumption habits: vintage shops, a bookshop, art galleries and new cafés as well as dining outlets (e.g. vegetarian) are shaping the landscape in recent years. Currently, there are also many examples of urban art being promoted in public space as well as numerous performances that have been presented in this scenario (see Appendix 1, figure 9).

The arrival of these new residents is often associated with gentrification processes. The sociologist, Glass, used this concept in her study *London: Aspects of Change*, published in 1964, referring to the appropriation of a working-class area by a higher social class, causing the displacement of the former.

Regarding gentrification, Zukin (2010) underlines the aesthetization of spaces related with specific groups and lifestyles in derelict territories. By analysing the neighbourhood of Harlem, the author states that the process is activated by the high level of cultural capital of a given population, thereby increasing the symbolic value of a territory which tends to bring in followers.

Artists, actors, writers and musicians seek rundown districts in the city centre that provide a good quality of life at affordable prices. New needs are created and consequently, new spaces of consumption that shape an itinerary with new cultural trends. In this sense, artists end up contributing to the promotion of a territory that is transformed and starts to be seen as having a high value in terms of real estate. Zukin (2010) alludes to a “renaissance” based on the power of state and capital, media and consumer tastes of the newcomers, namely hipsters who want to live in the inner city, aiming to live in a cosmopolitan environment, a phenomena identical to Soho (Zukin 1985) where the middle class followed the artists, attracted by their lifestyle. So through an aesthetic upgrading as well as a cultural industry and new retails not attended by the long-time residents, these dynamics, encouraged by the local government, contribute to the territory’s social and economic transformations.

A work on Raval in Barcelona (Subirats et al. 2006) questions the identity of the new population that have been moving into this historic neighbourhood. Parallel to the

longstanding inhabitants living in the territory and immigrant communities, Erasmus students, artists and in general the so-called "alternatives" have emerged, often attached to the numerous cultural productions that can be seen in the area. They want to mix the anonymity of large cities with a circumscribed neighbourhood where relationships are established and which instils a sense of belonging. This group engender different dynamics and put themselves in a position to deal with issues that come into play in the revitalization process. They are divided between those who are stable and those who are precarious where thanks to low rents, may continue an artistic and intellectual life in an aesthetically appealing and central district.

Novy (2011a: 145), in his study of Kreuzberg, highlights that the neighbourhood is a favourite destination among exchange students, young expat hipsters searching for low-cost living and cultural experimentation, as well as other "migratory elites". The author underlines that the numbers have mushroomed in Berlin as a result of the European Union's efforts to increase mobility among students and highly skilled labour, the increase in the number of discount airlines, the digital information, and, not least, because of the city's glamour and its relative affordability compared to other European capitals. Abroad, they will stay at friends or with people they come into contact with through acquaintances, sharing flats with those of common interests and identical cultural capital, concentrating on certain territories.

According to the fieldwork in Mouraria, this group includes in particular researchers, people from artistic areas such as photographers, journalists and architects, people involved in non-profit organizations, students but also small investors who set up trade or invested in short-term rentals. They are attracted to these neighbourhoods and project an image of openness and tolerance as well as having great empathy with the existing communities in these territories. They criticize tourists and tourism and regard themselves rather as cosmopolitans and travellers. For instance, in Lisbon, two Spanish artists, living in the inner city for some years, did an intervention called "Terratourism", which combines the idea of the big earthquake of 1755 with the invasion of tourism. These groups are often on the move for a professional purpose due to being involved in international projects.

Although the entrance of new residents (may) induce displacements of the more disadvantaged, those who were approached during the fieldwork usually consider themselves as different since their presence is justified in the sense that they want to capture the reality as researchers or artists. One newcomer referred to a deep gentrification process that was taking place, of which he was very critical. When asked about the reason he came to live in Mouraria, he said that he wanted to follow the development.

Regarding the dynamics of social re-composition within the regeneration process in Alfama, Costa (1999: 472) refers to a population that is transformed according to their own dynamics of reproduction and wider changes that occur in society, especially in younger generations linked to new cultural forms, social and local networks, as well as having higher academic and professional qualifications than the previous (not necessarily economic). The social transformations in Alfama reveal on the one hand a predominantly endogenous requalification, and an important but minor exogenous renewal on the other.

Buzar et al. (2007), in a study conducted in four European cities (Leipzig, Ljubljana, Bologna and León), point to the phenomenon of redevelopment, reflecting changes that involve a variety of multi-dimensional flows and socio demographic strata, rather than a concentrated space of action within a specific social class. "Even though social polarization may still be present, it is now much more pronounced at the level of micro-scale (individual dwellings, buildings), than larger units such as neighbourhoods or districts" (p. 672). As stated by the authors besides being multifaceted, redevelopment is also multidirectional.

In this territory, there seems to be a strong network of interaction since according to the undertaken survey 40% has neighbourhood relations, 36% has friendship relations and 11% has family ties in the area. A study in Mouraria shows that these more-recently arrived residents appear, consistently, as those with lower levels of interaction and personal relationships with other residents in the neighbourhood. Their networks tend to be more extensive than those of other groups, while social networks are also generally more fragmented and less influenced by their "place" of residence.



Higher levels of daily contact in the neighbourhood are made by the elements of two more "traditional" groups, the older Portuguese community and the immigrants. Particularly for the latter, the neighbourhood turns out to be an important area of socialization, not only with regard to their more casual and everyday nature, but also in terms of their closer social networks (socializing and support). The tolerance and openness sustained by the more-recently arrived group could instil an increasing interaction between different populations; nevertheless, interactions and networks within the neighbourhood are rather low (Malheiros et al. 2012: 122).

According to this research, compared with the immigrants and the indigenously "traditional", this group tends to have less conservative values, both at the general level (less relevance of religion and family; greater openness to immigration and perception of it as being positive) and at the level of Mouraria, as evidenced by their more favourable position in relation to security issues. However, this discourse presents a reasonable deficit in terms of local practices, since these reveal a less favourable position in relation to neighbours and neighbourly relations, as well as a lower level of contact with other residents than those experienced by indigenous and immigrants. This aspect raises questions, according to the authors, over the potential role this group could have as a unifying element of mobilization and networking (Malheiros et al. 2012: 120).

In view of the importance of a mixed population in neighbourhoods, it may not necessarily ensure a close relationship between different populations but nevertheless reduces territorial stigma and promotes diversity. For Häussermann and Siebel (2004: 166), a disfavoured milieu has socialization effects and constrains social interactions, it limits social experience and curtails exchange processes. A stigmatized environment lies with the residents themselves. The authors state that this negative stigma on self-esteem is harmful to the possibilities of social participation.

Considering however displacements that these newcomers might engender it is not the goal of this work to analyse their impact, which would justify another project by itself. This group is undoubtedly bringing in a new dynamic, which became very marked in certain neighbourhood locations through landscape transformation, events and new

retails, in the same way as certain areas are, for example, strongly marked by foreign communities. With the country's present economic situation and the strong focus on tourism particularly in Lisbon, the biggest threat to displacements will certainly be the strong investment in housing for short-term rentals, hostels and hotels which is growing exponentially particularly in the so-called historic centre. This will have profound consequences for former residents as well as for those who want to live in the inner city, as it reduces the housing offer and makes it more expensive.

#### **4. On the side-lines**

As underlined by Rémy and Voyé (1992), some of the areas of the inner city, which suffered long periods of disinvestment, have become pathways to unstable populations and thus gained a dangerous reputation as places that have to be revitalized if not pulled down.

Baptista states that due to a dynamic that favours the desertification of public life, the representatives of groups that are socially more marginalized tend to occupy public spaces that become areas to be avoided by the other population, contributing to a detachment of collective life as well as a retreat to the inner territories. Topics like drugs and banditry feed into the weakening of public space and the idea that they have to be dealt with by the political power or to be avoided until they are converted for recreational enjoyment (Baptista 2005: 54).

Wacquant (1999: 1640-1641) refers to urban marginalization as homeless and families scrambling about for shelter, beggars in public transports, soup kitchens crowded not only with drifters but also unemployed and underemployed; predatory crimes and the booming of informal (and more often than not illegal) street economies spearheaded by the trade in drugs; the despondency and rage of youths shut out from gainful employment as well as the bitterness of older workers whose skills are obsolete;

the sense of retrogression, despair and insecurity that pervades in poor neighbourhoods affected by a downward spiral of deterioration as well as hostility from the outside.

At the beginning of the 21st century, the Intendente Square and surrounding area as well as the Martim Moniz Square and parts of the inner neighbourhood were associated with various illegal activities, including drug trafficking and consumption, issues that dominated the media (including the need for frequent police intervention, raids and concerted actions with the Immigrant and Borders Service). An article in the press refers to the Intendente square, Almirante Reis Avenue, Palma Street and Martim Moniz as having increasingly more drug addicts, drug dealers, illegal immigrants, and lately prostitutes from African francophone countries. Insecurity and assaults reign in the borough of Anjos, and the residents do not stop complaining to the local authorities and the police. To Intendente merges everything that society puts on the side-lines and according to the leader of the borough illegal immigrants join there and remain in pensions or dilapidated housing that they occupy or rent for exorbitant prices. He refers that the addicts who left Casal Ventoso and Curraleira established here when these neighbourhoods were intervened, and dragged in the dealers along with them (Mendes 2002).

This area has long been stigmatized, especially due to prostitution. A work from the 1980s (Afonso, 1984) reports that it was very present in the area and, given the data available, it should go back to the second half of the nineteenth century. In her research on Mouraria, Menezes (2004) refers to drug trafficking and addiction in the territory since the 1980s.

A study about human trafficking at the beginning of the twenty-first century (Sabino 2005: 258), mentioning the specific case of women in prostitution, highlights the number of women in the streets and bars in Intendente Square, where it is possible to note a clear increase and diversification of nationalities according to police sources. In the research, according to one religious organization that works in the area, there are African women who do not speak Portuguese and who might be Nigerian. Besides the group, several institutional interviews mention the existence in Portugal of African women coming from Angola, Ghana, Liberia, Senegal, and Sierra Leone. Women from

Africa and from Eastern Europe were referred to as the most involved in trafficking networks (Sabino 2005: 258).

In May 2003, according to the *Portuguese Institute for Drug and Drug Addiction*, numerous users were consuming drugs in trucks that were parked at the time in the square overnight or in adjacent areas. Given the several problems identified in 2006, an integrated intervention project was triggered, promoted by the Municipality of Lisbon in collaboration with different institutions involved in the territory (IDT 2008).

At the end of 2006, the prevalence of the addicted population remains well visible in Mouraria, especially in one of its main streets. In 2007, the street outreach team reported a small reduction in the number of users who stayed overnight and registered the existence of a mobile population that was heading to the territory only for consumption purposes (IDT 2008). The report refers to the feeling of insecurity especially among the older residents. Youngsters, namely teenagers, are particularly vulnerable by living in this permissive environment combined often with early school dropout, unemployment, lack of occupation, and dysfunctional families (IDT 2008). A resident contacted during the research stated that she wrote to the city council because the building next to hers was occupied by drug addicts and she was afraid that there might be a fire one day. According to her, no mayor really cared about the territory.

In 2009, this situation continued to be identified and mentioned in the press: "Residents and homeowners in the area of Intendente, in Lisbon, complain about the presence of drug dealers and addicts and assaults committed there" (Lam 2009); and even more recently, next to the renovated "Intendente Square (...) hidden in the alleys or sitting on the doorposts, behind parked cars (...) dozens of consumers (...) continuously smoke crack" (Bastos 2013: 21).

Data presented in the *Mouraria Development Community Programme* (based on sources of partner organizations) reported for the area that in 2011 about 180 women were in prostitution, 200 drug users were contacted by the harm reduction team, and 23 people were identified in a situation of homelessness (CML, 2012).

## 5. Territorial delimitations

Considering the demarcation of the territory under study, a delimitation but also an overlay of different social practices must be taken into account. Mouraria has different logics of spatial appropriation. The bottom part and a perpendicular street have intense economic activity (retail and wholesale). There are many different stores selling jewellery, toys, stationery, clothing, leather goods, computer accessories and mobile phones as well as travel agencies, barbers, cafés and restaurants. People from far away countries, mainly from Asia but also Africa, brought their cultures into this area. The everyday life, especially in the lower part, is characterised by people moving about in their daily routine: individuals going to work; goods being unloaded; residents passing by, doing their shopping in the nearby supermarkets, having a coffee in their usual place, stopping to chat with a neighbour, sitting on benches observing and gossiping. The inner part has a certain village atmosphere, a quietness here and there that is broken only by a loud music, often fado music, or an argument coming from inside a house. Youngsters hang around in specific street corners of the territory. Despite being in the city centre, along one of the main avenues and close to downtown, it was not necessary to pass through it nor was one invited to do so.

Despite the fact that various nationalities are dispersed throughout the area, the public space is fairly well defined by different groups. For example, foreign communities tend to use the lower area of the district (the *Intendente Square* or *Martim Moniz Square*) instead of the public space in the inner territory.

Delgado (2007) defines territoriality as the identification of individuals with an area that they see as theirs and where they settle covenants regarding their limits. Considering different social actors in the area, and taking into account as part of the process various aspects of change, new positions are set up in order to delimit areas through pressure, conflicts and pacts between residents, users, local government and entrepreneurs. The territory is being continuously reshaped by different groups according to their interests and capacity to impose or persist.

In recent years especially in the surrounding areas, protective measures are being put in place that inhibit the homeless from sleeping there. A significant reduction in the number of homeless people sleeping at Martim Moniz can be identified, in a context in which the square has now become a recreational area.

The relationship between consumers of psychoactive substances and some residents of particular areas is anything but peaceful. Some locals hope that these interventions will push the drug addicts away. One family regularly watered the stairs in front of their building and gratings were placed in front of doors to prevent drug addicts from sitting on them (see Appendix 1, figures 26, 27, 28). In one street, and despite interventions in the public space, they kept in the area. For a while, drug trafficking and consumption that used to take place in one of the main arteries and at the aforesaid stairs by the Intendente Square seemed to be moving away. The absence was very visible and was underlined by the workers of the harm reduction team doing street outreach services. Nowadays, they tend to be on the other side of the main avenue, an area that is not part of the intervened territory. A tendency not to hang around as before and to disperse was also reported. However, more recently, and as underlined by a long-time resident, this phenomenon seems to have returned in her street due to a dealer that reappeared. Consumption in the street, noise and brawls make up the scenery. She has a space that she would like to explore for a business but these issues do not motivate her to go ahead.

Considering drug trafficking and consumption, locals also refer to the relocation processes by consumers that represent the most vulnerable, visible and disturbing side of this issue, and frequently also the most criticised group by the population seen as a hostile presence. According to a technician, drug addicts feel more and more uncomfortable about consuming in the public space. Before, there were empty areas and houses and fewer people were passing by. Drug dealers, on the other hand, seem to persist (some of whom “sons of the neighbourhood”) in the same corners, certainly a heavier weight to cope with.

Contradiction and conflict may arise in the production and reproduction of space, taking into account the aim of maintaining or reinforcing the existing social

practices or redefining a possible transformation. As referred to by Proença Leite, the "between locations" qualify urban spaces, in the sense that they are sites of visibility, of symbolic disputes, of different social practices. Contact zones are fluid with interaction points between different dynamics (2010: 83).

Two bars opened, but one year later the owners decided to leave and look for a place elsewhere. According to a statement by one of them, the area not only did not change as expected but regressed a bit. The owner of an establishment, seeing that traffickers were coming too close to his restaurant's terrace, decided to put large flowerpots in front of the terrace to close off the space. In another situation, the owner of a bar came to an agreement on the delimitation of his area and that of drug dealers. Also, a terrace from a restaurant should be placed in a strategic corner where drug trafficking takes place, an idea supported by the leader of the borough council in order to try to attract different people and move the others away, but the intention does not seem to have gotten through.

Regarding prostitution, there has been a drop and, as noted by different reports, there is a notorious shift among the women towards the edges and to the surrounding areas. According to some statements, they felt pressured to move both informally with the presence of new dynamics, as well as formally by police when the interventions in the public space started and the mayor's office moved to the area. In Intendente Square where they used to be leaning against the walls or corners and where three years ago they used to converge, they have now left the area and in an adjacent street a few are in front of the bars' entrances in a more discreet manner. At the same time, in this street new dynamics are emerging with buildings being rehabilitated, a monthly street market and new outlets.

## 6. Summary

Mouraria is a territory in the inner city that has been marked by physical, environmental and socioeconomic problems. The deterioration of public space, wrecked buildings with many vacant flats, a sense of insecurity felt by many residents, social stigma related with the presence of illegal practices are some of the aspects that were referred by the press.

In the last decades, the territory has registered the permanence of life forms and cultural practices but also new social changes. Like many inner city neighbourhoods, it is being targeted by social transformations that reflect an intensification of mobility in the global context with different forms of households and lifestyles, defined by an increasingly heterogenic population. These dynamics also include a significant proportion of the vulnerable and have-nots, marked by economic precariousness: many of the elderly living alone, people affected by unemployment or with low qualifications, also among the younger generation and much dependent on social support.

It is a neighbourhood with an urban popular culture for Portuguese residents in the historic centre, to which they have a strong symbolic and affective attachment. In the last decades it has been marked by a multi-cultural environment as the area hosts a significant inflow of immigrants, predominantly from Asia. The presence of different foreign communities that dominate the retail and wholesale in the area has developed a whole collective life with its own cultural practices. In recent times, the area has become attractive to another population group (i.e. students, people from the social sciences and artistic fields). All of these groups have transformed and redefined social settings.

Despite the fact that different social dynamics characterize the territory, the (sub)areas are quite defined by different groups and presently, in a context of change and with the entrance of new population and new investment, it is once again marked



by new delimitations in terms of the predominance of certain groups but also the persistence of previous ones. In a context where the intention is to open up the territory to the outside world, the creation of a good ambiance has to be promoted, an aspect that will be analysed in the next chapter.



## **V. THE PROCESS OF REVIVAL UNDER THE PROMOTION OF CITIES - THE CONSTRUCTION OF AN URBAN SCENARIO**

Local governments have been promoting their cities in the global arena through strategies in which the capacity to effectively transmit appealing images assumes increasing importance in terms of attracting skilled people and investment. Also, according to Ashworth and Tunbridge (2004: 211), place marketing is considered an important planning instrument for city managers attempting to meet the impacts and opportunities by consumer demands being made upon cities from tourism in particular. In promoting a place, its image is redefined using culture-driven approaches and an effective media discourse - aspects that will be analysed in this chapter.

### **1. The Creation of a good ambiance**

Tourism is one significant dimension of the global context's increasing mobility, as it affects the way in which places, namely cities, are reinvented. Baptista (2005: 50) points out that the economic and social relevance of tourism determines how places are restructured as well as how local activities are planned and predicted; it is indeed a production system that explicitly markets and packages both places and people (Britton 1991: 476).

In recent decades, tourism has experienced a steady increase and is currently one of the fastest growing sectors in the global economy (rising between 1990 and 2013 from 435 million to 1,087 million tourists/year), of which half of the market share belongs to Europe as the most visited region in the world (UNWTO, 2014: 11). In this context, cities have come to assume a dominant position, namely, as prime destinations for short visits (city breaks).

Urry (2002: 1) defines tourism as pretence pleasure experiences, as opposed to everyday activities. Tourism and leisure activities are however also increasingly mixed with the locals' daily lives. It is often considered that a city that manages to attract

people to visit should also be synonymous with quality of life for its inhabitants, as it offers a wide diversity of cultural amenities. As referred to by Harvey (2008: 31), “Quality of urban life has become a commodity, as has the city itself, in a world where consumerism, tourism, cultural and knowledge-based industries have become major aspects of the urban political economy”.

Considering the importance of tourism, namely consumption and leisure that come with it, cities thus increase expenditure in cultural activities and facilities. Currently, all countries, regions and cities have to compete in the world for market share and in different areas by promoting their image and branding their assets. In this “symbolic economy”, culture is seen as an essential element for promoting and boosting urban development (Miles and Miles 2004: 45; Landry and Bianchini 1998: 12; Zukin 1995: 8) or as Ryan (2001: 23) puts it, “culture manifestations depend upon context and reproduction for value”.

Häußermann and Siebel (1993) refer to the politics of festivalization which considers the great number of major events as an instrument in the development of urban policies. In Lisbon, in the 1990s, interventions aimed at promoting the city as a cosmopolitan metropolis were being held, e.g. the European Capital of Culture (*Lisboa 94*) which had strong support from private firms and whose patronage law was created in 1986, and the World Exhibition (*Expo 98*). The latter that once was an industrial, commercial and working-class residence became a high-end residential, office, leisure and consumption complex (Pereira 2015).

Through these ephemeral cultural events, Portugal has tried to break its rear and assert itself internationally, especially in the European context. As to the relationship between international mega-events and identity (Urry, 2002) with respect to the case of Portugal and Lisbon in particular, the ocean is a permanently recovered theme that concerns an immense coastal area and a past filled with intensive maritime exploration during the period of the discoveries.

This decade is also marked by the construction of the Cultural Centre (for Portugal's European Union Presidency in 1992) and Culturgest (headquarter of the state-

owned banking corporation), edifices for cultural activities and conferences that have become new architectural landmarks for the city, as well as of two big shopping malls, representing important references in the definition of the urban landscape.

Presently, the requalification of the waterfront in downtown, of squares and parks, as well as reduction in the number of cars in the city are major concerns, valorising attractive views and beautiful façades, augmenting pedestrian and cycling areas in order to improve the urban fabric.

Two old markets were requalified where, apart from the traditional selling of flowers, vegetables, fruit, fish, and meat, gourmet spaces (run by renowned chefs) also arose. The big plaza concept, an arrangement of architecture with magnificent buildings, “enclosing an open-air dining room with ‘happening’ space” (Ashworth and Tunbridge 2004: 214), has its height in the Praça do Comércio, the enormous square facing the river Tagus which was once a parking area. Also, a new cruise terminal is being built that will soon duplicate the capacity to receive tourists of the sort in a city which in 2014 had 319 cruises that accounted for 40% of the national movement (Turismo de Portugal 2015: 19).

According to a statement by the mayor of Lisbon to a daily newspaper, it is important to introduce new promenades in squares and gardens in neighbourhoods so as to improve the quality of life in the city as well as its image and attractiveness (Lusa 2012a).

As far as tourism is concerned, in 2014 the Region of Lisbon registered 4.9 million visitors, an increase of 13% compared to the previous year (Turismo de Portugal 2015: 6). Existing urban places, seen as unique in historical, cultural and morphological terms, are re-oriented to potentially capture new visitors and to foster economic development.

Lisbon is promoted by its tourism office as a bright city where visitors can experience history, monuments, emblematic architecture, as well as characteristic old neighbourhoods where the most genuine level can be lived. The advertisement also refers to an immense riverfront, parks, gardens, cafés, esplanades and an intense

nightlife. Finally, there is the possibility to enjoy its gastronomy, luxury hotels, spas and shopping malls as well as golf and nearby beaches (<http://www.visitlisboa.com/Lisboa.aspx>).

For the magazine *Monocle*, offers pertaining to consumption in the city are becoming trendier: “From old-fashioned shop fronts in Chiado to plucky start-ups in Príncipe Real, retail in the city is confidently bucking the economic trend as savvy entrepreneurs dig in their heels and turn on the charm” (Fehnert 2014).

With regard to cultural policies, classified monuments, i.e. world heritage sites that are recognized by UNESCO as having special cultural or physical significance, are also important resources. Ashworth and Tunbridge (2004: 211) emphasize that in promoting heritage, the importance of fostering local pride or “civic consciousness” is seen as important in itself, while also being a requirement for any successful external marketing to attract visitors. The two authors refer to ‘heritagization’ as “the process through which heritage is created from the attributes of the past, whether these are relict artefacts, memories, or recorded histories. It is intrinsically a global process and will be reflected in a global tourist-historic city” (2004: 212).

Fado is a case in point, whose application for world heritage, led by the city council, has secured the agreement of all local political forces, a firm commitment from the national government, and patronage of the country’s head of state on behalf of a collective cause to safeguard and promote Portuguese culture. The submission joined forces with a coordinated effort by universities and researchers, institutions, local associations of neighbourhoods connected with this tradition, professional organizations, and individual participation of central figures related with this music genre (<http://www.candidaturadofado.com/declaracoes-institucionais/declaracao-rui-vieira-nery/>). Fado is winning over more and more adepts, also at the international level, as well as an increasing number of musicians. Festivals take place in Lisbon, and there is a growing number of restaurants that feature fado music. After its promotion as *Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity*, the local government aims to apply the urban historical landscape, comprising the old neighbourhoods and downtown area (the so-called Baixa Pombalina).

Portugal is a country in crisis but that is becoming more and more fashionable and sits squarely along the routes of world tourism. Inner cities have continued to gain prominence as territories for consumption where the whole landscape is to be experienced. Lisbon “could be the coolest city of Europe”<sup>10</sup> while old quarters seem to be particularly potential landmarks that attract visitors, for according to *Tourism of Lisbon*, Alfama (a historic neighbourhood) is one of the major places of interest, visited by 54% of respondents inquired by the organisation (ATL 2012).

Miles and Miles (2004) highlight consumption as:

a key means by which both the character of our cities is promoted and, in addition, a key factor in determining the meanings with which consumers endow their experience of city life. Urban change is not simply manifested at a physical level. The city is an emotional experience as well as an architectural one. (P. 6)

In this sense, as stressed by the two authors, “local actors like urban planners, architects, investors, local government invest in the symbolic value of consumption not only of goods or services but through a mythologized vision of the city of our dreams” (Miles and Miles 2004: 170). Baptista (2005: 55) underlines the fascination that all seem to nurture with respect to local attractions - landscapes, gastronomy, edifices, and the pretence of conceiving them as playful, attractive and unique objects insofar as they have something particular to show regarding history, physiology, and timeliness.

In this context, the media play an increasing role in the spread of symbolic representations and legitimization of urban policies and enterprises based on city consumption:

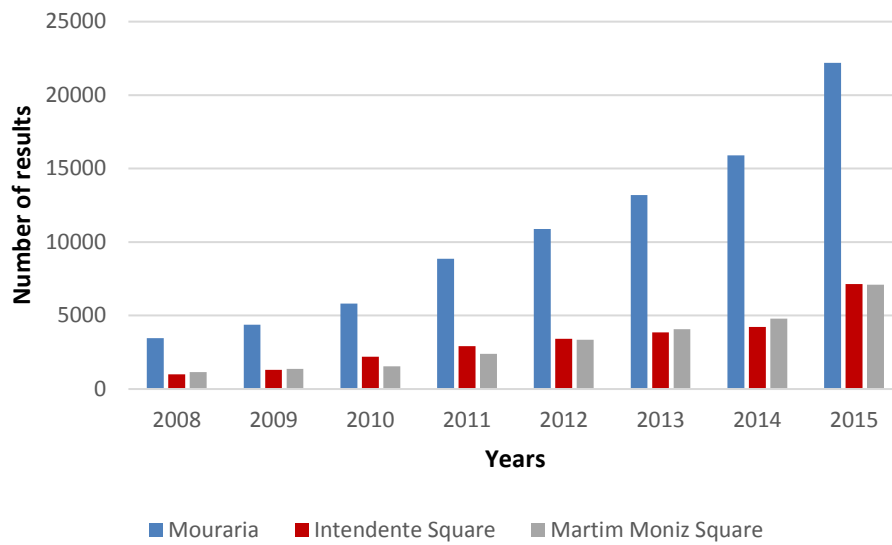
Places are chosen to be gazed upon because there is an anticipation, especially through day-dreaming and fantasy, of intense pleasures, either on a different scale or involving different senses from those customarily encountered. Such anticipation is constructed and sustained through a variety of non-tourist

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<sup>10</sup> <http://edition.cnn.com/2014/01/25/travel/lisbon-coolest-city/>

practices, such as film, newspapers, TV, magazines, records and videos which construct that gaze. (Urry 1995: 132)

The city of Lisbon as well as Mouraria have attracted a growing emphasis in the press with regard to what both have to offer in terms of recreational activities and experiences. The next graph shows the level of increase when searching terms related with the territory under analysis. The subjects that were approached throughout these years will be considered later in terms of four national newspapers.



**Figure 7. Web search results using the following keywords: Bairro da Mouraria Lisboa; Largo Intendente Lisboa; Praça Martim Moniz Lisboa. Data Source: Google web search engine (retrieved on 15/12/2015).**

To revitalize the urban centre became a solution globally used in responding to the deprivation and decline that many territories were subjected to seen as unsavoury aspects of urban life, thereby requiring public intervention to eradicate this image and power up the territory.

Baptista and Nunes (2010) question how far the memory of a city is no more than a reinvention of the urban experience in the present. Collective memory and local identity are built up in terms of the sedimentation of urban morphology which comprises social space allocations (p. 64). Considering the present case study, a territory is redefined in terms of promoting new social dynamics and changing the area from an



excluded territory to a new centrality. In this context, which image of the area (denoted over time) should be enhanced, and what representations of it should be swept under the carpet?

## **2. Sediments in Mouraria**

Since the conquest of Lisbon by the first king of Portugal in 1147, the name Mouraria corresponds to an ungrateful territory, as being the stronghold of the defeated Moors that lived on the outskirts in an area defined by the king's charter of 1170 (Barros 1994).

The Moors were peasants, producing vine, olive oil, dry fruit and craftsmen whose profession was exercised in their territory. They were also requested as masons and carpenters, hired by the court (Couto 2008: 90). At the end of the fifteenth century with the eviction edict of minorities, land was expropriated in Mouraria (Barros 1994: 591).

During the maritime expeditions of the sixteenth century, the centre of the city was based in downtown, near the waterfront. The population was growing, the city expanding, and also Mouraria had an increase of residents including nobility and clergy who built palaces and monasteries in the urban fabric (Menezes 2004: 30, 31).

With respect to the twentieth century, one analysis in the press shows a territory whose negative symbolic representations reflect a decaying place, marked by social wretchedness. Araújo (1939: 60), a passionate researcher of Lisbon, states that chroniclers from the late nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth century contributed to the bad reputation, by transposing the image of a street ("the dirty street") with brothels and taverns, places of brawls, prostitution, drunkenness, to the whole territory. The area is also connected with fado music that emerged in the middle of the nineteenth century in the popular neighbourhoods of Lisbon. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Severa, a prostitute, became the most legendary fado singer,

and spent part of her short life in this street. Here, she met the Earl of Vimioso who, like other aristocrats, was a regular customer in these places, a phenomenon that contributed to the rise of fado among the upper classes (Couto 2008: 221). She inspired poets, singers and even a film.

On the issue of prostitution, Pinheiro (2011: 235) presents data in her work indicating that in the middle of the nineteenth century, the borough, which includes this street, was only surpassed by one other neighbourhood. At the beginning of the twentieth century, one newspaper reported that Mouraria and Alfama are the two most dangerous loci of the capital, referring to the narrow streets with depleted buildings that housed an entire population of vagrants, beggars and criminals. Frequent raids helped ensure a quasi-absolute tranquillity in these parts of the city, according to a magazine at the time (Sampayo, 1906: 489).

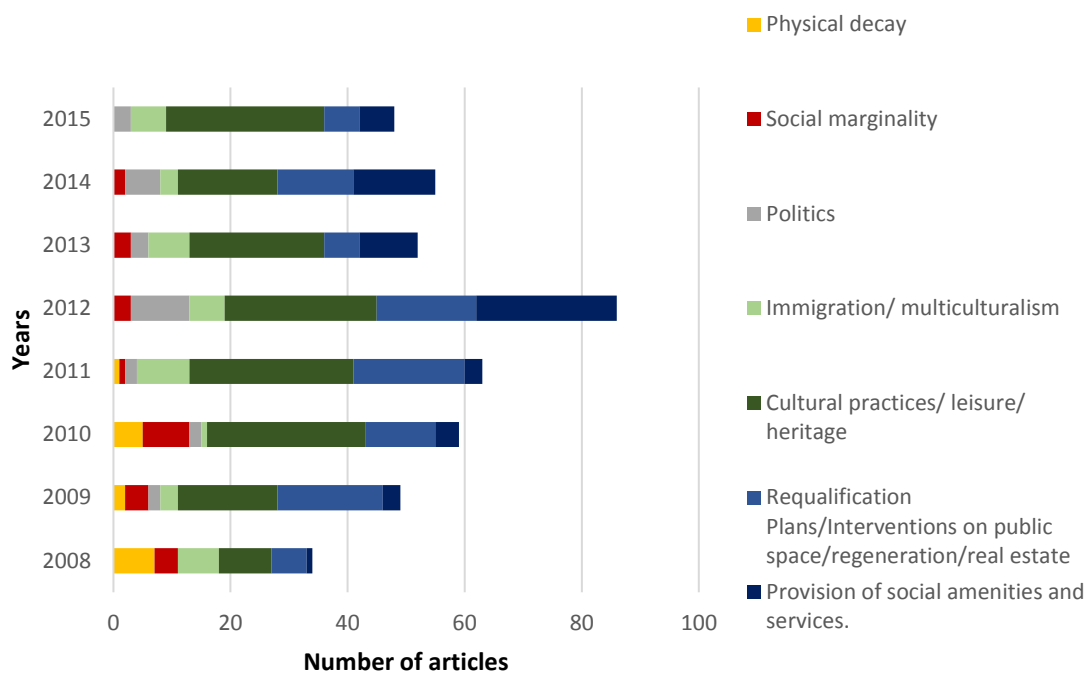
In the nineteenth century, although most of the industrial units were located in the suburbs, some were in the inner city. According to Couto (2008), traditionally, the downtown area had a large number of textile workshops around department stores, but also printers, engravers, photographers who share the same territory with olive oil producers and stores of musical instruments. Mouraria also preserved its small workspaces (pp. 258-259).

The neighbourhood has a popular character, including workers' villages. In the twentieth century, the area was heavily marked by an intense street life. One author in the 1930s refers to clothes drying in the sun, the narrow streets with popular stores selling a variety of articles, the neighbourhood cinema, as well as numerous cafés and taverns. There is an intense movement going on. Many people from the vicinities cross the area to get into downtown; others also find here a suitable allure of urban life according to their financial capacities and necessities. Brawlers and fado singers put up their home here as well (Gomes 1938: 17-18).

In the 1940s and 1950s, the main news in Mouraria were centred on the modernist visions and redevelopment plans for the area. From the 1980s and 1990s, the focus shifted to concerns around regeneration.

Notwithstanding the contempt for these old neighbourhoods, the appropriation of legendary and symbolic personalities related to the territory and the promotion of a certain popular identity have also taken place. Since 1932, the state has officially endorsed marches during city festivities on the eve of Saint Anthony's day (municipal holiday), a contest that still takes place and where each neighbourhood is organized to parade on one of the main avenues with music using costumes and singing themes, making reference to their territories while marking a strong sense of belonging in a rather fierce competition. This night is the highlight of the feast which lasts for several days in different parts of the city, especially in older neighbourhoods with music and food thereby attracting numerous visitors (see Appendix 1, figure 11) and in this way, news over these cultural practices, namely the results of the contest, appear in the media.

As can be seen in the following graph, in regard of the issues that are addressed in the press about Mouraria, a year before the intervention started in 2011, more attention has been directed to the physical deterioration and social problems, themes that have not been brought up in 2015. Although the main subject of the news since 2012 focuses on cultural events, the provision of social amenities and services, public space interventions, news on drug trafficking (namely about detentions) and consumption are reported as well as one major article on poverty in Portugal involving the testimony of one local resident. Two subjects that have caused a lot of discussion were the drug consumption room in 2014 and the safe-house for sex workers in 2012 that were not implemented. Another topic addressed about this area is its multiculturalism related with what is on offer in terms of retail and events. An issue that has also been mentioned is the intention of building a mosque.



**Figure 8. Mouraria in the national press according to the different analysed subjects (2008-2015).**  
 Source: Newspapers *Expresso, Sol, Diário de Notícias, Público*

Martim Moniz, the large square in front of Mouraria which is surrounded by intense traffic connecting an important artery to downtown, has been subject to different failed planning-interventions, starting with the dismantling of the quarter's lower part in the 1940s.

In the 1980s, the Martim Moniz Square received the construction of a shopping centre. Several proposals also arose that did not pass as projects. Only thanks to the World Exhibition, *EXPO 98*, was the square rearranged with 44 kiosks that were placed there as well as fountains and a monument to remember a hero from the conquest of Lisbon. The area was essentially a meeting point for immigrants but also associated with illegal activities. Later, with a police raid and a new makeover, the square had three snack bars while different parts of the area were occupied by different groups, especially Indians, Africans, Chinese, East Europeans and tourists (Menezes 2004: 180-184).

Looking at the next graph, in 2010, probably as a first step in the revitalization process, police raids pertaining to drug trafficking, illegal immigrants and goods were particularly reported in the press about this area.

This public space has been a central symbolic territory of contestation and in the eight analysed years demonstrations were always present in the news. It has witnessed demonstrations related to civil rights especially for the immigrant population and against racism. It was not by chance that the extreme-left has chosen this place to make its mark. It has been the scenario for protests against violence on women, rights for LGBT, AIDS campaigns but also for taxi drivers protesting against Uber or a climate march. On May Day, the various unions meet at this square (see Appendix 1, figure 35).

Important cultural celebrations also take place here. In May, hundreds of visitors fill the area to witness the procession (see Appendix 1, figure 36), a tradition that dates back to the sixteenth century. The festivities begin the night before, with a celebration of candlelight procession that goes through Mouraria.

Whether referring to illegal situations, to a meeting point for immigrants or for community celebrations, and in view of the numerous events that take place in the area as well as to the appropriation of the renovated square, multiculturalism has indeed become a constant concept of this setting, as can be seen in the chart.

Muslims have considered this open square a meeting place for their community rituals celebrating the end of the fasting month of Ramadan. Celebrations of the Chinese New Year (see Appendix 1, figure 31) have also taken place at the square which include discourses from Portuguese and Chinese authorities as well as a number of performances. Several stands offer information about China and the Special Administrative Region of Macau as well as gastronomy, handicrafts and calligraphy exhibitions.

In 2009, the multicultural *Festival Todos* was initiated, reflecting a marked increase in cultural events, a theme which augmented significantly in 2012 with the opening of the renovated square.

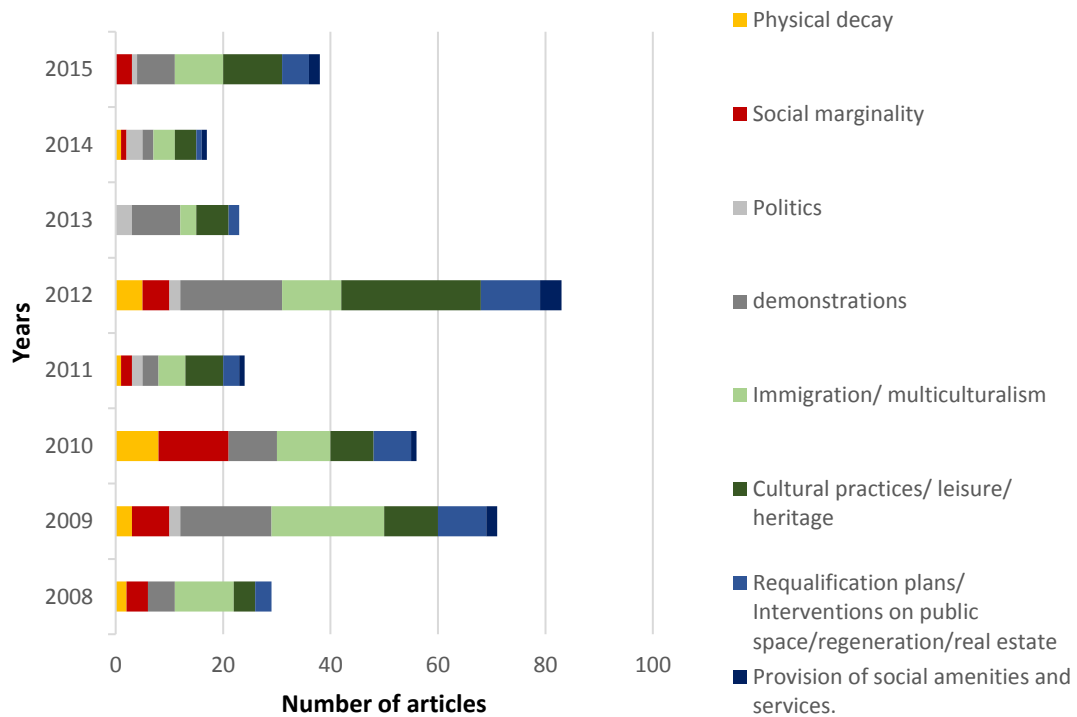


Figure 9. Martim Moniz Square in the national press according to the different analysed subjects (2008-2015). Source: Newspapers *Expresso, Sol, Diário de Notícias, Público*

One of the squares, Intendente (Pina Manique), which was undergoing a strong physical intervention in the course of the programmes, belongs to another borough and does not have the same morphological characteristics; it is not considered to be part of the neighbourhood. It bears the name of a known intendant from the second half of the eighteenth century. He became essentially known as the Quartermaster-General of Police of the Court and the Kingdom, intervening in numerous areas of the city, fighting crime, delinquency and standing for good practices and public order, health and social assistance. Ironically, this area, which is behind one of the main avenues and encircled by buildings of high architectural interest from the beginning of the twentieth century, had a very negative reputation due to prostitution and more recently drug trafficking and consumption. The bars of the area were also associated with these practices, and

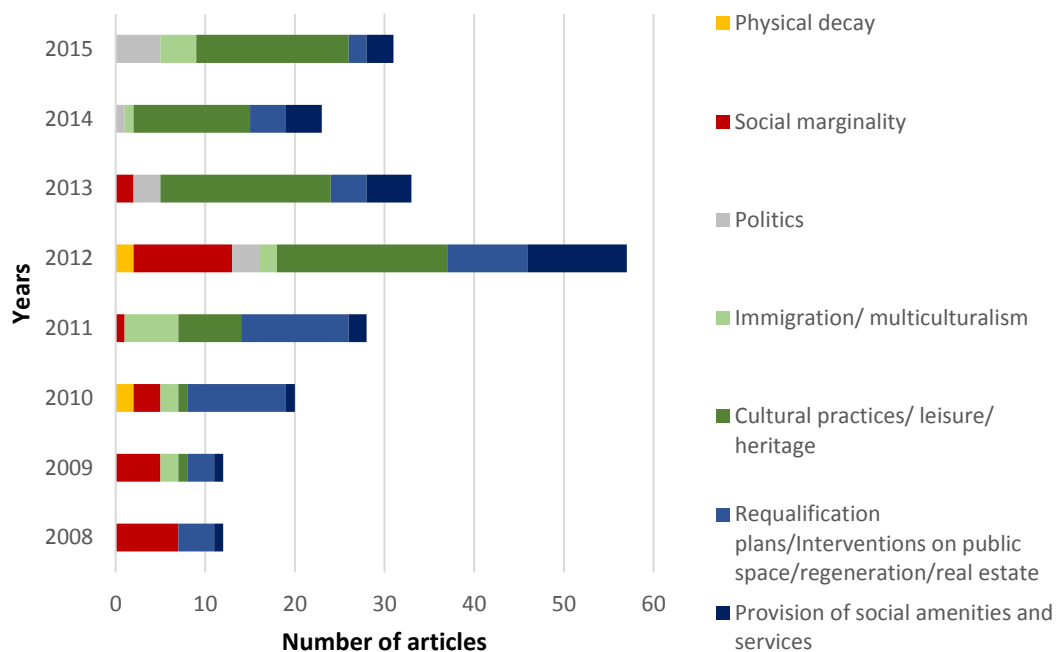
police raids were often reported by the press. Despite these phenomena, some shops together with one of the best-known Portuguese ceramic companies have remained here. Also, old local organizations with sports and recreational functions as well as some associations from different regions of Portugal have persisted here and in the surroundings.

A glance through the media of the early twenty-first century almost exclusively associates social problems, drug addiction, prostitution, and crime with the need for an intervention. "We have a reasonable flow of tourists into the area, as there are three large hotels. Then we see tourists looking over the shoulder, wary about what goes on there," says the leader of the local borough in a national newspaper (Diário de Notícias 2010). The press also mentions that residents and homeowners in the area of Intendente complain about the presence of drug dealers and addicts, as well as muggings and assaults that are committed there (Lam 2009), and some are even of the opinion that there should be a name change considering the square's bad reputation (Diário de Notícias 2010). In 2010, an article decries the fact that day or night, prostitution and drug trafficking continue to mark this square. Residents and the borough council grapple with the fact that the current scenario is increasingly worrying (Almeida 2010). In this context, the local government decided to initiate an intervention in order to define a new urban reality in the territory.

According to a statement by the city mayor to a newspaper, Intendente Square was the perfect metaphor for that broken window that has to be replaced before it spreads all over the city. Dynamism is the answer and there are two ways of achieving it, "with money like in New York, or with energy from young people", knowing that there is no choice since there is no money (Fernandes 2012: 36).

The physical requalification started in the second semester of 2011. In 2008, the area was not mentioned much in the press and when it was, it was around the marginality associated with the territory and the requalification plans that were being discussed for years by the local governments. Cultural events were non-existent at the time. In 2012, with the revitalization process at its height involving improvements in public space, the formal opening of the square at the end of the year, as well as setting

up of cultural organizations and cafés, the press started to put greater focus on the area. In 2010, the relocation of the mayor to the square and the possibility of implementing video surveillance were some of the prominent themes. In the last two years of analysis, the negative aspects associated with the area have disappeared from newspaper reportages.



**Figure 10. Intendente Square in the national press according to the different analysed subjects (2008-2015).** Source: Newspapers *Expresso, Sol, Diário de Notícias, Público*

For the inhabitants of Lisbon, Mouraria has been an old degraded neighbourhood in the inner city, characterized by narrow streets and a poorly maintained area. A photo essay from 2005 about Mouraria reflects, by reading the introduction, how some things have changed: it states that there are no hordes of tourists strolling by, neither open fado houses nor luxury condominiums. On Capelão Street, the house where Severa is said to have lived has an old plate and the façades of the houses are worn out. It is aged but not antique. “Everyone has heard about it, but most people are unsure of its exact location” (Fevereiro 2006: 5). Much has changed, as will later be described.



### 3. Revitalization – ‘putting in some ingredients and selling a new image’

In the inner city, some districts are especially conducive for consumption and tourism by appropriating cultural specificities and doing an aesthetic lifting. In the commodification of culture, the right ambiance is created corresponding to a symbolic and cultural capital that reflects the lifestyle and taste of consumers.

Heritage is remade according to its relevance to contemporaneity, a partial reading of a certain identity to be capitalized (Baptista and Nunes 2010: 64). Miles and Miles (2004: 5) refer to the construction of cultures through the “negotiation of meaning”, but one that does not take place from the ground up. In seeking to boost local assets, elements are selected and raised by promoting the necessity of their preservation. Regardless of their troubled past, the territories receive a new image. In addition to cultural heritage, areas with a markedly immigrant population have also become appealing as places of consumption.

“There is no consumption of space without a corresponding and prior production of space” (Gottdiener 2000a: 265), so this requires, as underlined by Zukin (1995: 24), “both shaping public space for social interaction and constructing a visual representation of the city”.

In this context, the main target was, first of all, the requalification of public space (see Appendix 1, figure 18, 19, 22) by putting new pavement, creating pedestrian zones, putting in urban furniture, limiting parking, and creating a tourist route with information boards alluding to different monuments. The first streets for a makeover were those of interest to the tourist circuit.

One of the local associations involved in the programme organizes thematic tours (about the history, the Chinese community, walks led by foreign guides who live in *Mouraria*) in different languages. Portuguese, including residents of Lisbon, were frequent participants in these walking tours interested in learning more about this old quarter (see Appendix 1, figure 12). These visitors often commented that they had never been in the neighbourhood. Tourist guides for smaller groups, claiming to be able to

show the “authentic” Lisbon, increasingly include the area in their offerings such that visitors are becoming more and more a constant presence in the area. This “picturesque” neighbourhood calls for alternative tourists who prefer to be regarded as travellers that want to explore the city by themselves, trying to avoid the more crowded areas, searching for the genuine Lisbon, and where a drift through the streets is considered a form of proximity with the local inhabitants.

Small groups wander around, while motorized rickshaws (*tuk-tuks*), the most recent entry on the tourist offer in Lisbon, cross the main streets driven by versatile graduates that speak different languages, and who find here one more opportunity in their precarious professional career.

The revitalization programmes involved the regeneration and re-functionalization of two buildings, where the mark of Mouraria’s history is present. One is the Quarteirão dos Lagares that became an Innovation Centre (see Appendix 1, figure 25) and where structures of a garden, datable to the fifteenth century, were found as well as a plant with characteristics identifiable with the Islamic-medieval period. The other is the fado site at Casa da Severa (see Appendix 1, figure 14), a place to hear fado and eat attended by tourists and by people from outside. In 2015, this project received the *National Urban Regeneration Award* for the best intervention with social impact as well as the best intervention in Lisbon.

In the once disreputable street, pictures of known fado singers were posted on the walls (see Appendix 1, figure 13), a project tasked to an English photographer who resides in the quarter (the choice of the posted singers does not always generate a total consensus). A bust (see Appendix 1, figure 15) of the famous fado singer (Fernando Maurício) who was born in Mouraria and a museum where it is possible to get to know all about him, listen to his albums, see archival films with live performances and interviews, as well as photographs, posters, trophies and medals have been inaugurated. The openings with plenty of entertainment, music and speeches were very attended by the Portuguese residents who live in the area for a longer time contributing to raise local pride and commitment with the intervention, especially taking into account

that the neighbourhood is considered the birthplace of fado music, and that these public recognitions that meet the locals' wishes have finally come to pass.

A school of fado was set up by an old organization whose classes are mainly attended by people from outside the territory, including other Europeans. Guided tours (for free in order to attract people to the area), that include fado, have attracted a wide audience (see Appendix 1, figures 17). One of the highlights, captured during fieldwork, is a square where fado performance takes place and whose benches are already occupied by residents from Mouraria long before visitors ever get to the place (see Appendix 1, figure 16). Plenty of neighbours, including a woman with a fancy black hat, show that residents are also entitled to VIP seats. Two women arrive and open their benches, and a man reads his newspapers while he waits. Only Portuguese come to watch. Some people follow the show from their house windows. From the survey undertaken among residents, 16% of respondents refer to having assisted at different outdoor fado events while only 1.6% mention having gone to *Casa da Severa*.

Not just the history of places and the physical heritage are to be promoted; above all, it is necessary to provide experiences and excitement to visitors through the creative use of urban space and reinvention of the territories (through art, festivals and entertainment outlets). In the present case emblematic monuments were rather neglected (to promote events seems to respond more to the current demand): a church that should have been restored within the plan and several monuments of historical interest remain closed and are still waiting for an intervention. The local priest referred that he would like to have the churches open but has no means to do so. He cannot understand why there is no financing for the restoration when there is such a rich heritage (for instance, the first home of the Jesuits in the world is located in this territory). In 2015, he finally managed to get some support and started the project *Art by São Cristóvão*, which aims to raise funds (ideally 1.2 million euros) to restore a church in the territory (through activities like workshops, guided tours, concerts). The task gained 75,000 euros from participatory budget of the city of Lisbon in 2014 in order to undertake events for fundraising, which is an incredible low incentive to preserve an important recognised heritage from the seventeenth century.

The interest on the part of the local government in revitalizing the area has attracted countless actors with different projects such as documentaries, exhibitions, concerts, markets, and festivals. These numerous initiatives that started happening with a certain regularity contribute to putting the territory on the map as a leisure spot.

In order to promote a changing image given the feeling of insecurity, the three-day *Mouraria Light Walk* with artistic interventions is particularly paradigmatic which, according to organisers, have attracted over 8000 people to an area usually avoided and considered unsafe, particularly at night (<http://www.ebanocollective.org/#!noor/c1ztt>).

The city mayor states in a newspaper article that “people need to feel that there is a real commitment from the municipality and authorities to change this area and its stigma”, arguing that the decision to move his office to the territory as part of the process is "a boost" for the redevelopment of the area (Boaventura 2011).

Therefore, the intervention in this territory has been accompanied by a cultural programme that tries to change what used to be a bleak environment. The policy aims to clearly go in contra-cycle considering the situation of the country: to create the conditions in order to reap private initiatives. Also, within this strategy was the opening of a student residency in Intendente Square (but that has not taken place): "We want to mark Lisbon in the memory of future European executives who spent part of their youth here", the mayor reported in the press (Fernandes 2012: 36-37).

In Intendente Square, public space was rehabilitated and became almost exclusively pedestrian, and is hosting various events such as concerts (opera, rock, rap), theatre and markets. These transformations and happenings are publicized in the media:

Intendente Square (...) parties for calling customers. An opera, and on top La Bohème, from Pucinni, which portrays the life of a bohemian environment of proletarian intellectuals. So yes, it is going on in Lisbon, in the street (...) in the renovated Intendente Square, Friday, from 22h. Access is free. (Filipe e Lusa: 2012)

“Once shunned by the inhabitants of Lisbon, Intendente Square is becoming increasingly attractive to the more trendy and artistic public of the capital (...) little by little, Intendente Square has become a large, bright largo of pavement and limestone, with people having coffee on café terraces” (Rato: 2014) (see Appendix 1, figures 4-7).

At the end of 2012, a work by the artist Joana Vasconcelos was inaugurated with speeches and classical music. Apart from the vast offer of regular cultural events, artistic and touristic residences, a bike shop as well as cafés have also settled here. Regarding concerts, clientele varies depending on the musical offering, but is mainly targeted to a particular segment of urbanites. In the Jazz concert, as could be observed during the fieldwork, all kinds of people and lots of TV cameras could be seen, while countless photos were snapped by the audience. It seemed that most people were more interested in socializing as they continued to talk during the performance. Locals that use the square kept, a certain detachment. In the fado concert, there was quite a diversity of people who were more involved in the show. The undertaken inquiry to the residents reveals that 19% of the surveyed attended events in Intendente Square, while 34% stated that they did not attend anything in the territory.

In terms of urban redevelopment, Thörn (2008) underlines the appropriation of an urban subversive culture like skateboarding and graffiti supporting the dominant planning policies and marketing strategies sustained by their importance in economic terms (the responsible for the local office in Mouraria underlined that the world industry of skateboard is more important than surf). In order to promote the area, the *Skateboarding Day* also took place there, with the descent of the avenue, attended by numerous skaters, children, youth and adults. In the context of festivities in Lisbon, free skate lessons, customizing skateboards, urban art demonstrations and night parties with DJs marked a different weekend in the square. This event, which attracted hundreds of people, mainly middle class families, and was promoted by an international brand is in this context considered to be very “cool” with regard to skaters that use a square in downtown, an activity rather seen disregarded by the authorities and that causes disturbance in public space.

On 12th of June, 2014, during the annual time of festivities in Lisbon wherein celebrations take place with sardines and popular music, in Intendente Square for the second year running, Red Bull, a brand that supports spectacular events was at the helm of the celebrations. The event is called “The Holy Vertical” - a party with live music and light on the balconies of a building. The appropriation and transformation of events like festivities in the city have here its maximum exponent but are also reflected in the feasts (held inside the neighbourhood by new residents) that are especially marked by a change in musical preferences. Cultural practices do not disappear but are redefined, altering the form as in the case of the new Fado House. All sorts of resident groups seek, during these festivities, an opportunity to profit: students open their window on the ground floor to sell beer, while an Indian restaurant sells samosas at the door.

#### **4. There are (indeed) many worlds in Mouraria**

The increasing mobility of the population has led to a diverse cultural exchange whether through tourism or through migration. Similar to what has been happening in the territories of several countries, Mouraria markets the image of a multi-cultural and cosmopolitan city, open and tolerant in response to the growing interest on the part of consumers in making contact with other cultures, particularly through music and gastronomy.

In the late twentieth century, many territories began to assist in an expansion and legitimation of multicultural spaces. Now it is possible to sample in one’s own city a vast offer of exotic experiences or at least a reproduction or adaptation of it.

“Tourism, migration and place are intricately linked” (Hall and Rath 2007: 1), and inner cities are meeting points for immigrants while increasingly being promoted for tourism. In this context, several authors underline the acknowledged potential of ethnic diversity for tourism (Hoffman 2003; Shaw, Bagwell and Karmowska 2004) in a time when, as stated by Novy (2011b) in terms of the neighbourhoods of New York such as Chinatown and Harlem, tourism, i.e. consumption and leisure, has become a driver of

urban change and a critical source of revenue that is, as pointed out by Shaw (2011), strongly supported by city policies and programmes.

Different studies (Lin 1998; Novy 2011a; Zukin 2010), carried out in marginalized neighbourhoods that are becoming attractive for the middle class and tourists, refer to a particular appeal regarding a certain marginalized environment.

The inner-city neighbourhood of Harlem is a particularly explored case study (for instance, Hoffman 2003; Zukin 2010; Novy 2011), which as with many other territories in western developed countries that were once predominantly connoted with poverty, high criminality, poor quality of the dwelling, have in recent years become attractive to visitors and different actors that try to capitalize on the existing assets.

Lin studied Chinatown, a neighbourhood seen by the local government as requiring clean-up, correction, and redevelopment, and that is undergoing profound cultural and economic change (1998: IX,X). It is historically related to negative representations, and the district has become attractive as 'voyeurism' of a clannish quarter due particularly to the mystified image of its 'visual exoticism' and 'culinary delights'. Also in Mouraria, a contacted resident during the research questioned precisely how people could be drawn to attend bars in a certain street that has often seen riots, thereby concluding precisely that a certain amount of marginality could well be part of its attractiveness.

Effectively, a certain underworld atmosphere seems to have a particular appeal to consumers as shown by the lure of an illegal Chinese restaurant in Mouraria that was attended during the fieldwork. A Chinese family in the inner neighbourhood transformed its apartment into a restaurant. They do not speak Portuguese. The hygienic conditions are very dubious, and the tables are dirty. One of the reasons claimed for the demand is being able to savour real Chinese food, not one that is Occidentalised. When the restaurant opened, it was first of all discovered by students. A journalist who went there had this to say:

There will be more illegal Chinese restaurants in town, but this definitely is in fashion. Who usually goes there feels nonetheless privileged to meet a mystery that the inhabitants of Lisbon ignore. The work of journalists is often to unravel secrets, but not this time. This will continue to be clandestine, because to reveal their location is halfway to it ceasing to exist. If you really want to go to the house of Liu, the best way is to ask around. (Rodrigues 2012)

Mouraria and the surrounding area are considered to be the most multicultural enclave in the inner city and are advertised as such on the touristic circuit (Costa, 2007). This phenomenon, explored in order to attract audiences from outside, was rather tenuous at the start but with the intervention, triggered by the municipality, it has assumed an impact of significant proportion.

Multicultural events, transformed into city festivities, are increasingly being promoted in different cities, under the pretence of improving relation between different cultures and enhancing the self-esteem of populations with immigrant background. For instance, the Carnival of Cultures, a multicultural urban festival in Berlin that takes place on the streets, has been celebrated every year since 1996 around the Kreuzberg district and has become part of the city's appeal. It centres on a huge parade that counted in 2015 around 3900 participants, with several concerts taking place that offer a wide spectrum of musical styles, as well as other cultural events with up to 750 artists. The event pretends to reflect the cultural diversity of the city and tries to promote an inclusive society. Funded by the Foreign Representative of the Berlin Senate, the initiative counts during the four days of festivities about 1.5 million visitors (<http://www.karneval-berlin.de/en/english.175.html>). The main group with an immigrant background that lives in the area, the Turks, hardly participates but makes use of the opportunity to sell food and drinks.

In Lisbon, the *Festival Everyone* initiative - Walk of the Cultures (*Festival Todos*), promoted by the city council and implemented in the territory before this revitalization process in 2009, aims to reflect a similar sense of multiculturalism. As referred to in a newspaper article, "Learn to dance Bollywood, make Indian bread (chapati) and Ukrainian soup (borscht). Learn how to use sari with African braids. Listen to classical



music, choral, Cantonese, the chorinho and to the instrumental samba. Meet people through photography and film. Browse paths, flavours and cultures” (Neves 2009).

Mario Tronco, the creator of the Orchestra *Todos* (everyone), stated in the press (Pires 2012) to the first year of the event in Intendente as follows:

It was a complicated square, dangerous, but it was a gorgeous night. The extraordinary thing is that the public was equal to the musicians of the orchestra. On stage, only the prostitutes were missing. Gradually, other people appeared, first with fright, then curious, finally becoming interested. Some perhaps had never come here, but that was the idea of the festival. That night, Giacomo challenged Mario to form an orchestra in Portugal inspired by what he directs in Italy. The project took two years to build and resulted naturally in something different, mainly because Lisbon is a unique city. What I saw here, I only saw in New York. This link and this dialogue so natural between races and cultures are fantastic. Lisbon is the most cosmopolitan city in Europe. It is small but has a cultural vitality that always impresses me.

In 2014, the event concentrated on another area of the city, moving the global cuisine, performances, cinema and musical entertainment with the Orchestra *Todos* to other places that also need to be enlivened and discovered for their consumption offers and to transmit the cosmopolitan aura of the city.

As could be observed, alternative urbanites put on ethnic styles to come to these events (baggy pants, Indian dresses, African fabrics and rustic sandals). Again, socializing seems to override the show. People want to experience the city, to feel, to have amusement, to be part of what is on offer, and to be in certain events where one’s presence is then posted in the social media supported by numerous pictures taken with one’s mobile phone. As Gottdiener puts it, “when we consume, we use commodities in the context of a lifestyle construction and we validate a specific image” (2000b: 19, 20).

As part of the revitalization process, this image of a multicultural territory was mirrored by the Martim Moniz Square. This open space was reinvented and

aestheticized for consumption purposes with plenty of amusement and terraces that serve food from different continents, e.g. kebabs, samosas, and sushi. The deco is made of giant images of people from distant countries, huge photos of locals from different communities, and bamboo trees. A Chinese dragon that adorns the square made of electronic parts combines at the same time an ecological component related to the reuse of materials and the symbolic element alluding to the strong presence of a Chinese community in the area (see Appendix 1, figures 32, 33, 34, 40).

“We make our own happiness” is the saying of IKEA that sponsors an event where people dance following entertainers on stage (see Appendix 1, figure 39). Concerts, DJ, markets (Christmas traditions, fusion), multicultural festivities (from classes of Kizomba to Bollywood dancing), “show cooking”, open cinema and soul gospel - all liven up the place. Mariza, one of the most famous fado singers, raised in Mouraria, daughter of a Portuguese father and Mozambican mother, also filled the entire square with her concert. Rickshaws, karts, and skates can be hired. Some concerts have started to attract alternative groups that sat in the artificial grass and brought their drinks along from the convenience stores that abound in the surrounding area, to the point that posters were then put up by the administration banning that attitude, saying that it does not pay musicians. At the ends of the square, especially in the southern part, immigrants keep on sitting on benches and in flowerbeds, contemplating or in mutual conversation (see Appendix 1, figures 37-38) and, frequently, South Asian kids can be seen playing cricket.

According to the company that manages the square, the intention (as referred to in a newspaper article) was to bring new blood to the square (Lusa: 2012b). The space is partially privatized and safety is ensured through video surveillance, and where the “right” entrepreneurs had been involved in calling friends and known people of the international cuisine (<http://www.ionline.pt/artigos/boa-vida/comida-ha-mundo-dentro-martim-moniz>).

These spatial transformations are even seen as a social engagement of encountering people’s needs in the sense that it offers the city a restored place and supposedly creates opportunities for locals. The entrepreneur has been also involved in

the boosting of a dilapidated area that has become a new centre in the city's nightlife (Cais do Sodré), was the mentor of the *Outjazz* festival and opened a new bar and restaurant in a former retail warehouse that occupies the rooftop of one of the two existing shopping malls by the square, which has mainly been taken over by the Chinese community. He referred in a national newspaper: "At the time I felt more like a humanitarian project. I even thought of going for a year to Africa, but then I saw the potential in Martim Moniz, a fantastic large abandoned in central Lisbon, and wanted to do something about it." As stated by the article he lost no time in presenting to the municipality a plan to seize ten kiosks that were already in the square and create the Fusion Market with world food stands following the trend from major urban centres to boost trashy sites, creating opportunities for those who live in the area and those still to come (Pago 2014).

Events followed under the pretence of promoting multiculturalism like the *Lisbon Mixes* included in the festivities of 2014 in the *Fusion Market* in the *Martim Moniz* Square, which consisted in a series of activities that comprise meetings and creative workshops that serve to explore the various cultural dimensions of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. As referred to by the management of the square in the online social network: "We are talking about music, dance, food and other artistic expressions that lead to travel in other cities within the city of Lisbon" (<https://www.facebook.com/MercadoFusao/photos/a.476217895724958.127849.472366719443409/894972043849539/?type=1&theater>).

There has never been so much staging nor was there so much reference to authenticity. As underlined by Frank (2011):

'authenticity' is usually a fixed truth referring to a historic original, which 'owns' authenticity and thus has a value in itself. In contrast, heritage planners and tourism providers define authenticity according to the needs of consumers corresponding to their expectations: people who visit a specific site usually bring a prefabricated picture of this place which they have previously acquired via different media. (Pp. 51-52)

The author refers that commodified heritage, in connection with "theme parks" created by producers with a supply-oriented, source-based view of authenticity, is usually dismissed as "inauthentic" or the "Disney way".

Lack of authenticity can be used in this case when considering a performative and staged environment that is created, and the appropriation of certain cultural assets that are being merchandized as reflecting the local environment. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood are put in a position of observers before their own cultural identity that is appropriated by external entrepreneurs.

The social construction of a symbolic reality of the neighbourhood projects an image provided by the media for an effective diffusion of narratives about Mouraria as an urban space that is reborn through the dissemination of information about interventions and events that have begun to happen on a regular basis. "If our conception of city life is drip-fed to us through consumption, then we as consumers are constantly open to aids which will help us construct our daydreams" (Miles and Miles 2004: 131). "Tourist gaze is increasingly signposted. There are markers which identify what things and places are worthy of our gaze" (Urry 1995: 139). In "Place Wars" (Haider 1992), marketing is a driving force in positioning places in the international context by providing users with activities and products that address their needs and desires. In this context, it is noteworthy to mention *Time Out* magazine, a guide for leisure that is available in different cities of the world which tells consumers what to do in terms of leisure activities, thereby spreading urban lifestyles. Consumption trends are widely diffused, places and activities not to be missed are revealed, and this territory has of late been providing much news: "Martim Moniz went from a sleeping area to a square with restaurants, a market and cultural programming. Mauro Gonçalves tells you everything" (Gonçalves 2012: 26). In this context, taking into account the interest of the inhabitants of Mouraria in this new dynamic, 16% of the interviewees stated that they have attended events in the square.

## **5. Every city, territory and individual ‘has to become competitive and creative’**

Landry and Bianchini (1998: 12) emphasize the idea that industries at present will be based increasingly on the generation of knowledge through creativity and innovation, and cities are the ideal setting to promote them. According to the above authors, in the inter-urban competition, being a base for knowledge-intensive firms and institutions such as universities, research centres or cultural industries has acquired a new strategic importance. Incubators of new and distinctive products are created with the aim of bringing new dynamics to the city and generating economic vitality.

In Berlin, for instance, as referred to by Novy and Colomb (2013: 1823), the ‘creative city’ has also entered in the local marketing discourse since 2000, and the new coalition government (elected in 2001) then began promoting the implementation of cultural industries, supporting new business start-ups, redefining obsolete areas, and integrating alternative and counter-cultural scenes. It was thus seeking a market due to the highly polycentric nature of the country in a sector that seemed to be having success in view of its alternative background and availability of affordable housing (Colomb 2012: 132, 139).

Considering Mouraria, through a university, a course for entrepreneurship was provided to support people who wanted to open a business in the territory which was completed by newcomers or people with higher cultural capital. The presentation was done in the Martim Moniz Square with a speech about the opportunity made available with public funding to participate in a course with the purpose of initiating and/or developing a project in the area. In view of the need for funding to implement the projects trainers could already provide information about possible bank credits.

“We have close to 150,000 students in higher education and 29,000 graduates each year, and 57.7% of the national investment in research and development is done in Lisbon. We have a good basis for the city to be innovative, we do not always recognize it”, so says the city’s mayor in the press (Ramos 2012: 25).

“Lisbon: Your Atlantic start-up city” (<http://www.incubadoraslisboa.pt/?lang=en>) is the slogan of the city council in its effort to promote entrepreneurship. In Mouraria an innovation centre opened (to support projects and business ideas especially in the areas of Design, Media, Fashion, Music, Tiles, Jewellery) and on the border, in a market, a space for 'co-working' has been installed which is an open space where individual workstations for projects in different areas at low cost are provided. According to the city council, the market will keep on working in order to "combine the traditional and the modern". The one responsible states that in the *FabLab Lisbon* the intention was “to do something different from the existing projects, a project that suits the city, enabling connections between the design industry while supporting entrepreneurship through a broad partnership that is open to anyone” (<http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/noticias/detalhe/article/fab-labs-portugal-reune-em-lisboa>).

The territory has even attracted a project called *My Neighbourhood* which has been generously funded. As stated in the press:

‘We want to recreate the lifestyle of the neighbourhood, as it was before. See how a virtual community can migrate to a real community and make things happen’, says the CEO of ALFAMICRO, one of the companies responsible for the project. With co-financing from the European Commission and a partnership between the City of Lisbon and the Portuguese Society of Innovation, this project will bring great news to Mouraria. Computers will be available in public places, so that neighbourhood residents can access the services that will be offered online. This is a technology platform where all the neighbours, businesses and protagonists in the neighbourhood can communicate, provide services, trade favours, and plan initiatives. (Guerra 2014)

This project does not seem to be a priority in a territory with population facing major vulnerabilities. The local office that supported the arrival of the initiative also questioned its development.

Given what has been undertaken in the territory, there is no question that all the ingredients are there to create the right ambiance for attracting certain people to the city. The city must be rejuvenated (preferably with people from arts and higher education so to achieve this, an artistic residence has opened and one for students was considered), dynamic and enterprising (to meet this goal, incubators were created and a course on entrepreneurship was offered), multicultural (Festival *Todos* and Fusion Market address this dimension) and attractive to tourists (a tourist trail and guided tours are presented as well as other numerous events), thus redeeming those aspects that are considered positive for a specific identity (fado).

Looking at the press, Mouraria seems to be a case study of success. Numerous urban planners, researchers and journalists, national and international, have visited the territory, interviewed entrepreneurs, or have made visits under the guidance of the local responsible office.

In this sense, it can be questioned whether it is negative to “sell” a territory? After all, the territory is streamlined and open to the outside attracting people which should only mean advantages.

Baptista and Pujadas (2000: 302) remind us that behind the splendour of the scenery in urban centres, the backlight reveals a chaotic tangle to the story. The city of consumption shows a certain perspective, a way of seeing it or, as stated by Miles and Miles, “it feeds the consumer’s imaginative needs whilst camouflaging the less stimulating and more calculated nature of everyday city life. In effect consumers of the city consume a vision of that city that may be more about their imaginations than it does about the city itself” (2004: 132). Also, according to the authors the growth of the urban economy on the one hand and growth of jobs on the other do not always go hand in hand. For them, a “consuming city will always apparently divide more than it can provide” (2004: 146, 174). Zukin (1998) questions the economic viability of facilities and services directed to a mobile public and jobs that are created based essentially on low-paid activities.

The picturesque neighbourhoods, seen by tourists, hide often the stark reality of poverty, unemployment and housing deterioration. Pujadas (2005: 37, 42), in view of the interventions carried out in Barcelona, underlines that the “welcoming city” covers a heterogenic reality, much more complex and contradictory than the marketing representations of success projected by the municipal advertising devices and the set of entrepreneurs. For the author the social reforms undertaken in Raval are far-removed from the extent and speed with which neighbourhood service-oriented and infrastructures are provided, not to residents but to the mass of city-users.

The issue here is the extent to which these programmes bring real advantages for the local population. Porter states in *The Competitive Advantages of the Inner City* (1995) that an economic strategy to improve disadvantaged urban areas must be undertaken instead of mere social assistance. But the question remains – at least for former residents: is it an advantage or disadvantage to live in an inner city that is suddenly invaded by different actors with a specific representation of how the area should be?

According to Harvey (1989: 7-8), instead of an action based on the territory in which measures such as housing and education are first of all oriented towards the locals, the conception of a place with flagship projects seems less directed towards the majority that live there. For this author, rather than setting improvement of conditions within a given territory as a primary goal, the interventions rest on speculative constructions of place which tend to redirect concerns and often resources from the major problems facing the area.

In view of the present case study, the physical and symbolic reconstruction as well as the emergence of new activities and spaces have occasioned the acknowledgment that this is no longer the quarter that it once was, that it has become something else not intended for the settled inhabitants that do not go to the new spaces, according to an officer of the borough council who has been working for many years in Mouraria.



One of the key projects financed by the city council in previous processes during the 1980s and 1990s in these historical neighbourhoods was housing regeneration, which has now been left to the private sector. This has raised a lot of concerns given the fickle nature of real estate speculation and the danger that residents may have to leave their rented dwelling. To attract foreign investment in the country, those outside the European Union may apply for a Golden Visa and there are tax benefits for retired people who settle residence in the country. In this context real estate properties in central areas of Lisbon are being considered as a great option and also an affordable market for investors compared to other European capitals.

Measures like the *Open Day* provided the opportunity to visit several public properties for sale. The launched municipal programme *Rehabilitate first, pay later* has put up plenty of housing for sale. The press refers that the requalification that is taking place in Martim Moniz and Intendente is already attracting real estate investors looking for good opportunities (Antunes 2012: 19); “A history being reborn”, says an enormous outdoor ad. In a building that was empty and in ruin on the upper part of the territory, a condominium will be built where, according to the advertisement, “centrality combines with typicality” - with gardens, swimming pool, spa and fitness room, air-conditioning, private parking as well as thermic, acoustic and security equipment (see Appendix 1, figure 23). The street nearby has three buildings that have also been bought, and which are now being intervened. One retired resident commented during the fieldwork that everyday people come looking for buildings and apartments to buy (see Appendix 1, figure 20). In a territory where only three years ago people were advised not to go, presently one internet site (Airbnb) for short-term rentals had on the end of October 2015 around 250 offers. Residents, particularly the middle class in Mouraria and in the historic part of the city, have voiced concern over the possibility of excessive tourism and a consequent loss in the local character of the neighbourhoods. Still, many are also profiting from it.

Inner city areas are being remodelled to respond to the growing interest in leisure activities, an aspect which might be very appealing at first but can end up bringing in a lot of negative consequences for the inhabitants and the city itself. This is

especially the case when the balance leans too much in the way of how spatiality is used and territories are transformed, namely how stores change from everyday needs to concepts related with new consumption spaces like cafés, restaurants and souvenir shops or how dwellings are transformed into short-term accommodations. Tourism is quite volatile given that it is based for the most part on tastes and trends. But there is also the problem that if an area gets too touristified, the tendency may well be to seek out new destinations.

Finally, in view of the key focus on promoting entrepreneurship, Brás (Brás 2015; Brás and Soukiazis 2014) distinguishes between the opportunity of entrepreneurship based on skilled labour, driven by innovation and technical progress improvements, and entrepreneurship of necessity, associated with self-employment in a context of unemployment and a lack of available jobs on the other, where people are encouraged to become entrepreneurial, creating their own business, and their own job. For the author, in Portugal, people are pushed into a situation for which they are unprepared, which in turn has no positive impact on the economy resulting in the indebtedness of "entrepreneurs" and bankruptcy of many of these micro-enterprises.

## **6. Summary**

Presently, within the context of the global economy, municipalities have to struggle and, by consequence, need to be more proactive so as to boost the economy seeking to stand out on the international scene using marketing strategies to promote local assets. City strategies include a relentless effort to organize events, regenerate urban areas, while seeking a differentiation by highlighting its unique and emblematic value of their places. In this context, both the city of Lisbon and Mouraria have earned an increasingly positive focus in the press.

The city of amusement is widely applauded and is largely praised by the media since the public spaces are nicer and more inviting to be used, there are events happening all the time in addition to attractive retail stores to attend. At the same time

everyone seems to have become or is in its way of becoming a creative entrepreneur which reflects a feeling that the city is getting more prosperous.

There has also been growing investment in real estate in the city's historic part including Mouraria which has now seen greater demands for flats, mostly for tourism purposes (hostels and apartments), and where displacements may become a concern with prices going up.

In terms of leisure and consumption, public spaces have been requalified and the positive aspects of a specific identity have been emphasized through a scenic reproduction (multiculturalism and fado). While considering this success, the next step according to the mayor is to shift focus to another priority territory using a similar intervention.

As to the transformation of the urban landscape into consumption sites, this option reveals, as underlined by different authors, many vulnerabilities in the current context of globalization. Essentially, it offers precarious and low-paid jobs, while public funding that is directed to events could be spent on social policies. Moreover, excessive concentration in one particular sector, namely tourism, is always questionable since visitors may look for other sites considered more attractive or in vogue.

The next step is to understand how space is produced and how the transformation process was undertaken given the existence of different social settings and interests and the different actors that are present in the territory.



## VI. TERRITORY AND SOCIAL ACTORS

In the context of social interaction in which behaviours between different actors are reorganized and influence each other, Turner (1988: 14-16) highlights not only the temporal and physical context but also what mobilizes such actors and how they interact. As part of the revitalization process in a given territory, a complex dynamic of interaction, moved by different social actors, enters into play, associating diverse forms of networks involving pressures, lobbying and negotiations in the pursuit of certain interests while taking into account symbolic representations of how the area should be transformed. Considering the presence of different segment holders of specific social practices, conflicts and disagreements emerge but so are linkages and commitments.

Space is the result of a planned city conceived according to public authorities and other social agents involved, while being at the same time a space for those who live and use the territory on a daily basis and of how a certain territory is signified.

The symbolic redefinition over a given territory is anything but a linear task. The territory comprises different populations with various social practices and interests and in this sense, the city surpasses the physical element or, as refers Ledrut (1980), while denying its neutrality, it is a construction where the re-actualization of social and political processes and outcomes takes place and where social relations are structured and restructured. In this sense, the importance of space analysis and how it is appropriated not only through different social practices but also the ability and interest of different actors in its appropriation reflects power relations, social inequalities and the representation of how and by whom the space is identified.

The outcome of territorial interventions can be very diverse, depending on the different social dynamics that are present and their strength. Proença Leite (2002: 127), in an investigation of Recife, refers to the counter-use as a spontaneous occupation. A vanishing point occurred that was developed to resist to the revitalization plan, a public space of contestation where almost every sociability that could not occur in the other areas of the neighbourhood was subverted. In this regard and based on my participant's

observation and on the regular contacts with officers, users, residents as well as shopkeepers, the purpose is to understand how the process develops.

### **1. Social capital in local development policies**

One of the issues that has been addressed in decentralized development processes is the participation of the local population, based on planning procedures aiming to improve conditions through neighbourhood empowerment, calling not only for more rights for the civil society but also more responsibility, engagement and activism that exceed specific project solutions and an attempt towards autonomy at the communal level.

Community involvement is presented as a major concern in revitalization processes that can take different levels of intensity - residents who represent the population (sometimes informal leaders, socially engaged) and who participate in advisory bodies or are active members in the process. They can, however, play only a limited role, namely, auscultation.

Within the scope of urban governance especially in districts locally managed, in contrast to classic forms of domination by the executive (government), the participation of civil society actors may also raise the question of who can legitimately decide and whether they represent the population.

At least theoretically, public participation is an essential element in local programmes; however, participatory action in developing and implementing them is rather scarce. Considering the issue of external actors and officers through partnership-driven programmes taking the reins of the territory's destiny (making things for the people and not with them), and regarding the role being confined to the local population, Pinho (2009: 181) considers that they often become rather passive and involuntary "viewers" of the "theatre" of their daily lives.

In this context, and as referred by Portes and Landolt (2000: 530), social network is a concept that is being used in local development as planners seek to reinforce ties between community and social institutions. In view of a study carried out in Italy, Putnam, Leonardi and Nanetti (1993) conclude that development in the north is linked to a higher association. In *Bowling Alone* (2000), Putnam, referring to the United States, is concerned with the fact that people are less civically engaged. This perspective sees social capital as a gain for the community itself, namely region and nation, considering the level of civic and voluntary engagement rather than Bourdieu's view that defining the concept enhances the advantages for individuals of their ties with others in terms of the benefits they could get.

Bourdieu (1986: 246-248) describes it as a social asset that is established through links and access to resources in a closed network or group to which a person belongs. The author refers to the ability of individuals to build and mobilize networks of relations that take into account certain goals. Relations are a consequence of the social and economic context but also the physical space where the daily contacts happen, and where new relationships are created and existing ones strengthened. Social capital contributes to the production and reproduction of social inequality and is the guarantor of career opportunities and power resources based not only on performance and qualifications, but also on the origin and by belonging to groups that bring certain advantages. This can also be applied to the cultural capital which is defined by its accumulation in the embodied state or cultivation both the consciously acquired and passively "inherited"; the objectified state that consists in the appropriation of material goods which can be attained both materially (which presupposes economic capital) and symbolically (which presupposes cultural capital); and the institutionalized based on qualifications. The author stresses the uneven possession of social, cultural and economic capital (material wealth) as a potential cause for the distinction of classes.

Whether it is a collective good or individual resource, it is important to recall Coleman who defined social capital by its function:

It is not a single entity, but a variety of different entities, with two elements in common: they all consist of some aspect of social structures, and they facilitate

certain actions of actors - within the structure. Like other forms of capital, social capital is productive, making possible the achievement of certain ends that in the absence would not be possible (...) A given form of social capital that is valuable in facilitating certain actions may be useless or even harmful for others. (Coleman 1988: S98)

In urban planning, the concept encounters an idealistic perspective of bottom-up approaches and the solution for an individualistic society while at the same time a form of gaining advantages (Portes and Landolt 2000: 530). Mayer (2003: 108, 112), referring to trends in urban policies, also underlines the effective role that the concept is playing in the field of urban movements and community development, considering contemporary reconfigurations in local state-society relations that impact especially the trajectory of the third or voluntary sector. Social and political perspectives tend to be diluted into economic ones, in a context where social inclusion and territorial competitiveness must be achieved by enhancing social capital. At the same time, following the author, different kinds of civic engagement are put into a new framework in order to deal with urban inequality and poverty that appears to involve mobilization from below but does so in an extremely circumscribed and biased way.

In this sense, the present analysis has to encounter who is effectively involved in the implementations of revitalization programmes, how networks are formed in a context of change, and among whom.

## **2. Community development programmes and their actors**

In Germany, for instance, the programme "Social City" was created in 1999 through federal and regional support, aimed at counteracting problems in disadvantaged districts. In an integrated process that also involves the local population, structures should be created and development impetus triggered in order to stabilise



deprived neighbourhoods and renovate urban space; to promote the integration of disadvantaged population groups and to strengthen social cohesion (BMVBS 2012).

In the city of Berlin, there are currently 34 target areas for intervention under this programme. Periodically, members of the district council are elected by the remaining population of the district at public events. Council members assess project ideas and decide, together with the district management, on the use of funding for the programme. They develop their own project proposals and exert influence on a focus area to be improved. The district councils, depending on the local population, are made up of 15-30 people. At least 51% are locals and the remaining members shall be appointed from institutions such as associations, schools, kindergartens, religious communities or housing companies. It is considered crucial that all major neighbourhood groups are represented: women and men, young and elderly, natives and foreigners. All interests and people's concerns should be taken into account. Anyone living, working or volunteering in the neighbourhood, and is at least 16 years of age regardless of nationality, may be a board member ([http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/wohnen/quartiersmanagement/download/quartiersraete\\_flyer.pdf](http://www.stadtentwicklung.berlin.de/wohnen/quartiersmanagement/download/quartiersraete_flyer.pdf)).

One of the contacted officers of the district management noted, however, the difficulty of getting people involved, given several constraints like the ability to coordinate this activity with their daily tasks, the technical terms often used, and the limited knowledge of the language especially for foreign citizens. The projects' intention of becoming sustainable is also reported as one of the more difficult goals.

In Portugal, an integrated model in *Critical Urban Neighbourhoods* was also launched in 2005 at the national level albeit only for three territories in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area and Porto and which came to a halt in 2012. Presently, in the municipality of Lisbon, the programme BIP-ZIP is being implemented. It aims to encourage partnerships and small local interventions in 67 Priority Intervention Zones in order to strengthen socio-territorial cohesion. The intention is to encourage participation by the population in the effort to improve their living conditions by promoting active citizenship, thereby contributing to a positive image of these

territories and creating an environment conducive to entrepreneurship and local initiatives (<http://habitacao.cm-lisboa.pt/documentos/1297367449H9pYN4dv1Mg00UU8.pdf>). This programme, to which some organizations with projects in Mouraria have applied, had in 2014 a total of 154 submissions with only 39 approvals for different parts of Lisbon. It has a relatively simplified application procedure that is intended to involve a large spectrum of organizations.

The applications are mainly done by non-profit organizations in a wide range of activities. By having a relatively short time span (12 months), it is difficult to respond to major and deeper issues. An important aspect is that the time limit of the programmes has also the implicit idea of becoming economically sustainable; in the application form, being able to continue after funding is an important matter that rarely becomes a reality.

Financing is a major concern for these associations. An assessment done in Portugal (Franco 2015) suggests, at the end of the report, the need for a more business-like approach. It enhances training and development of skills to apply for national and European funding, reaching out to private benefactors and the development of partnerships with companies. It also underlines promoting participation and involvement of members through the payment of dues, promoting their image in the community, and attracting new members. Finally, it proposes the creation of social businesses.

Another form of citizen participation in the destiny of the city of Lisbon is participatory budgeting where citizens are consulted on the definition of investment proposals for a part of the budget and business plan of the municipality, and can vote for projects on the basis of applications submitted. The ones most voted for are mainly the result of the capacity to gather the highest number of people to vote for a specific proposal. This is how the Innovation Centre was co-financed with €400,000.00, a project that according to the application should be a centre of social, cultural and economic development that aims to promote training, with focus on the recovery of traditional crafts in Lisbon [http://www.lisboaparticipa.pt/pages/orcamentoparticipativo.php/A=690\\_\\_\\_collection](http://www.lisboaparticipa.pt/pages/orcamentoparticipativo.php/A=690___collection)

=cml\_article). For some time, the local population was asked for ideas on the centre, and posters were hung up in cafés, where people could give suggestions. The local organizations were very interested in managing the space, and organized a petition claiming this intention (<http://peticao publica.com/pview.aspx?pi=PT74940>) even though it somehow lost its way (confirming the difficult task of partners being protestors). As in the Fado House, the purpose of the municipality seemed to have gone more in the direction of attracting people from the outside. It ended-up being the first incubator from Lisbon to support business projects and ideas in the different areas of creative and cultural industry (<http://www.cm-lisboa.pt/en/mouraria-creative-hub/more-info>). The selection panel are mainly actors that have been involved in the transformation process of the area.

The *Community Development Programme* in Mouraria also started with participatory budgeting in terms of the proposal (“A living Museum”) of a young anthropologist, to which €1,000,000.00 were allotted.

In these local interventions, non-profit organizations are assuming an increasing role. In the present case study, those most directly involved in the process are some recent associations based in the territory or surrounding area as well as others that work in social and cultural activities on a wider action field.

Associational activities have a long tradition in these neighbourhoods of Lisbon. Some of them were created as meeting points for people from the same region. In this area, there were still four of these associations; these organize some events but are having difficulties attracting young people. In 2015, one of them had to leave the building where it set up base because it was sold and rehabilitated.

The reason why they settled here decades ago is related to the fact that these are central areas and that many people came from rural areas to Lisbon looking for work and tended to stay in these old neighbourhoods where they had family or acquaintances.

Two others have been working locally, which in the past were important in terms of giving social support (one even had a primary school), organizing balls and excursions,

and both are still promoting activities like sports and fado sessions. One of them is responsible for preparing the group for the march during Lisbon's festivities, which includes making bows, costumes, choreography and music. The people involved are from the area and work as volunteers. Finally, there is the Republican Centre, an old institution dating back to the first republic at the beginning of the twentieth century. These are all institutions with many decades and that were formally in the programme but in practice not the main actors or hardly involved.

There is also a significant representation of organizations, mainly with psychologists and social workers working essentially on social and health issues, giving assistance and making referrals to other institutions; these are (totally) funded by public budgeting, intervening on a broader level and whose personnel, although generally precarious, are largely involved in paid activity. In the present programmes, there is a Spanish religious organization with over 150 years that works with women in prostitution; two health organizations, one working with drug addicts and the other one providing, through a mobile unit, health support to vulnerable population, in particular to the homeless. These organizations have already been working in the territory for many years and are part of the formal process. Another NGO that works on HIV has also entered the programme.

More recently, artists and architects are increasingly intervening at the socio-cultural level. New organizations tend to involve people from different areas like journalists, artists, photographers, film producers, anthropologists, (Erasmus) students and researchers from various fields. These settings attract numerous persons that also seek a form of professional reinvention. They get involved as one of their numerous activities in which they tend to be engaged, as volunteers, as traineeships or as a job, many of them staying only for a certain period.

Innovation, creativity, personal fulfilment and civic engagement are all watchwords hovering in their minds. Particularly in architecture, a more humanizing concern is entering in this discipline and these professionals are increasingly present in community development programmes. Considering the high level of unemployment in the country, also among people with higher education (e.g. in architecture), these forms

of participation are also a way of creating networks and looking for opportunities. Committed candidates abound, in particular students who are passing through Lisbon and willing to participate voluntarily in all sort of interventions - from cooking in a local association or embellishing a street, to working during city festivities under the pretence of contributing to the community's quality of life.

For instance, a Brazilian photographer that came to live in the area some years ago because it was affordable, works here for the local council and three sociocultural associations, including as a volunteer for the local newspaper. Regarding how far these non-profit associations are mainly directed to newcomers, he underlines the involvement of the long-time residents in different activities. There have been several interesting projects made with locals although he recognizes that a more continuous work is needed with people who do not have an occupation.

Another changing feature is the idea of involving these organizations in profitable activities in order to become (more) sustainable through social entrepreneurship that, as underlined by Jähnke, Christmann and Balgar (2011), consists in "solving social tasks with entrepreneurial means". Social entrepreneurs are expected to bring socially innovative achievements in order to address societal challenges and initiate sustainable solutions in terms of a specific spatial context (p. 8). In this sense, activities for the target group may include carrying out profitable activities whose profit goes to social actions; to involve people in the association, giving them work; empowering vulnerable populations through training or giving them tools to create their own business.

Organizations are increasingly focused on entrepreneurial initiatives, like the local employment office that was settled during the *Community Development Programme*. This organization, which also works on a broader level, includes expertise in social entrepreneurship, coaching, branding assessment, headhunting, and fundraising among other managerial tools. In the territory, according to their statement, the goal is to increase the employability potential of youngsters and adults who are in a situation of un- and under-employment or informal employment. As referred to in the

annual report of 2014, they have assisted 314 in that year by providing job-mentoring processes, refer to job vacancies and training (Seacoop, 2014).

Social entrepreneurship is internationally praised, and in this context the Guardian in *Lessons from Portugal: Social enterprises and economic regeneration* highlights the fact that the socialist mayor of Lisbon, António Costa, “has placed social entrepreneurship at the front and centre of his plan to reinvigorate the city's economy”, moving his office from the majestic municipal palace to Mouraria, “a run-down and neglected neighbourhood plagued by unemployment and drug dealing”. Through European funding, participatory budgeting and direct grants, the local government in Lisbon promoted several initiatives among coalitions of different groups. The article also quotes the one responsible for the local office who underlines that "Mouraria is an open air social enterprise incubator. We are providing the social and physical resources to encourage new social enterprises. Start-up Lisboa helps new businesses across Lisbon and in Mouraria we have already trained up to 35 social enterprises" (Onwurah 2013).

One local association was created in 2008 as a movement concerned with improving Mouraria. They started by pressuring the city council, organized a petition within and outside the territory, addressing politicians and the press about their run-down neighbourhood and identifying numerous problems. Meanwhile, the city decided to implement the revitalization process and the association ended up getting involved. In December 2012, a community house was opened, which also became the headquarters, a building that was regenerated by architects from another association also involved in the programme (see Appendix 1, figure 24). This non-profit organization has been attracting numerous people (according to their statement they count with 100 volunteers and have 12 full-time collaborators) from different areas and includes profitable activities such as workshops, touristic tours in the district but in particular the café where numerous events and festivities take place. Specifically for the local population, they have activities such as a local newspaper, citizenship office, study support, training, Portuguese and literacy courses.

Another important actor that is very much involved in the process is a sociocultural association which focuses on training, creation and artistic programming,

and among its activities is the running of a hostel and café. Regular workshops and performances like dancing, theatre and concerts take place there. These main actors involved in the dynamics are always present and totally dedicated - during the day, on weekends, evening parties; and most live nearby.

In the territory that is being intervened, these actors carry symbolic representations of how the territory should be developed. They bring specific demands and make themselves heard by the local authority, initiating social interactions inside and outside the district in the pursuit of their projects.

The long-time residents, however, still remain very much in the margins of these processes, which is a major challenge within the territorial interventions. "People in the neighbourhood are not involved in anything like the middle class is", says a recent resident who was approached during the fieldwork.

Blokland and Savage (2008: 11), bearing in mind different studies, remind that associations are far from neutral organizations which everyone may join or as sites of junction. Individuals tend to get along with people of common interests, and associations are imbued with people of identical cultural capital. In this sense, long-time residents and from the foreign communities hardly use the spaces of the new organizations unless to attend particular courses (e.g. courses on literacy and Portuguese).

When information sessions were held on topics of interest to the neighbourhood or new projects presented in one of the organizations, the presence of the populations residing in the territory was very low if not non-existent.

Also, the ability to meet local realities, people's expectations and interests is an important issue to take into account. Initiatives like time banking in terms of reciprocal service exchange in the territory, a contest to improve the neighbourhood or a second-hand market seem to attract more the interests from newcomers than from the long-time settled.

As to the involvement of the local population in these organizations according to the undertaken survey, 84% of the interviewed stated that they are not involved in any association, 10% are linked to one of the oldest, and 6% to the new ones. In addition, 76% referred that they do not attend any organization, 11% attends the old ones and 13% the new organizations.

### **3. The Process in Mouraria**

Long-time residents of the area had been dealing with regeneration processes since the mid-1980s when these interventions started in the old neighbourhoods of the inner city and Mouraria. As referred to before, Mouraria and another quarter were the first to be addressed. A council officer stated that the inhabitants totally distrust the local government since the territory was still facing major needs in terms of deterioration of public space and dwellings as well as a lack of infrastructures. In a workshop about interventions in the old districts she referred that every time there were political changes in the city council, the local residents was reassured that their houses would be regenerated but politicians made promises they were unable to keep.

Now the population was involved once again (according to the statement of another officer that worked in the local office of Mouraria) in a process that was neither discussed with them nor did they participate in any way regarding the fact that the programme and funding application was conceived in the municipal departments and the interventions in public space started without much information being provided to the locals. The officers were not welcomed and were even threatened. She mentioned that:

It was very difficult to recover the confidence and I participated in four focus groups that I conducted at the time just to try to engage people and bring them to the discussion of a process that was already rolling. That saved the situation a little but the fact is that there was a lot of criticisms regarding this process and a lack of participation. This is a neighbourhood where the population dynamics is



very interesting, we have people living for decades in the area and people who came here recently that are as or more demanding than the old ones because they came to live here by choice and came with very high expectations. Therefore, these are opinions that must be taken into account and should be valued.

The intervention started with the renovation of public spaces. In April of 2011, the mayor of Lisbon moved his office to a restored building in Intendente Square to encourage the redevelopment of the area. He remained there for three years, the period needed to break the "vicious cycle" of prostitution, drug addiction and degradation of buildings. As stated in the press that quoted the mayor, "More than police presence, what gives security to the territories is their occupation by the people. The way to change is to give confidence and security so that these vacant buildings start to be inhabited with economic activities and people creating an own economy" (Expresso 2011). Programme descriptions were placed outdoors informing people about the intention to requalify the area (see Appendix 1, figures 2, 21). Although conducted by the city council, the national level was also involved. A ceremony marked the start of the urban revitalization which was attended by the mayor and the Minister of Environment and Spatial Planning.

One highlight during this process was the visit by the country's President to Mouraria (see Appendix 1, figure 8). Each year, for the national public holiday, the President chooses a city in Portugal where the celebrations will be held. In June 2012, Lisbon was chosen and the mayor proposed a walk through the territory. Never had a President made an official visit to this area so it was remarked upon. Places were embellished (a message about territorial planning written on a wall by an informal group that hired there a space was erased), work disguised, and the "right locals" were involved in the event so that everyone would be pleased and no trouble could occur from within. However, trouble did occur from recent newcomers: on the day of the event, a huge crowd followed the president. Apart from small side-tracks (like a small group demonstrating against the local government reform that reduced the number of boroughs), fado singing, a performance of washerwomen in old public tanks, a drink in

a hotel, and a reception at one of the churches took place. When passing through the square where the group had his space, *dA Barbuda*, a meeting place to drink and eat, hear music and participate in debates puts a speech by the former dictator, Salazar (includes a famous sentence “all is well and could not be otherwise”) followed by a Brazilian summer hit “if I catch you”.

This group, which had been labelled anarchist, were expelled from the area a few days later and had to leave with police escort. The newcomers regard this event as manipulation by politicians and that the expellers will become victims as a result of the transformation process that is taking place. The older residents revealed the pride of a population that has been stigmatized and suddenly finds itself in the spotlight and wants to be well regarded outside the territory; therefore, they did not like the attitude of these newcomers. What was intended as a provocation for the politicians by newcomers was considered an offence by settled locals.

In view of the implementation of the programmes, after the establishment of a local office with an architect and a sociologist from the city council to start the plan financed under the National Strategic Reference Framework, they were substituted by a team of officers with different scientific expertise such as sociology, psychology and history, and headed by a hired economist. This is an increasingly requested area for leadership in social issues considering the principle that responses should increasingly be solved by (social) entrepreneurship as well as different strategies capable of boosting the local economy.

According to an official report (CML 2012b) in 2010, the mayor called for the implementation of a social development programme for Mouraria, that would complement the physical interventions, gathering together the existing local institutions and responses as well as new ones with the aim of reducing the phenomena of exclusion and poverty, improving the quality of life, and opening up the territory to the city. Through a consortium composed of around 44 partners, an assessment was conducted and an action plan produced, with a minimum budget of EUR 1 million euros till the end of 2013. This was strengthened through applications for national and European public funding and different partnerships aimed at the medium-run, better job opportunities,

more training and qualification; the enhancement of social capital and participation; greater use and enjoyment of public space (by residents and visitors); better access to health; the identity's promotion and Mouraria's valorisation (both internal and external); the empowerment of civil society institutions that operate in Mouraria. The long-term goals were to enhance social cohesion and quality of life in Mouraria; greater self-esteem of the population (individual and collective); greater socio-economic diversity of the population of Mouraria (residents and visitors); greater sense of security; and finally, more robust and participatory institutions of civil society. Development was discussed through regular meetings on the different issues (employment, aging, vulnerable populations, and fado) between the organizations and the local office.

Apart from public partnerships that were considered essential (e.g. the Portuguese institute against drugs and drug addiction, police, different departments from the city council, borough councils, the school group, the health centre, the employment and training institute, the parish church), many local organizations that have settled in the area were approached to get involved while some working on cultural and social issues were invited and others showed interest in participating.

Although formally involved, the borough councils were less present (a look into their newsletters and information boards showed a range of parallel activities undertaken with numerous events for the elderly as well as other groups, like courses (painting, informatics, decorative arts, English, excursions, sports, Christmas dinner, holiday occupation for children) with little or no reference made to the programmes. Even when the *Community Development Programme* was submitted for approval by the municipality, only one leader of the five local councils was present. Another intervener that was formally present but clearly absent was *Santa Casa da Misericordia*, the main charity institution in Portugal, particularly in Lisbon, which provides assistance to many people in the area through responses like day care centres, home support services, and kindergartens.

The office did not mobilize any representatives from the various religious or immigrant communities. This fact was commented upon in one of the extended

meetings, and the office retorted that they had tried but did not manage to get anyone involved even though flyers in English and Mandarin were distributed.

In terms of the projects that were carried out, some will be presented in greater depth. As already mentioned, before the programme the area was already part of broader city interventions in some important social issues like working with vulnerable populations in situations of homelessness, alcohol and drug addiction, and prostitution. Borough councils had also been participating in a municipal prevention programme for children and teenagers. The borough officer responsible for the implementation of this project mentioned that when she came to work in the area eleven years ago, there were eight months without anyone showing up (and today programmes expect that a whole intervention is developed within a year). Gradually, she gained confidence in the neighbourhood and today she has a good relationship with parents in the area. The priority is not to work with schools but outside of them in order to involve (early) dropouts. They organize activities for about 80 children and teenagers (aged 4 to 18) as well as their parents. She underlined that there is a significant number of families of which one of the parents is arrested and many are unemployed. Among the country's present crises, she registers growing unemployment, increased domestic violence on women and children, as well as involvement in illegal activities.

Near Intendente Square is the centre of an organization that has existed since 2001 which works with children, young people and parents. It is being financed by a governmental programme initiated in 2013. They proposed a project to the *Community Development Programme of Mouraria* which was not accepted. They have 600 people registered, and 30 to 40 people use their space on a regular basis. A collaborator said that since the area has become fashionable, more organizations appeared interested in doing partnerships, with which they have done some occasional work. In her opinion, the new associations are directed to other contexts. School failure and early dropout, absence of alternative responses and lack of jobs for these youngsters are the main problems that have been identified.

A cultural association has been intervening in the territory and surrounding area for some years (for instance, in one of the first contacts during this research, a

performance in order to create awareness over litter was being done in one of the streets). For some time, they were involved in the programme (although receiving financial support by other means) but then decided to step out. According to them some organizations only appeared because they were interested in being financed.

A cultural centre, which was founded in 2008, moved into the area because it found there an interesting building to rehabilitate and aims to disseminate the work and values of Mário Dinonísio, who was a writer, painter and teacher. It has a library, a choir and a theatre group. It organizes regularly events like exhibitions, book readings, film projections, debates and workshops. They were contacted by the local office to participate, and also received some financing, but are also rather critical of the process.

Considering one of the different goals of the *Community Development Programme of Mouraria*, the promotion of the economic fabric and skills, employment and entrepreneurship, several projects were considered which were more or less carried out: the development of an entrepreneurship course and mentoring for initiatives to be implemented in the territory as well as a “start-up weekend”; a programme to support trade; incentives to create social businesses; an employment office to help people find work and training; the Community Workshop in Mouraria to do small household repairs and restore furniture; the regeneration of a building for use as a temporary residence for vulnerable populations (did not proceed); competition for ideas to improve the neighbourhood and training of tourist guides (which involves newcomers and from the foreign communities); Mouraria Resource Guide (a survey that was carried out but never made available online as intended); the event ‘Intendente Skate Jam’ meant to encourage the practice of skateboarding and streamlining the public space in order to attract an eclectic public as well as young people to Mouraria (<http://www.festasdelisboa.com/festas2013/evento/yorn-intendente-skate-jam/>); the Catering “World Cuisines” aimed at forming a group of people in the area of production, food security and distribution of meals, creating conditions for the development of small ethnic-based cooking businesses to be used by people as a centre of production and distribution. The concept was not implemented because the kitchen was not certified,

and the place organizes workshops and group dinners; researchers in particular are very keen to come, has daily meals and organizes once in a while communitarian lunches.

With regard to the second priority axis of the Programme, the intention was to improve the quality of life of seniors and promote active aging. Activities included support to people in isolation and situation of immobility (for instance, seven performances for seven individuals), the development of time banking, and the creation of a local newspaper.

Another goal is about promoting access to employment, health and citizenship for particularly vulnerable groups. One is the continuity of harm reduction through street outreach services, a project that existed before the programme and was also supported with national funding. The goal is to promote risk reduction by intervening in the public space, working in the whole city where drug use is experienced as a social problem, providing information and interacting with consumers. The teams intervene in first aid, refer people to other institutions, and provide injection kits. Every day, they go out in a vehicle to different territories, making contacts with the target population. A new project is the *Housing First* for the homeless (on December 2015 for fifteen people, based on the idea of having a dwelling as the first step for social reintegration).

One centre was created to assist vulnerable populations (homeless, drug and alcohol addicts, immigrants in extreme vulnerability). In this space, social interventions, basic health care and screenings for HIV and Hepatitis B and C, peer support (people who have used drugs) and preventive actions are carried out. The intention is to reduce the impact of drug use and strengthen users' connection to other services like treatment teams, health centres, hospitals and job centres. The multipurpose space includes meeting basic needs (like food supply and wardrobe), as well as access to consumables related to drug consumption and safer sex promotion. It is also a place to be, to see a film or to talk. People can also give this address if they do not have a permanent place and have access to the internet.

In three years, this service has been receiving people by keeping the door open, through word of mouth, getting referrals from other institutions, and doing street

outreach work. About 50 people make use of this service every day. Despite having been set up in a residential building, there has been no problem with the neighbours. About 360 people were registered by the end of 2014. Through their report (GAT, 2015), it is possible to have a glance at the target-group: 75% of the identified clients have up to 9 years of schooling and 90% are unemployed. 44% of the users are in an extremely precarious situation, living on the street, in hostels or squats. Only 19% of users reported living in owned or rented home, while the remaining 37% reported living with relatives / friends or quarters leased / subsidized, which can also be regarded as precarious. Most are alcohol and/or drug users (68%), and the main substances used are cocaine, heroin and alcohol.

One of the issues that had been under discussion during the process and needed approval from the local and national government was having a drug consumption room in the area especially considering that many addicts were consuming inside and at the entrance of buildings. After years of impasse, its advance will probably not be in this territory. Allegedly due to the success of the intervention and the reduction in the number of consumers, it is being considered in the north of the city, putting problems away from the historic part, taking them to the periphery where the phenomenon is said to be spreading.

In the revitalization process, fado is considered a key dimension of local identity and memory and an excellent lever for economic and cultural promotion of the territory that is able to attract new audiences, including tourists. In this context, as already mentioned, a school was created, a place to hear fado opened, large photos of singers were posted on the walls, outdoor events and performances inside restaurants took place.

An experimental community project was also considered by funding an organization called “Neighbourhoods” in order to support the third sector in the area and finally an evaluation of the *Community Development Programme of Mouraria*, done by a university.

A long-time resident works as a community mediator, disseminates information regarding interventions, hangs posters, reports complaints and problems, carries out assessments (for instance, the characterization of local trade, identification of old people living alone) and addresses particular issues that are identified to the office, to the different departments of the city council, and to other organizations. He is frequently addressed on the street and people know him. He also guides people (journalists and others) interested in knowing more about the area. Some locals, however, have not overlooked the opportunity to make a comment: “Now he thinks he is more important”.

At the end of 2013 and beginning of 2014, through the undertaken survey, the inhabitants were asked about their opinion regarding the interventions that were being done. 57% reckoned it as generally positive, 32% considered that it did not bring the necessary improvements, while 11% did not express an opinion. The most positive aspect is related to public space interventions especially streets but also the interventions in the Intendente Square, arguing that the area looks cleaner and prettier. A greater openness to the outside, namely the improvement of the area’s image with more people coming to the territory including more tourism, were also enhanced.

**Table 6: Main aspects mentioned considering improvements**

Positive aspects	Responses	Percentage/ total of the surveyed
Street interventions	63	17
Interventions in Intendente Square	33	9
More tourists	18	5
Openness to the outside/ better image	15	4
Cleaner	13	4

**Source: Survey, 2013/2014**



As to the negative aspects, the drug problem is perceived as the major issue that persists. While interventions in the public space were considered positive, locals were continuing to complain about litter, the existence of first-class streets (that were intervened) and second-class streets (in poor condition, specially criticised when it was in the residence area), the dilapidated buildings (some of which belong to the city council), and those still vacant. Less emphasised but also referred to were concerns around the feeling of insecurity, real estate speculation, poverty and parking problems.

**Table 7: Main aspects mentioned considering problems in Mouraria**

Negative aspects that persist	Responses	Percentage/ total of the surveyed
Drug problems	60	16
Litter	50	14
Streets in poor conditions	36	10
First class/second class streets	35	10
Dilapidated buildings	22	6
Vacant buildings	22	6
Lack of security	15	4
Speculation	15	4
Poverty	11	3
Parking	11	3

Source: Survey, 2013/2014

#### 4. The actors

As already mentioned, in terms of involvement, the strong participation of the third sector is indisputable that sits at the table in terms of construction, decision making and implementation of the programme, are close to the local government and gaining greater importance in local planning. Linked to the cultural industries and social entrepreneurship, the organizations are expected to bring innovative ideas. They have a good network of contacts within and outside the territory, relationships with the local population, different institutions and organizations as well as with the local authority, and the technical know-how to apply for funding. Considering if the new organizations/actors are bringing an important contribution 28% of the respondents gave a positive answer and most of them referred one or two specific associations. Only 1% has clearly a negative opinion and the rest does not know or does not answer.

One advantage of the associations is the ability to make the process more expedited in relation to bureaucratic and heavy public structures that make decision making very complex. This was stated, for instance, by the local employment office that has more flexibility than the public job centres. The enhancement of networks between the different institutions and an increased contact between them, which contributes to the streamlining of procedures and the maximization of resources as well as a greater number of responses that meet the different socio-economic problems, were positive aspects pointed out by institutions and organizations contacted in the context of the programme.

*Considering the presence of new actors and organizations, how do the settled population and institutions react?* Taking into account the position of Friedberg (1993), it should be stated that actions cannot be analysed and understood apart from a concrete encompassing system, within which they are developed, structured and restructured. The social organization of a locality constitutes a flexible system of human adaptation which allows a wide range of responses to a variety of events, contexts and requirements (Leeds, 1994: 217).

As most of the local population are not formally involved, this implies the ability to create a certain attachment in terms of how the process is being developed. Thus, residents living in the area for a long time may not feel attracted to participating in the formal dynamic (and in reality the programme was not conceived as such), yet it is necessary to consider one important aspect: they have a strong connection and sense of belonging to the neighbourhood.

In this sense, to penetrate into the territory implies consent by those already settled there, especially strategic persons with whom the officers try to interact. This includes, for example, the regular presence of an officer that takes her breakfast every morning in the same café. During the campaign, the candidate for leader of the local council also considered it important to establish a closer relationship with some key actors, and the campaign was very focused in this direction.

The local councils are the direct interlocutors, important in particular districts with major needs for developing activities and giving support in social areas. The leader responsible for the borough council that includes the main area of the intervened territory and that took over the continuity of the *Community Development Programme of Mouraria* is always present and in close interaction with locals advocating a profound knowledge of their problems and concerns, acting as a problem solver. He establishes close relationships with central neighbourhood protagonists, long-time Portuguese residents and (potential) voters, those who are important in influencing local networks. Here, it was essential, as mentioned before, to promote the local identity by providing a museum and the bust of a singer long desired and acclaimed.

During the implementation of the programme and in view of the settlement of the local office as well as the mayor's, people are very close to the decision-making processes, and have the opportunity to contact politicians and officers directly, and they use this proximity to complain and report problems like noise, parking, litter. Many critics of the interventions in the public space were done to the community mediator, to the officers and even to the mayor ("I have no problem addressing Antonio Costa [the mayor] on the street", says a long-time resident who was contacted) that sometimes was seen passing by with his staff. Also, assignments and e-mails to the municipality are

used like a petition to reduce the opening hours of the bars, which in turn led to a protest by the bar owners to the city council or complaints from dwellers about the drug trafficking near their homes.

Interventions in the public space were sometimes contested. In one occasion, a woman stopped workers from continuing their work at her entrance in a rented house that belongs to the municipality, demanding to talk to the person in charge. One morning, as agreed, the council officers came to discuss the matter: seven men among whom engineers, inspectors, architects, and a worker. The engineer is already mocked for his *Ray Ban* sunglasses. The community mediator, three neighbours, newcomers and old ones, were present. A young woman appeared, holding her breakfast, and she also opined about the matter. Several neighbours came to the window. The intervention did not proceed.

The staircase that was being built in front of a house was criticized as being dangerous and that would also mischaracterize the building. Other protests included the cutting down of a tree, the dust, the delay of work in the area. Officers were insulted: "Take courses for this." According to the neighbours, the square is too steep. The municipality argues that the population was consulted. People claim that the project was not like that at all. The small square nearby has a building that is about to collapse. Residents have reported the issue, claiming that the city council does nothing.

Despite the fact that there is no official participation in the process, they are not passive. Cars were parked again inside the territory after its interdiction, namely in a place where benches were set up and the area rearranged. This forced a rethink of the parking. Locals make comments and criticize concrete issues on which they have very specific opinions. People in the inner territory had been complaining about the excessive number of cars but when the parking interdiction was implemented and the police fined all the parked cars, some residents got furious and a woman even threatened the leader of the borough council because of having allegedly provided a parking area to a known person who moved into the neighbourhood. An element from the local office tried to calm her down and bring her to reason.

## 5. Strategies to shape the territory

For Putnam (2000: 22), through bonding people create ties in view of daily survival between equals in order to support each other, while in bridging, individuals get connected with different groups, surpass social cleavages which permits them to get new chances. In this sense, Granovetter (1973) points to the strength of weak ties which, as noted by Blokland and Savage (2008: 3), for urban policymakers, in territories where the population is not doing well in terms of socio-economic indicators, it is seen as the panacea to go ahead.

It is through the social relations between different actors that social capital plays a key role with regard to the ability to mobilize a large number of resources required to achieve initiatives in terms of development. Long-time residents are settled in while newcomers have the know-how (also symbolic) and a good network to the outside. It is important not only to develop social projects for which funding was intended but also to ensure their continuing existence.

Taking into account the complexity of different social dynamics due to the presence of different groups, this calls for continuous networks through a narrative that contributes to the creation of attachment and legitimacy of transformations. The presence of these new groups were viewed by some with suspicion and criticism for being supported by the city council.

There was an effort to establish networks through bridging. Through the community mediator, the institutions involved publicized and tried to involve different groups in specific dynamics like, for example, the training for shop owners to renew their places or the information about services being provided like an employment office.

Conflicts and gossips may arise from efforts to advance beyond others in one's social support network (Domínguez and Watkins 2003, 131). In a territory where people move around within a close framework of interaction, individuals are strongly

influenced, as underlined by Blokland and Noordhoff (2008: 120), by how one's wider social circle reacts or is believed to react. Considering individuals and organizations being part of the system or being financed an inhabitant working for the process has received comments regarding his involvement: "there are people who are doing well".

The cooperation between old associations and new ones is concomitant with the idea advocated by Porter (1995) which argues that urban centres have to surpass the stage of cooperation for community development which demands communication with the outside. An old organization that gets on well with the newcomers, managed to get more known to the outside, and participates in new projects. Many dinners are presently organized in this space through word of mouth. In the summer, the terrace has been used for events. Another one is organizing regular events like concerts and was helped by a new resident coming to an agreement with the landlord. Some old local associations recognize that they do not have the capacity or are oriented to the work that these new ones develop; others are more critical:

Concerning interventions, (...) this is not for Mouraria, it is not for the people from here, they came here when they saw that there was money. There were some who received money and did nothing. Neither will the Innovation Centre be for the people from here. This is now fashionable to a certain intellectual left but what do they do for the neighbourhood?

In the guided tours organized by one association, the visitors received a map signaling local gastronomy (Portuguese and foreign), and the restaurants that wanted to join have nameplates. There were also tours that included visits to different restaurants (where fado singing would take place), an initiative that is not being developed anymore. The free guided tours, financed by the programme, were undertaken mainly by Portuguese. The first stop was a Bengali restaurant (a strange combination with fado) and then followed by two others. There were so many visitors that they did not fit into the restaurant. In the street, as the group passed, one drug consumer was preparing her doses. A shop owner was amazed - she had never seen so many people on that street. In one of the bars, a woman in front of the door also said that she had never seen anything like it. "This might be good for some", she said.

The opening to the outside also brought opportunities for some existing establishments, including restaurants that are having more demand simply because a larger number of visitors are frequenting the territory. The owner of an old pastry shop made an agreement with a tourist guide that the latter would go there with his clients.

The effort to develop initiatives had some multiplier effect also among the long-time residents. On the night of Halloween, there was a feast promoted by a former resident that opened up a space for handicraft some years ago. All the shops were open and there was plenty of animation. Also a new and a long-time resident came together and started singing and playing fado in restaurants. A newcomer got involved in an old community organization, aiming to provide some dynamism.

The process triggered some attempts at entrepreneurial initiatives. One Portuguese resident has been participating in a few activities in this area, namely giving sewing training. More recently another one founded an association and is using a space as well as a financial boost provided by the borough council for sewing workshops. At the moment courses are free but afterwards it is questionable whether it is possible to keep the business profitable and more so in a hidden and not “recommended” street. At the same time the penetration of the middle class with higher qualification levels in projects that are clearly targeted for disadvantaged populations can be identified in the area (*Programa Escolhas* whose mission is to promote the social inclusion of children and young people from socio-economic vulnerable contexts or *Migrantour* which is also conceived as a way to give an added source of income for disadvantaged people, often from developing countries.)

Some locals were invited by the sociocultural organizations to participate in occasional dynamics like workshops or performances. Considering the interest in attending and participating in multicultural events, claiming to reflect an open-minded spirit on the part of consumers and to promote a sense of self-esteem among the participants, this type of happenings was particularly explored. One example was a dinner with the aim of experiencing various cultures through music, dance and food with people from the neighbourhood, representing the communities living in Mouraria.

In order to promote community involvement, a play in *Intendente* Square called “Living room on the street” portrayed events based on the memories of the older residents. With the completion of the programmes from the city council and taking into account the fact that this part of the territory belongs to a different borough, with some of the organizations being attached to this part while others in the remaining territory, the ones intervening in Intendente promoted this area as a neighbourhood which has been gradually separated in terms of dynamics. In this construction, the rescue of histories from the past becomes rather useful.

A collective was created involving shops and cultural projects based in the square and two side roads, old ones and more recently settled. The intention, according to their statement on Facebook, is to raise awareness of all the existing multiplicity. The leader of this borough council seems particularly determined to enhance the multiculturalism of this territory while the other one, responsible for the rest of the territory, is particularly keen on promoting the local roots like fado.

The intervention is having major impacts on the surrounding area, and the *Time Out* (Santos 2014: 14-15) has already noted that the nearby territory (Anjos) will be the next cool neighbourhood in the city (a neighbourhood feeling, a lot of people working in the cultural area as well as organizations, spacious and affordable houses with high ceilings and wooden floors, everything at a walkable distance, and a big variety of local shops are some of the advantages pointed out by residents to the magazine).

These territorial interventions currently require that after an initial public support, there is capacity for local responses to continue with the various activities which implies the need to be constantly looking for new ways of financing. These measures include the implementation of business activities and the application for programmes that, presently, are also meant to be only a catalyst for a process which implies, as referred to before, that the organizations need to have the capacity to pursue their goals. To ensure the survival of organizations particularly when there is no more financial support, they are constantly looking for new funds at the local, national and European level. In parallel, they introduce numerous initiatives that bring economic



returns which include cafés, parties, workshops, courses, and guided tours that have an increasing weight in terms of activities.

The programmes are limited not only spatially but also temporally, in the effort to effect change, primarily through start-up financing. Many are annual, and organizations must address the sustainability of their projects. In the case of Mouraria, after three years the municipality retreated, and some projects continued to be funded at the territorial level under the responsibility of the borough council (presently with much more restricted budgeting and very specific projects on unemployment and vulnerable population). This implies that organizations working on a broader municipal level, on issues that require wider responses like unemployment, will now have to work only in the territory that is financing them. Aspects such as whether organizations will be supported in the following year (and with what amount) render these projects very uncertain.

## **6. The space developers**

Right after the entry of the organizations involved in the programmes, numerous people coming to the territory were highly moved to participate in this change. Christmann and Jähnke (2011: 212) describe the concept of space pioneers in terms of entrepreneurs, freelancers and representatives of the creative industries who with their publicizing activities and cultural work redefine space. They make socio-spatial transformation processes happen by driving social, organizational and infrastructural transformations ahead while at the same time developing approaches to socio-spatial problems. The authors underline that the existing perception of space is changed by presenting something new, proposing new uses and ideas, possibly developing new visions and spreading awareness on the territory. Space pioneers come often into contact with civil society actors in economically (temporarily) devalued areas where new life plans and ideas can be implemented.

While the organizations in Intendente square continue with the work of contacting vulnerable population in the surrounding area (in situation of prostitution, drug addiction and homelessness), the intention is to turn the territory into a trendy zone with the presence of new people, and certain settings tend to keep consumers away. The square had a major intervention in the public space. It became mainly pedestrian, a fountain was recovered, some buildings were rehabilitated, and different events take place regularly: music festivals in July promoted by the municipality, performances, concerts as well as markets (products from different regions of Portugal, second hand book, CD and DVD exchange), jump sessions, activities for kids, dance lessons, African Art Exhibition. A cultural organization and a café were the first to settle in the area. Another cultural organization opened on the other side of the square. An NGO, vintage shops, cafés and a bookshop by the roadside followed. These new outlets and events are attracting numerous musicians and other artists from here and elsewhere, more and less known.

At the beginning of 2014, the requalification of one of the side streets took place, starting with an information session by the municipality to inform people of the procedures. Now in the regenerated road, a market is held once a month. The idea and the organization (supported by the borough council) was initiated by a shop owner that recently opened a vintage store. She was looking for an affordable space in the inner city of Lisbon and through a friend, who had already started a restaurant there, she came to know that there was a place to hire, a bar that was not functioning anymore. The idea, as she referred to during an interview, is to call new people into the area. She also involved artists to beautify the street. She is pleased with her business and has plenty of new ideas to boost the area, having studied tourism and marketing. Women in prostitution tend to move away when these kinds of events occur. During the contacts done in the fieldwork they admitted that the presence of families with children moved them from the area as they feel uncomfortable, preferring to go further into downtown.

A shop also opened, selling genuine national products (the second of this brand in Lisbon). The mayor asked the owner if she wanted to rent a shop in Intendente. As explained by the owner in a magazine:

...since [the mayor of Lisbon] António Costa decided that one of the priorities of his mandate was to transform this area, which had been taken over by drug trafficking and prostitution, it changed brutally. And it is going to change even more. I hope that it does not change to the point of being unrecognizable, but enough to change the neighbourhood to be good for everyone. (Ruela 2013: 70)

It is common to hear newcomers say that through this process they hope the territory will not lose its character or become unrecognizable – but it is not clear what character is being referred to in an area that had so many transformations over the last decades unless it is about a rather bad reputation that has stayed rather unchanged over time? And who is everyone? That includes drug trafficking and prostitution or should some of the old actors go and others stay because they give a picturesque atmosphere to the scenery?

A shop for products from different parts of Portugal will also open. As mentioned by the mayor to the press, “some municipalities want Lisbon to be a showcase for its regional products and this is a good place for that” (Fernandes 2012: 37).

Social capital has been a major asset to attract new people to the territory, and Facebook has been a central tool in the dissemination of events by different actors. Commercial establishments such as bars and cafés have also been promoting their activities (performances, daily menus) through online social networking, and the potential consists not only in reaching a large number of possible visitors but also the collaboration of users in the evaluation and promotion of the site (posting *likes* on Facebook, confirming their presence at the next event, etc.).

The bars in the area, associated with less desirable customers, should also be transformed, supported by the newcomers considering cultural trends (DJs putting music in the bars to attract new customers, a feast for students). Nine older bars participated in an initiative which involved workshops, DJ sets and concerts every Saturday from four in the afternoon until two in the morning, a project promoted by a more recent cultural organization that established in the area. Another project to attract new customers was having an artistic work in videographic support exhibited in several

bars within a week. In parallel, surveillance of the square by the police should transmit a sense of security.

As mentioned by someone managing a new place in the area, the old spaces ought to take the opportunity to catch the boat or they might sooner or later have to close because they are losing customers. The idea of having to adapt to the new reality or ending up closing business was also voiced in the meetings of the *Community Development Programme of Mouraria*.

Apart from specific initiatives, local people are not engaged in new economic activities despite all the entrepreneurs who come to the territory are keen to be quoted in the media that they want to work closely with the community.

The one responsible for a new café in the area also agrees that there is no real attempt to integrate people. Every day people come to ask for work, long-time residents as well as other people with high qualifications. The space opened in 2013 and the manager wants everyone to visit the space. She states that nobody has left to have his coffee because of money, and some older inhabitants and local figures have approached the space. Situations of support include dealing with the legalization process of two locals. In contacting some of the more marginalized population, a few seemed to be particularly attached to one person who was running a business in the area, and they became linked to a café because they felt welcome there.

These groups participated in occasional activities like workshops and theatre which they enjoyed. They were contacted and encouraged by the promoters to participate. One project was a gigantic installation of Mandela's portrait with plastic caps of bottles, with the dual purpose of raising money and encouraging recycling. Hundreds of people and several entities, including local ones, contributed to the collection of caps and assembling the setup. Meanwhile the continuous support for housing and food, as stated by some, is from *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*.

This café and another one adopted the "suspended coffee", in which consumers leave money behind for people in need to have something to drink or eat. All these

newcomers are keen to transmit a feeling of civic engagement imbued with a spirit of mission: some, like the street market promoter, refer to their contribution to the improvement of the area, rescuing it for the city; the owner of a restaurant refers to the fact that the products are bought in local grocery stores; the owner of the Portuguese brand shop mentioned her concern for fair trade against massification, and she also offered the slates for the “suspended coffee”. They are also more or less engaged in establishing good relationships with long-time residents and previous users of the territory.

The activities and available work tend, however, to be filled by the newcomers with higher social and cultural capital rather than by the more "traditional" population of Mouraria, reflecting the urban contradiction in view of the opportunities available but in which many city residents do not have access. In this redefinition of the cultural fabric of the inner city, it:

provides a higher profile for groups within the new middle class who are in many guises the producers, carriers and consumers of lifestyles which entail the culturally sensitive ‘stylization of life’ and have developed dispositions which make them receptive to postmodern cultural goods and experiences. They therefore have direct and indirect interests in the accumulation of cultural capital both on the personal basis, and in terms of that of their neighbourhood and the wider city. (Featherstone, 2007: 105)

Also, Putnam’s position on the importance of voluntary work in organizations can hardly be applied to bridging but is especially important for people with the same cultural capital that look here for opportunities. As referred by a local resident (May 2014):

I am disappointed with this process, this is nothing. There are occasional activities that always involve the same, no continuous activities. Only one organization employed people from the neighbourhood - one in the café and one in cleaning. They are more concerned with applying for projects - without it they do not survive. My sons are unemployed, have been in the employment office and are waiting. They also went to the job centre but there is nothing.

Also according to the local priest (July 2014):

There are no projects where people can raise themselves. The implemented projects are more in function of promoters rather than residents - have serious doubts. I would like to make a choir for children, wanted to make one but the person wanted 700€ and I do not have that money. Fado is important, but people already grow up with fado, and it is important to instil in them a taste for classical music, art... The associations appeared because there was investment.

An old resident, looking to the square, says that now *Intendente* is more mixed with outsiders but the problems are the same.

The disengagement with the resident population, particularly with the young unemployed that hang around, is frequently referred to by the organizations that they do not want to work and that it is difficult to get them involved, but this, of course, requires continuous effort of involvement and trust that no one has really developed.

On the other hand, two persons that are more connected with these pioneers refer to the fact that population has to be proactive, be persistent and show interest in getting involved, something that, according to them, is not happening with the other residents. One is a woman who has been living in the area for decades and has a difficult past but has been able to straighten out her life. She started as a volunteer in one of the local organizations, and is presently working in a café of a cultural association and doing lunch once a week in another. She has been very engaged in different activities and is responsible for the lunch that is organized around Christmas particularly for vulnerable people from the area and that counts with the support of numerous people and businesses. Another one also started as a volunteer and is now the one responsible for the cooking in the community kitchen that had a professional cook in the beginning. Finally, a young man from Bangladesh, who arrived in the territory more recently, learned Portuguese, got involved in a non-profit organization, and is working as a guide (a financed programme that shows the territory from the perspective of a foreigner), and sees himself as a mediator between his community and the Portuguese. On the contrary, apart from their involvement in different occasional activities, the foreign

communities continued with their lives and businesses, quite distanced from what is going on.

## **7. Summary**

This chapter was an attempt to grasp how the territory is shaped. The process was initiated by the city council, wherein one of the main features was the involvement of numerous actors, particularly sociocultural associations.

These procedures are rapidly seen as a civic engagement and community participation, even though in reality they are driven by a relatively homogeneous population where people from the cultural industry are particularly welcome.

Space pioneers, armed with a specific cultural and social capital, are intervening actively in territorial interventions that are considered by the city council as interesting partners as they bring new ideas and dynamics. They open sociocultural associations, cafés and shops, promote several events including concerts, exhibitions, performances and markets that attract new people and give a new meaning to space. During the process, the organizations were funded to develop social projects that involved numerous activities, from cultural interventions with the local population to activities for the more marginal populations. After these financing, some of the interventions addressing major vulnerabilities remained.

In this process, in which several actors participate in the pursuit of their symbolic representation of the territory and the way it should undergo intervention, networks and communication play a crucial role in establishing links between new actors and influential people in the community and in the cooperation between old (closed) organizations and new ones, as well as in the dissemination to the outside with regard to attract people to the new spaces and events.

It is considered that the opening of the territory to the outside creates new opportunities for locals in the sense that it is a chance to network and thereby increase their social capital. The opportunities that were created seem to be rather low notwithstanding the fact that the involved actors considered these revitalization processes to have a great impact on the local community, in the way that this creates many opportunities. The entrepreneurs are essentially from outside the territory that open outlets that are aesthetically appealing and that meet the tastes of certain groups (for instance vegetarian food) despite the fact that some existing establishments are also profiting from it.

The appropriation of the cultural aspects for consumption purposes is far-removed from integration concerns although some occasional events were held with locals from different cultures. Most of the population do not participate in the development nor do they attend the new places, especially the new fado house. The process has proven to be very effective in opening up the territory to the outside, reflecting more heterogeneity and polarization in the area.



## VII. CONCLUSIONS

This study set out with the aim of following the economic, social, cultural and spatial transformations triggered by the implementation of two complementary programmes promoted by the city council in a deprived territory of Lisbon's inner city, analysing the redefinition of place and trying to understand how the process was undertaken and how the external discourse changed during this period.

In a context where local governments are being more and more influenced by international outcomes with the increasing mobility of people, finance and products, municipalities try to assume a more proactive role in attracting qualified individuals, investment and tourism.

Under this framework, there is a growing interest in using centres as a visiting room in the promotion of cities within the global arena. At a time when the level of quality of life that a city offers and in which leisure is one important aspect, and tourism is becoming increasingly significant in terms of revenues, not only areas with emblematic monuments are appropriated for consumption but also neighbourhoods in inner areas often marked by physical decay and major social vulnerabilities that have to be addressed. Different social dynamics provide here local cultural specificities or a multicultural flair that can be used and redefined for commercial purposes. This last aspect is becoming a valuable resource among the main features of the checklist of urban branding since a cosmopolitan atmosphere has acquired a significant importance in reflecting diversity, openness and tolerance.

The territory under study, Mouraria, was earmarked as a run-down area that had to be revitalized in order to change this bleak image, taking advantage of potential assets prone to be used to raise the area in the territorial hierarchy like the local identity linked to fado music and the presence of foreign communities.

Therefore, a multi-targeted approach was undertaken aimed at improvements in public space and infrastructure, opening up the territory to the outside, targeting the most vulnerable populations, promoting employment and entrepreneurship as well as competitiveness and innovation in an initiative launched by the city council that involved numerous actors, public and private, who sat at the table and helped shape the territory.

This process took place at a very particular time, amidst the country's fiscal austerity, when tourism is having an enormous impact in Lisbon and where the so-called historic part of the city is becoming particularly appealing for real estate investments. Hotels, hostels, tourist apartments, self-service laundries, street food stalls, shops, cafés, restaurants, sightseeing tours and all sorts of tourist transportation are sprouting. After decades of urban sprawl, with investment in new housing, new centres for business, the construction of shopping malls in the margins and outskirts of the city, the older part is registering a new dynamism in recent years that is oriented towards leisure with an impact that has generated some debate regarding what could be considered an excessive orientation for city-users. An increase of stores and residences to meet tourists' interests and needs as well as an over-appropriation of public space by tourists are some of the issues raised.

In this context, Mouraria, for many decades neglected, is becoming a trendy area with the advantage of being very centrally located near downtown and next to one of the main avenues of the city (Almirante Reis). Many new dynamics are also taking place, both in the territory as in the surroundings areas, boosted by the initiatives triggered by the local government.

### **1. The reproduction of space**

To analyse the redefinition of a heterogenic territory must take into account that spaces are experienced in different ways and assumes particular meanings according to the significance given to a place by the various groups present there. Cities are lived,

conceived and perceived in different ways, so the purpose of these concluding remarks is to expose these dimensions considering the interventions that were undertaken.

Cities are the result of social practices by those who move around on a daily basis with their multiple relationships. Mouraria is for many of its long-time residents, above all, a place of cultural significance to which they feel a strong sense of belonging and pride, expressed in practices such as fado and their involvement in the city festivities; for many immigrants, it is their community enclave, an economic arena for commercial activities but also where they follow their organizing principles of interaction and dynamics related to their cultural background. For the last to arrive this is a central area in the city that is more affordable and where they can uphold their lifestyle, attracted by an atmosphere that is becoming increasingly a hub in terms of alternative cultural production; finally, it has also been a waypoint for some living on the side-lines, instilling a stigma that has marked the area for some time.

The territory, as well as other so-called 'historic districts', has been experiencing intense socio-cultural changes in terms of the relationship between the global and local, with the entry of new residents, visitors, and new logics of urban landscape appropriation that do not necessarily deny the existing practices but have brought about a reconfiguration and different allocations of space, leading to an overlapping of many realities.

These different dynamics form territorial patches that persist or are redefined through specific social practices according to the ability and willingness to enforce them. The more recently arrived are contributing to change, particularly some sub-territories, at an astonishing speed in the last three years. Presently, space is being used by the newcomers, creating new practices that contribute to its new meaning in a constant effort to keep the appropriated areas through events that signify them as a new cultural hub capable of attracting new audiences. At the same time, two commercial arteries, one of them particularly associated with South Asians who continue to open outlets, seem not to have been much affected by the process. Buildings in a block in the upper part of the territory were bought by real state companies for a higher middle class which will definitely create new dynamics. Some areas have several buildings and apartments

that were rehabilitated and are receiving new inhabitants and tourists who are becoming more and more a presence in this area.

At the moment, different commercial responses coexist for different social groups. The same café has its long-time residents for clients that chat from one table to another, once in a while also attended by a newcomer or tourist while some spaces have had various functions in the last few years. Meanwhile, a café from an elderly Portuguese was acquired by a South Asian, a building is bought by a Chinese investor, a shop belonging to a recent Portuguese resident was closed after being open for two years, and a Spanish couple left the hostel they were exploring.

Near Intendente, in one stairwell and in the surrounding areas, drug addicts have been more or less present, people in prostitution do not hang around in the square but at the moment in one of the streets this reality is interwoven with the new one. Drug consumers are now less seen, and while there was a dispersion, they are also contacting more and more the support structures, according to a statement by workers of these organizations. Specific street corners have the same youngsters hanging around and the same local characters can be seen passing by. Martim Moniz has become mainly a privatized square with terraces and numerous events, but for many immigrants it continues to be a meeting point although more confined to the margins of the square. Fewer homeless are seen nearby as it became a recreational area. In this context, the main goal is to explore how space is shaped and the different agents involved in the process.

## **2. The production of space**

The increasing participation in urban policies of private actors, namely sociocultural associations that are involved in territorial interventions is unquestionable, acting in the definition of space. In the case of Mouraria, although the long-time residents, in particular the Portuguese, have protested against specific issues

throughout the process by making use of their acquaintance with the officers, above all the programmes where partnership-driven interventions for a territorially defined area, in a consortium where actors, in particular non-profit organizations, were financed during a particular time-span to develop certain activities.

Compared to other interventions carried out in the city of Lisbon, the interventions implemented in Mouraria had, however, much more divulgation, information sessions, meetings with different actors, dwellers and shopkeepers, and attention to different situations - all forms of getting the compliance of those that are settled in. It was, however, planned to have the information related to all phases of the Action Programme of Mouraria available online (the release of all events and initiatives promoted by the Local Partnerships), information about the operating model, the timing and initiatives of the *Community Development Programme of Mouraria* but this happened mainly at the beginning. The evaluation of this latter made by a university (and to which I had access) has also not been made public.

The territory is being shaped by dynamics promoted by the newcomers who impose modes of domination and its associated symbolic meaning. The process was especially successful in attracting people from the outside. Actors from sociocultural associations, along with entrepreneurs and freelancers carrying a specific cultural and social capital, are intervening actively in these processes and are considered by the municipality as interesting partners since they bring new ideas and dynamics in order to transform the territory. Here, they create opportunities both for themselves while at the same time devolving a previously deteriorated territory for the usufruct of the population and users of the city.

The revitalization process focuses essentially on the way of life of the middle class, and not on residents with less education and skills. Despite not being among the most unstable group, and given that they are often provided with family support and have higher cultural and social capital, the unemployment and precariousness that this population is witnessing to in the country is certainly not something to underestimate. This group seeks new opportunities and has to adapt to the possibilities that are available by working as tourist guides, as bartenders, opening shops and cafés, driving

tuk tuks, investing in apartments for short-term rental, applying for projects, also doing some voluntary work here and there, either as a civic engagement or as an opportunity to gain some experience and/or to enhance social capital. The expectation here is that some opportunities might come up and they even participate in programmes that target vulnerable groups with the aim of promoting social inclusion, and that should be used as such.

The city council wants to transform the territory and attracts organizations which, while carrying out creative and artistic activities, are also addressing certain problems: by generating new leisure areas and bringing new people, devolving a new sense of security to the territory and possibly moving others away, as well as by involving residents in different activities like performances and lunches that help create a community spirit among everyone involved.

Presently, creativity, innovation and entrepreneurship are 'musts' in the vocabulary of urban policies. In the inner city, retail, cultural organizations, workshops and small businesses have been sprouting, also in the area under analysis. Associations have emerged, working at the territorial level developing different activities in cultural and social areas, or transversely, in identified priority intervention zones applying for funding. This territory, given the interest from the municipality to revitalize it and consequently to support initiatives, has attracted numerous actors who proposed different events, mainly cultural ones. This called a considerable number of consumers in the territory, such that the area has become more and more a must see in the city. The requalified area, avoided by the majority of the population of Lisbon, is now frequented by families, students, and tourists.

Territories, namely in the inner city of Lisbon, were in the past rendered dynamic by community organizations, people that came from other parts of the country, volunteers that dedicated their free time to associations that were meeting points, organizing events, excursions, giving social support and also providing sport activities for the youths.

With a greater concern by the state to deliver social support in an equitable form for the most disadvantaged groups, many activities were awarded on the ground to organizations that developed, along with the borough councils, several responses carried out by people with full-time jobs and with the technical know-how in social and health areas.

Finally, new dynamics can be observed around a series of concepts: the idea that groups from the cultural industry are being able to give answers to problems in an innovative way; the idea that social support should be developed partly by citizens, civically committed to the common good, in particular within the district / city where they live; the promotion of social entrepreneurship, based on the premise that non-profit organizations are too state-dependent. In this context, a significant amount of these organizations' time has to be dedicated to look for funds and lucrative elements in order to respond to the target population and, if possible, pay for the promoters as this business requires more than a total dedication (if it is difficult to put into practice a "normal" business, it is much harder when it comes to social intervention). It is not only promoters who have to become more proactive, a greater pro-activity is also expected from the target population, which also ought to be more entrepreneurial and responses have to be more effective.

Presently in community development, there is an enchantment for ephemeral artistic activities in preference to other existing long-standing ones that many see as mere assistance and perpetuators of these phenomena when in fact it is precisely these ongoing activities that are necessary and that will need to continue in this territory given the support for the vulnerable population: the work that was being developed by borough councils, the same support from the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia* and from the organizations that support vulnerable people whose responses were extended and added (namely for unemployment) and are essential contributions. It is also important to consider social interventions based on technical expertise and professionalization (instead of the presumption based on voluntary work or that no specific know-how is needed) as well as ongoing work (there is an increase in the number of programmes for social inclusion calling for innovation, entrepreneurship and creativity but they are very

short in time span with low financing, making it difficult to develop projects that really allow for capacity-building and empower vulnerable populations). New ideas will emerge for new programme applications in a precarious context, both for the promoters but particularly for the recipients since they do not last.

While acknowledging the importance of artistic work for social inclusion and that there are some very interesting cases in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (for instance, an orchestra working with children in unfavourable conditions, theatre with youngsters and children from different neighbourhoods that are in conflict promoting social inclusion, entrepreneurial projects that create products that combine design with manual skills from the local population), many socio-cultural projects and activities undertaken by the newcomers under the programme were short-lived and did not respond to in-depth issues in a continuous way.

Artistic performances and festivals are used to call people to marginalized areas, either in the inner city or in the periphery, in order to change their stigmatized image like the event that was put on in September 2015 in a neighbourhood in the city's outskirts. The audience went there and left again, but in the present case study it contributes to a whole socio-cultural transformation process by undertaking events in a continuous manner.

Presently, the state puts itself in a position which claims the need to cut back on social spending and housing regeneration. The local government faces an increasing call to respond to the different challenges and so transfers part of the responsibility to the private sector in the name of enabling greater empowerment and civic engagement. The middle class sees here an opportunity to develop interesting projects imbued with a humanizing spirit. What is often regarded as a neoliberal perspective is here put into practice by rather left-wing space pioneers.

There is an abusive use in urban policies of buzzwords like community empowerment, social cohesion, and capacity building. It may be questionable if locals ought to be necessarily involved in urban policies (who is involved in his neighbourhood?). What is censurable is the ease with which programmes are touted as



being community-based or bottom-up approaches. As mentioned above, in this particular case, programmes are carried out by organizations with rather homogeneous members from the middle class. As to the long-time residents, although most of the population would agree that the physical transformation in the area is for the better, socially vulnerabilities persist (like children and young people at risk), as well as high unemployment and people living in deteriorated buildings, some of which from the city council.

In a process of governance, the city council of Lisbon has introduced different tools to encourage participation. These include: the financing of projects through a territorial programme in areas considered to have major needs; participatory budgeting where citizens are consulted on the definition of investment proposals, with a budget for the most voted projects; decentralized meetings with the local population; consulting local organizations. In this process, it is also important that actors are aligned with the local government which still maintains great influence by facilitating procedures, advancing the decision-making process and that determines what initiatives to support. Nevertheless, it is considered that sociocultural associations can be more than an extension of the local authorities in the way that they are able to establish a counter-power based on the importance that they may acquire in a given territory and the support they are able to attract for their causes.

While in the past public interventions were strongly directed towards housing regeneration with public funding, now the city council acts mainly on improvements in the public space and infrastructures, which in the case of Mouraria was very significant, for they leave interventions in buildings mainly to privates. Buildings and apartments were bought for short-term rental and to make way for more expensive apartments.

In urban policies, there is a growing obsession with priority territories, which were previously prioritized in an assessment, and considered to be particularly in need of intervention at the expense of looking at the city as a whole. So it is not only cities but also boroughs and territories that struggle to see who can round up more. In this context, people in need who are outside these areas seem to be particularly exposed.

The integrative perspective of combining social inclusion and promoting private investment relies on the premise that territories with a diversity in terms of social composition reduce territorial and social stigma and that the new initiatives have a multiplier effect in which, by creating new networks, new opportunities for long-time residents are also provided.

Taking into account the use that different social actors make of a territory during a revitalization process, new levels of inequality and competition emerge but also cooperation and alliance. Restaurants, as well as some old organizations and a few residents, have managed to come forward. Despite the fact that the newcomers foster a good relationship with the established population, at the moment weak ties seem very fragile. The opportunities that are created for the long-time residents, usually with lower social and cultural capital, based on the relations with the space pioneers are rather low or sporadic.

In view of the typical statement over the spreading effect on disadvantaged populations through a new economic vitality, namely enhancing the social capital by being connected with different groups, it would be necessary to have the long-time residents more engaged in the numerous activities, with the space pioneers pushing in and the others capable of or interested in participating in a context where both groups concur for the same opportunities and the newcomers take the advantage of having higher cultural and social capital.

### **3. The representation of space**

As part of an intervention in a given territory, a complex array of different dynamics comes into play in which social actors associate using different forms of collective action in the pursuit of their interests while taking into account of how a space should be transformed. This dominant representation is mirrored in the press. The way the territory is signified externally is an essential element in the attempt to influence the

perception of people that should be attracted to the area. This is based on the redefinition of a symbolic identity namely, that the area is becoming very appealing due to the cultural programmes on offer.

Presently, space pioneers have to devote a significant part of their time making themselves known. To be able to spread a good image, communicating in an appealing way has become an essential tool. More important than what is done is how it is transmitted to the outside; organizations ought to appear enough times in the media so as to always remind the world of their existence.

There are several areas for priority intervention in the sense that numerous vulnerabilities were identified which are now undergoing social interventions. All, however, are far from deserving so much attention in the media as Mouraria, nor has any territory attracted so many people and organizations that are civically engaged in improving a place, as well as journalists and researchers who are interested in getting to know the interventions. No actor from some of the peripheral places deserves so much prominence as here, where the main actors have become a regular feature in the press simply because poor peripheral neighbourhoods are not that interesting (despite the fact that there are other territories that also have community houses and multiculturalism). Neither have individuals, doing very demanding jobs working in social issues, been particularly interesting for the media. These actors intervening in the inner city are rather attention-grabbing, above all as space pioneers in the sense that they are profoundly affecting the urban space, offering a trendy aestheticized version of the city. This is why they are so important for the local government. Their impact largely surpasses the promoted initiatives with an enormous bearing on the definition of new leisure areas.

Looking at the discourse in the media, at the national as well as the international level, it is interesting how easily in which interventions are labelled as social measures. It seemed that it gained a broader meaning in the sense that a territory has been rescued for the enjoyment of a broader population.

Social capital plays an essential role here in calling consumers from outside the territory, and communication, particularly through social networks and the media, has a central function in terms of dissemination of the activities as well as mobilization of new partners for projects. Cultural and social organizations promote their events, especially through Facebook and newsletters that have been set up as important public relation devices. No event today takes place without a lot of photos, postings, and “likes”.

There is an incredible proliferation of blogs, magazines and generalised newspapers with columns that keep us informed about leisure and lead us to what is happening in cities around the world, spreading what is trendy or ‘must do/see’, and in this context the territory has been a particularly explored topic.

The intervention did not create any significant contestation. Internally there were some moments of tension, like the ban on parking inside the territory, and externally there were no more than a few comments on blogs and two artists that initiated some debate. There were no social movements questioning the process or promoting any initiatives around a more critical thinking or a more collective counteraction. On the other hand, the *Community Development Programme* promoted a one day workshop around the process and counted with the participation of the interveners, researches and guests linked to the discussed subjects.

In this cultural production, multiculturalism is a particularly interesting concept that is applied in different contexts: in numerous events such as music, food, tours and symbolic representations that should reflect this variety in terms of social dynamics. The interesting part of multiculturalism, in economic terms, is when it is synonymous with diversity in the provision of cultural offer and where the territory came to be seen as a good spot for leisure. At the same time, in view of what should be considered a local cultural identity, fado was promoted through singers whose pictures were posted on the street walls as well as through concerts, tourist guides, a museum, and the bust of a local singer – all of which were inaugurated with pomp and circumstance. In this context, both immigrants and long-time residents were invited to participate in the initiatives. With the ending of the programmes conducted by the city council, and with two leaders

of different local councils in the territory, each assumes a particular perspective regarding continuity. The spatially defined area by the city council is splitting again, with one engaged in promoting as an asset its multiculturalism (integrated in the “most multicultural borough of Lisbon”) and the other area with fado (“the birthplace of fado”).

#### **4. Research Limitations**

In the present work, the intention was to follow the revitalization process as an integrated approach, and in this sense the work did not focus on a particular aspect (for instance, a social group that is present in the territory) or a certain subject (for example, the appropriation of cultural assets like fado or multiculturalism). A different possibility would have been to study a particular measure, for instance the implementation and impact of the local employment office during the programmes by following up on the persons that were supported. This option can be criticized to the extent that it does not offer an in-depth description of one of the various subjects; however, the aim was to analyse a combined action process.

Another aspect concerns the fact that Mouraria is being widely studied, and in this sense, this research may be considered as not particularly innovative. The territory has in recent years been analysed on different aspects, namely, the various communities that are present there as well as the sub-territories such as the squares (Martim Moniz and Intendente). In this sense, the territory may be considered a particularly interesting laboratory that can be analysed in numerous ways using different facets and my focus is one further. As referred before, as someone who had been an officer working on distressed areas, participating in the conception of programmes, analysing interventions and monitoring results, trailing the process seemed to be particularly interesting.

Several data would have been relevant to analyse the evolution in the field in view of the characterization of the area, especially about social exclusion. The

availability of statistics at the borough level is, however, a limiting factor because systematic information, particularly in this more micro level, is restricted or often not made available as happened in the case where the centre of employment and training claimed confidentiality and the social security institute would only provide the requested data if the research would be considered relevant for the institution. Unlike most of the local population who were readily available to speak to me (the only group where it was more difficult was the Chinese community due mainly to the language barrier), some institutions that were requested for an interview simply did not answer.

## **5. Future research lines**

One line of investigation is an acknowledgment of the impact of displacements of the previous population which for some researchers is automatically associated with these kinds of interventions, given that the entrance of external actors promoting the area thus upgrades a territory in such a way that it becomes attractive to new investments. Through this study, it was not possible to quantify the phenomena; however, some cases were captured wherein two persons who were living in a building came to an agreement to leave the flat by going to another dwelling in the area, while another one left after agreeing to receive a compensation as they were all living in a very run-down building. It would be meaningful here to study eventually a sub-territory where more rehabilitation of buildings are taking place so as to apprehend the impact of such interventions.

The growing involvement of non-governmental organizations in the redefinition of the city's territories, i.e. actors working in cultural jobs, including artists, is a particularly interesting aspect to be explored.

The increasing appearance of associations related to cultural activities, vintage shops, cafés and art galleries that are opening in the territory and surrounding areas as well as people that are coming to live and work, are contributing to the creation of a new cultural identity in the inner city. Continuing to explore this dynamism would be a

particularly interesting line of research. In this context, it is also about deepening the forms of survival, motivations and the limitations of people involved in what is labelled as “flexible”, “dynamic”, “creative” “social entrepreneurial” activities. In particular, considering the younger generation with higher education, entrepreneurship and the creation of self-employment are being promoted, and city councils are very engaged in creating hubs, start-ups and sponsoring courses at a time when a slight decrease in the country’s unemployment is seen as an economic upturn and hides phenomena like precariousness, hiring under internship programmes, low salaries, and a huge emigration increase.

Considering particular susceptible territories, this scenic dynamics cover all sorts of social vulnerabilities, such as young people with few prospects for the future. Through a look “behind the façades”, and as an important line for further investigation, it would be important to apprehend the perpetuation (or not) of poverty among the population that live in the area.





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## APPENDIX

### Appendix 1 - Figures



Figure 1. Flyer of the Action Programme in Mouraria (“Mouraria will change for the better”)



Figure 2. Outdoors announcing the interventions, May 2012



**Figure 3. Public space requalification in Intendente Square, May 2012**



**Figure 4. Concert in Intendente Square, September 2012**



**Figure 5. The revitalized Intendente Square with a market taking place, August 2014**



**Figure 6. New terraces in Intendente Square, August 2014**



**Figure 7. Anjos Street by Intendente Square with new shops and street art, November 2014**



**Figure 8. The visit by the country's President, June 2012**





**Figure 9. A mural done by an informal group, July 2012**



**Figure 10. Locals having lunch outside the house, July 2012**



**Figure 11. The city festivities in Mouraria, June 2015**



**Figure 12. Free guided tour through Mouraria, September 2012**



**Figure 13. Pictures of fado singers posted on walls, August 2014**



**Figure 14: Casa da Severa, October 2015**



**Figure 15. Bust of a known fado singer from Mouraria (Fernando Maurício), October 2015**



**Figure 16. Local residents waiting for the fado performance, September 2012**



**Figure 17. Fado performance during a guided visit, September 2013**



**Figure 18. Requalification of public space, May 2012**



**Figure 19. Requalification of a square, May 2012**



**Figure 20. Decayed and rehabilitated houses, May 2012**



**Figure 21. Announced interventions, March 2013**



**Figure 22. Requalified street, October 2012**



**Figure 23. Rehabilitation of buildings: “Olarias a history that is reborn” referring to the area of Mouraria where the intervention is taking place, November 2015**



**Figure 24. Regenerated house of the community association, December 2012**





Figure 25. Innovation Centre of Mouraria



**Figures 26, 27, 28. Measures to prevent drug addicts from sitting, January 2013**





**Figure 29. Revitalization of Martim Moniz Square, May 2012**



**Figure 30. View to Martim Moniz Square and Mouraria from the rooftop of a building, October 2015**



Figure 31. Chinese New Year in Martim Moniz Square, January 2014



Figure 32. Chinese dragon in Martim Moniz Square, February 2015



Figure 33. Martim Moniz Square with bamboo trees and huge pictures, February 2015



Figure 34. Pictures of shopkeepers in Mouraria, posted in Martim Moniz Square, February 2015



**Figure 35. May Day, people gathering in Martim Moniz Square to participate in a march, May 2014**



**Figure 36. Procession by Martim Moniz Square, May 2015**



**Figure 37. South Asian women in Martim Moniz Square, November 2012**



**Figure 38. South Asian men in Martim Moniz Square, February 2015**



**Figure 39. Dance in Martim Moniz Square following entertainers on stage, September 2012**



**Figure 40. Terraces in Martim Moniz Square, March 2015**



## Appendix 2 - Survey to the residents of Mouraria

1. What do you think of the interventions that are taking place in Mouraria?  
Thinks it is positive  
Thinks it is negative/did not bring any improvements  
Does not know
  
2. If you consider that it brought improvements, please specify  
  
\_\_\_\_\_  
  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
3. If you consider that it did not bring improvements, please specify  
  
\_\_\_\_\_  
  
\_\_\_\_\_
  
4. What do you think of the new organizations/people involved in the process? Do you think they are bringing an important contribution?  
Yes  
No  
Does not know
  
5. Number of years living in Mouraria \_\_\_\_\_
  
6. If you are working, do you also work in Mouraria?  
Yes  
No
  
7. Reason for living in Mouraria  
Was raised here  
Had family  
Had contacts  
Centrality  
Affordable price of the dwellings  
Attraction for the neighbourhood character  
Proximity to work  
Other reason: \_\_\_\_\_
  
8. With whom do you live?  
Alone  
With family  
With friends

Shares flat with other people

Hires a room

Other situation: \_\_\_\_\_

9. Relations in the neighbourhood

I have no relations here in the neighborhood

Friendship relations

Family relationships

Neighborhood relations (conversation on the street, in the café, support)

10. What events / performances have you attended in the territory (Mouraria, Largo

Intendente, Martim Moniz)

Did not attend anything

Fado outdoor events in Mouraria

Events in Martim Moniz

Events in Intendente

Casa da Severa

\_\_\_\_\_

11. Are you linked to any association?

Yes

No

12. Do you attend any association?

Yes

No

13. If so, which one?

\_\_\_\_\_

14. What does the territory represent for you?

\_\_\_\_\_

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15. Gender

Male

Female

17. Birth year

[ ][ ][ ][ ]

18. Nationality \_\_\_\_\_

19. Educational Level

None

Primary school

6th Grade

9th Grade

Secondary school

Degree/master

Doctor

20. Professional Situation

Student

Employed

Odd jobs

Unemployed

Retired

21. Interview area: \_\_\_\_\_

22. Residence area: \_\_\_\_\_