



IUL School of Social Sciences
Department of Social and Organizational Psychology

Public space, social representations and social memory in a
neighbourhood undergoing a regeneration program: living in Mouraria

Leonor Correia Bettencourt

Thesis specially presented for the fulfillment of the degree of
Doctor in Psychology

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Não podia terminar, sem deixar uma nota sobre o que se vive hoje, no instante em que escrevo estas palavras. Numa altura em que nos é “imposto” o isolamento, o abandono do espaço público, do contacto e da interação em comunidade, subitamente, a ironia deste trabalho é clara. A preocupação por compreender os desafios de manter os lugares vivos e vividos por todos poder-se-á transformar na preocupação em compreender os desafios de manter os lugares vazios. Talvez surjam novas formas de convivência no espaço público e de nos relacionarmos entre nós. A gravidade, imprevisibilidade e incerteza da situação não nos permitem prever se estas novas convivências resultarão da escolha de cada um, ou de receios, desconfiança do outro e fronteiras definidas. Quero acreditar que seja a primeira, a escolha e a liberdade de sermos e estarmos todos nos mesmos lugares, e não a vivência numa situação em que o medo “*Rebenta com o sentido e quebra o nexo do mundo*” (José Gil, *Público*, março de 2020).

ABSTRACT

The present work integrates psychosocial explanations in studies about place, focusing on how people use public place and relate with each other in place, under processes of urban regeneration. It draws on the case-study of Mouraria, an inner-city neighbourhood in Lisbon, undergoing a mixed regeneration program since 2010, and experiencing two main processes of socio-urban transformation – (small-scale) gentrification and re-enforcement of immigrants. Today it comprises three main groups of residents – long-time residents; new gentrifiers; and immigrants – and is “officially” presented under two social representations, i.e. as a traditional and as a successful multicultural place. Three studies were conducted aiming at answering the following research question: *how are the transformations of an inner-city historical and multicultural neighbourhood stemming from a mixed urban regeneration program experienced by people, through their uses of public place, their intergroup relations in place, their social representations about place and others, and their place bonds?* The first study showed the three groups report using public places to socialize with others, and that the identification with the neighbourhood is a central predictor of such socialization. The second study evidenced patterns of micro-ecological spatial segregation in different public places. The last study revealed relatively stable representational profiles regarding the neighbourhood and its transformations: long-time residents tend to present a position of *contestation*; new gentrifiers depict a position of *ambivalence*; and the immigrants exhibit a general position of *acceptance*. Finally, it is offered a highlight of the main findings taken together, their contributions, limitations, and inputs for urban public policies.

Keywords: regenerated neighbourhood, public place use, place identification, micro-ecological segregation, intergroup relations, social representations

PsycINFO Codes:

2900 Social Processes & Social Issues

3000 Social Psychology

3020 Group & Interpersonal Processes

4050 Community & Environmental Planning

RESUMO

O presente trabalho integra explicações psicossociais nos estudos sobre o lugar, centrando-se na forma como os indivíduos usam o espaço público e se relacionam entre si no lugar, quando inseridos num contexto de reabilitação urbana. A investigação parte do estudo de caso da Mouraria, um bairro do centro histórico de Lisboa, alvo de um programa misto de reabilitação urbana desde 2010, e onde decorrem dois processos principais de transformação sócio-urbanística – gentrificação (em pequena escala) e reforço da instalação de imigrantes. Atualmente vivem no bairro três grupos de moradores – moradores antigos/de longa duração; novos *gentrifiers*; e imigrantes – sendo “oficialmente” apresentado sob duas representações sociais, i.e. simultaneamente como um lugar tradicional e multicultural. Foram desenvolvidos três estudos, procurando responder à seguinte pergunta de investigação: *como é que as transformações de um bairro histórico e multicultural, advindas dum programa misto de reabilitação urbana, são experienciadas pelos indivíduos, através dos seus usos do espaço público, das suas relações intergrupais no lugar, das suas representações sociais sobre o lugar e os outros, e dos seus vínculos ao lugar?* O primeiro estudo demonstrou que os três grupos relatam usarem os espaços públicos para conviver, e que a identificação com o bairro é um preditor central dessa convivência. O segundo estudo revelou existirem padrões de segregação espacial ao nível micro-ecológico, em diferentes espaços públicos. O último estudo revelou perfis representacionais relativamente estáveis sobre o bairro e as suas transformações: os moradores antigos tendem a apresentar uma posição de *contestação*; os novos *gentrifiers* demonstram uma posição *ambivalente*; e os imigrantes apresentam uma posição geral de *aceitação*. O trabalho termina com uma síntese dos principais resultados, os seus contributos, limitações e sugestões para políticas públicas urbanas.

Palavras-chave: bairro reabilitado, uso do espaço público, identificação com o lugar, segregação micro-ecológica, relações intergrupais, representações sociais

Categorias de classificação e códigos PsycINFO:

2900 Processos Sociais & Questões Sociais

3000 Psicologia Social

3020 Processos Grupais & Interpessoais

4050 Planeamento Comunitário & Ambiental

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GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1. Introduction

The present thesis seeks to contribute to social and environmental psychological literature by integrating psychosocial explanations in studies about place, focused on how people use public place and relate with each other in place, under processes of urban regeneration. These processes present multiple social and psychological challenges to those who live and use public places, entailing people to constantly find different forms of adaptation to the social, cultural, human, and economic transformations they face (Lees, 2008). Adjusting to these transformations and responding to the inherent challenges is associated to how people are able to develop people-place bonds (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015), affirm identities in place (Di Masso, 2012), define norms of conviviality (Main & Sandoval, 2015), adopt patterns of segregation and integration among groups (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003), and negotiate, reproduce and transform social representations about place and others (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Castro, 2015). This is especially relevant in inner-city neighbourhoods undergoing major sociocultural and architectural transformations and receiving a lot of diverse newcomers due to processes of urban regeneration, across major European cities (Lees, 2008; Van Kempen & Murie, 2009; Freeman, Cassola, & Cai, 2016).

In southern European cities, specifically, many new policy programs of urban regeneration are happening in historical and traditional neighbourhoods, where public place sociability, tight social and neighbourly relations and a familiar and traditional environment were prominent (Tulumello, 2015; Zoppi & Mereu, 2015). Traditionally home to working-class tenants, and long-disinvested and in dire need of regeneration (Lees, 2008; Rodrigues, 2010; Gainza, 2016), these areas have lately been the object of interventions guided by different policy models: top-down, bottom-up or mixed (Pissourios, 2014). Hence, these neighbourhoods present a number of challenges to resident's bonds to place, their uses of public places, and interpersonal and intergroup relations in place. Ultimately the challenge to achieve a neighbourhood able to accommodate both the traditional identity and memories of older residents with the challenges presented by the physical and social transformations of today, due to processes of gentrification (e.g., Clay, 1979; Rose 1984; Savage & Warde, 1993; Ley, 1996; Lees, 2008, Freeman et al., 2016) and ethnicisation (e.g., Smith, 1996; Malheiros, Carvalho, & Mendes, 2012), without losing people-place bonds and the vitality of the public places of the neighbourhood. Sociocultural diversity and multiculturalism may not be sufficient by themselves for the promotion of intergroup interactions in place (Lelévrier, 2013) and for a real integrated neighbourhood truly shared by different social groups. Indeed, people's spatial

positioning in place may materialize segregation relationships between different groups (e.g., Dixon, Tredoux, Durrheim, Finchilescu, & Clack, 2008), even in contexts legally desegregated (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003).

From a psycho-social and socio-political perspective, it is important to understand how the macro-level transformations under different policy models are affecting the micro-level of social relations *in* place and relations *to* place (Di Masso, 2015). Social and Environmental Psychology may play a crucial role in understanding this, by offering ways of examining which psychosocial processes are involved in how different groups use public place, give meaning to it and express their social representations of intergroup relations, within an increasingly changing environment, such as inner-city regenerated neighbourhoods. Research on the sociological (Blanco, Bonet, & Walliser, 2011; Lees, 2008), geographical (Tulumello, 2015) and urban planning (Davison, Dovey, & Woodcock, 2012; Freeman et al., 2016) dimensions and consequences of these inner-city neighbourhoods transformations and the models they follow – top-down or bottom-up – is now abundant. The social-psychological literature is, however, scarce, a lacuna this work proposes to start to fill.

In order to respond to this challenge, the present work takes Mouraria, an inner-city neighbourhood in Lisbon as a case study. Mouraria has undergone a program with a mixed/bottom-up regeneration strategy since 2010 (CML, 2010). Over the years, the neighbourhood experienced two main processes of socio-urban transformation, namely small-scale gentrification and re-enforcement of the established Asian immigrant population (Malheiros et al., 2012; Tulumello, 2015; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). Now three main groups of residents are living in the neighbourhood: (1) long-time; (2) new gentrifiers; and (3) immigrants. However, it seems there is little intergroup interaction (Malheiros et al., 2012; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015), indicating potential patterns of segregation in place. “Officially”, today Mouraria is presented by the City Council of Lisbon and the Press both as a historical and traditional and a successful multicultural and cosmopolitan place (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015).

2. Research question and two research lines in social-psychological literature

Drawing on the context of the neighbourhood of Mouraria, the following emerges as a central research question: *how are the transformations of an inner-city historical and multicultural neighbourhood stemming from a mixed urban regeneration program (bottom-up and top-down) experienced by people, through their uses of public place, their intergroup*

relations in place, their social representations about place and others, and their place attachment and identification? It is important to understand how the major transformations due to mixed urban regeneration processes, involving influxes of new residents and an increasingly social diversity alter an inner-city neighbourhood subject to two ‘official’ social representations which praise the successful transformations and the neighbourhood’s current multiculturalism (Tulumello, 2015; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017): (a) a *traditional* neighbourhood characterized by its lively public place sociability and close neighbourly relations; and (b) a *multicultural and cosmopolitan* neighbourhood.

People’s relations to and in place and their underlying psychosocial processes have been studied under two main research lines, one focused on meaning making and the other on action. The first research line focuses on meaning, by examining how different groups view one another and their communities and analysing processes connected to place relations, such as place identity and place attachment (e.g., Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Lewicka, 2008; Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010; Di Masso, Dixon, & Pol, 2011; Benages-Albert, Di Masso, Porcel, Pol, & Vall-Casas, 2015), and reciprocal social representations (Castro, 2012; 2015; Jovchelovitch, 2012; Vala & Castro, 2013). This line is focused on meaning construction through social interactions and experiences in place as a means to develop a stronger place identity (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000) and construct social representations about place, i.e. shared meaning systems (Castro, 2012), looking at personal memories, stories of different members of a community, and social memories (Lewicka, 2008; Rishbeth & Powell, 2012). Some research also explores the link between place identification and the perception of the continuity of core cultural features of a place (Main & Sandoval, 2015). Another central subject on people-place relations concerns place knowledge (Berkes, 2004; Naess, 2013; Castro & Mouro, 2016), still neglected in the literature. However, little is known about how all these processes are related to place uses, and most importantly place use in regenerated urban communities.

The second research line focuses on people’s actions in place, mostly by analysing the micro-ecology of intergroup segregation (Dixon et al., 2008). Drawing on a bottom-up approach, it relies on the direct observation of people’s uses of place and intergroup interactions (e.g., Dixon et al., 2008; Priest, Paradies, Ferdinand, Rouhani, & Kelaher, 2014). Studies show that the mere co-presence of different groups in the same place, such as educational (e.g., Schrieff, Tredoux, Finchilescu, & Dixon, 2010), leisure or recreational (e.g., Tredoux & Dixon, 2009), or public transport (Swyngedouw, 2013), is not sufficient condition for intergroup interaction (e.g., Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; McKeown, Stringer, & Cairns, 2016). Nevertheless,

there is no research on the micro-ecology of intergroup segregation on multicultural and regenerated urban communities, a lacuna that the present work proposes to address.

In sum, little is known about the underlying social psychological explanations involved in how people use public places and relate with each other in place (Di Masso & Dixon, 2015), and in their relation to the transformations caused by urban regeneration programs those following a mixed approach. Additionally, there are no studies of the micro-ecology of multicultural and regenerated urban communities. Therefore, this work presents an integrative approach by combining the two main research paths in Social and Environmental Psychology, i.e. it combines the analysis of meaning making in place relations with the examination of place use directly observed. Importantly, it extends this to the community level, specifically, to multicultural and regenerated urban communities, and to the understanding of the consequences of regeneration urban policies, particularly those following a mixed approach, from a psychosocial perspective. Taking the neighbourhood of Mouraria as a case-study, it relies on three main aims:

- (1) to analyse what psychosocial processes underlie residents' reported use of the public places of the neighbourhood to socialize with others;
- (2) to analyse how the main groups of residents use the public places and if they interact at an intragroup or intergroup level;
- (3) to understand what and how both 'official' social representations about Mouraria - as a historical and traditional inner-city neighbourhood, and as a multicultural and cosmopolitan neighbourhood - residents use to justify their positions and social representations about the self and the others, their relations in place, their uses of place, and neighbourhood transformations.

3. Organisation of the thesis

The present thesis is organized in three sections. Section I is composed by five chapters regarding the theoretical framework on which the thesis was developed and the characterization of the context of study, i.e. the neighbourhood of Mouraria. Section II comprises three chapters concerning the empirical multi-method research conducted, namely, a survey study, an observational study, and a study with interviews. Section III is dedicated to the general interpretation, discussion and conclusion of the thesis.

Chapter I reviews the literature on processes and transformations inherent to urban regeneration programs in the inner-city, in order to contextualize the social and psychological

challenges these may pose to residents. The chapter begins by distinguishing different urban policy approaches, such as top-down and bottom-up/mixed and its consequences for neighbourhoods (e.g., Pissourios, 2014; Zoppi & Mereu, 2015). Namely, the chapter explores the process of gentrification (Savage & Warde, 1993; Lees, 2008; Freeman et al., 2016) and how it can lead to influxes of new residents (gentrifiers and immigrants), new consumer landscapes, rising rents, a higher everyday life cost and to the displacement of long-time residents (e.g., Gainza, 2016). It follows with the potential consequences of such processes of regeneration and gentrification to the maintenance of the sociability and sociocultural diversity of public places (Lees, 2008), guaranteeing these as integrated places, rather than segregated ones, and to the development of new people-place bonds (Davison et al., 2012).

Chapter II presents a theoretical framework to address the main aims of the thesis, and particularly to support its first study, a survey study centered on analyzing the psycho-social processes predicting public place sociability. The chapter focuses on relevant literature and research on Social and Environmental Psychology on people-place bonds, specifically on place identity, and its relation to different psycho-social processes, namely, perceived cultural continuity, and place knowledge. It highlights the main theoretical contributions and the lacunae these present on understanding the psycho-social processes explaining people's uses of public place, which this work aims to answer through Study 1.

First, it offers an overview on the significance of the concept of place identity, presenting the main theoretical perspectives. The literature shows how place identity can be conceptualized under two main paradigms. One describing place identity as an individual and cognitive structure (e.g., Proshansky, 1978; Graumann, 1983), and a second presenting place identity as a result of a social construction of place through social interactions (e.g., Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Hopkins & Dixon, 2006). For the purpose of the aims of this thesis, place identity is considered in an integrative way, comprising cognitions and feelings which allow individuals to understand reality and guide their perceptions about place (e.g., Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010), and the discursive, meaning-making and relational process dimension (e.g., Di Masso, Dixon, & Durrheim, 2013).

Second, the chapter presents the prominent research on place identity within the context of urban environments and its connection with cultural continuity (Sani et al., 2007; Sani, Bowe, & Herrera, 2008; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014) and place knowledge (e.g., Benages-Albert et al., 2015). The chapter deals with distinct factors that influence place identity, and how this is linked to people's perception of their place retaining core cultural elements (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014) or being able to reproduced past memories of previous places (Main &

Sandoval, 2015), and to their knowledge about its history and community (Benages-Albert et al., 2015). It also addresses how these relations may differ between different types of residents, namely, long-time residents and newcomers, such as immigrants and gentrifiers.

Chapter III reviews the literature on people's uses of public places, providing the theoretical framework of Study 2, specifically the observational study focused on examining if different groups use the public places of the neighbourhood and if they interact at an intragroup or intergroup level. It begins by highlighting the importance of public place as an arena for the expression and production of citizenship (Stevenson, Dixon, Hopkins, & Luyta, 2015a; Di Masso, 2015). Not everyone may have equal access to place, as specific constructions of place may be dominant and lead people to, for instance, retreat from public conviviality (Buchecker, 2009) or adopt patterns of spatial segregation (Dixon et al., 2008). Some social groups may feel 'out of place' and no longer use its public places, which transforms these into segregated or abandoned places (Lees, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010). This is a particularly important issue when remaking and regenerating neighbourhoods, such as the neighbourhood of Mouraria. In order to understand the uses and interactions in neighbourhood's public places, one must look at the everyday practices and encounters of its residents, through the analysis of the micro-ecology of intergroup segregation (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Dixon et al., 2008). Importantly, this field of research so far has not provided a systematic literature review on the topic in Social Psychology, which this chapter proposes to offer, addressing a central lacuna on the literature. Specifically, it provides a systematic literature review about research on micro-ecology of intergroup segregation in Social Psychology between 2001 and 2017, also pointing out social psychological processes explaining segregation spatial patterns (Bettencourt, Dixon, & Castro, 2019).

Chapter IV provides a literature review on the Theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1976; 1988), a theoretical framework sustaining this thesis in general, but mainly Study 3, which has focused on understanding which 'official' social representations about Mouraria residents use to justify their positions and social representations about the self, the others and place, through the analysis of interviews. First the chapter points out the relevance of the social representations' paradigm to better understand how people make sense of social change (Castro & Batel, 2008; Castro, 2015), and how a multiplicity of social representations may emerge in different social groups (Jodelet, 1989) and within the same place (Howarth, 2002). Second, it gives some examples of research using the Theory of Social Representations to study several phenomena (e.g., Batel & Castro, 2009; Andreouli & Chrysochoou, 2015; Mouro & Castro, 2016). Drawing on the assumption that for a clarification of people's uses of

place, it is important to understand how they interpret and represent place and the others, as the discursive constructions of a place are intertwined with material and social practices in place (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Di Masso & Dixon, 2015; Spitz, 2015), the chapter ends by arguing how the social representations' paradigm has the potential to contribute to the study of residents' acceptance or contestation to urban transformations of regenerated neighbourhoods, as evidenced by Study 3.

Chapter V is dedicated to the presentation of the object of study of the thesis, the neighbourhood of Mouraria, in Lisbon. It presents a brief overview about the story and the development of the neighbourhood over the years, and its sociodemographic characterization, finishing with a description of the program of urban regeneration and community development of Mouraria (PDCM – QREN).

Chapter VI describes the first study of the thesis, the survey study, conducted to answer the first aim of the thesis, i.e., to analyse what psychosocial processes underlie residents' reported use of the public places of the neighbourhood to socialize with others. It has focused on the individual level of analysis. A questionnaire was answered by the three main groups of residents of Mouraria: (1) long-time residents; (2) new gentrifiers; and (3) immigrants. This study comprised two sub-studies, each one focused on different psychosocial processes and group of residents: (a) Study A has focused on the predictive role of perceived cultural continuity (Sani et al., 2007; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014), place identification (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010) and place knowledge (Naess, 2013), for long-time residents and new gentrifiers; and (b) Study B has focused on the predictive role of representation of intergroup interaction (Castro, 2015) and place identification (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010), for long-time residents and immigrants, and on the predictive role of choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood, for immigrants.

Chapter VII reports Study 2, carried out to meet the second aim of the thesis, namely to analyse how the main groups of residents of Mouraria use the public places of the neighbourhood and if they interact at an intragroup or intergroup level. The micro-ecology of intergroup segregation (e.g., Dixon et al., 2008) has not yet developed studies on multicultural and regenerated urban communities, a lacuna Study 2 sought to respond, following the methodological proposals of this field of research. An observational study was conducted in different public places of the neighbourhood, centered on different individuals' and groups' uses of place and types of interaction.

Chapter VIII presents the interview study, developed to answer the third aim of the thesis, i.e. to understand what and how both 'official' social representations about Mouraria -

as a historical and traditional inner-city neighbourhood, and as a multicultural and cosmopolitan neighbourhood - residents use to justify their positions and social representations about the self and the others, in order to better comprehend the processes of acceptance or resistance regarding the transformations stemming from urban regeneration programs and gentrification. Residents from the main groups were interviewed in the neighbourhood. The analysis of the interviews relied on the Theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1976; 1988), and followed a two-step method: (1) Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2012), identifying the main themes emerging on residents' discourses about the changing neighbourhood, their place relations, the others and their uses; and (2) Pragmatic Discourse Analysis (Batel & Castro, 2018), analysing the main discursive strategies used in the receiving of the neighbourhood's transformations, and which processes – acceptance or contestation – are involved in how social representations are reproduced, negotiated or transformed.

Finally, **Chapter IX** presents a summary of the main findings, highlighting the contributions of the present thesis, and discussing the impact of this research for the field of people-place relations on Social and Environmental Psychology, within the context of urban environments, particularly, within urban regeneration. Additionally, it is offered a reflection on the limitations of this work and potential future research directions. In conclusion, it is discussed the practical implications of this research and how it may contribute to institutional decision-makers on urban public policies and, ultimately, to contribute to more well thought out interventions on public place for a better quality of life of the city and its citizens.

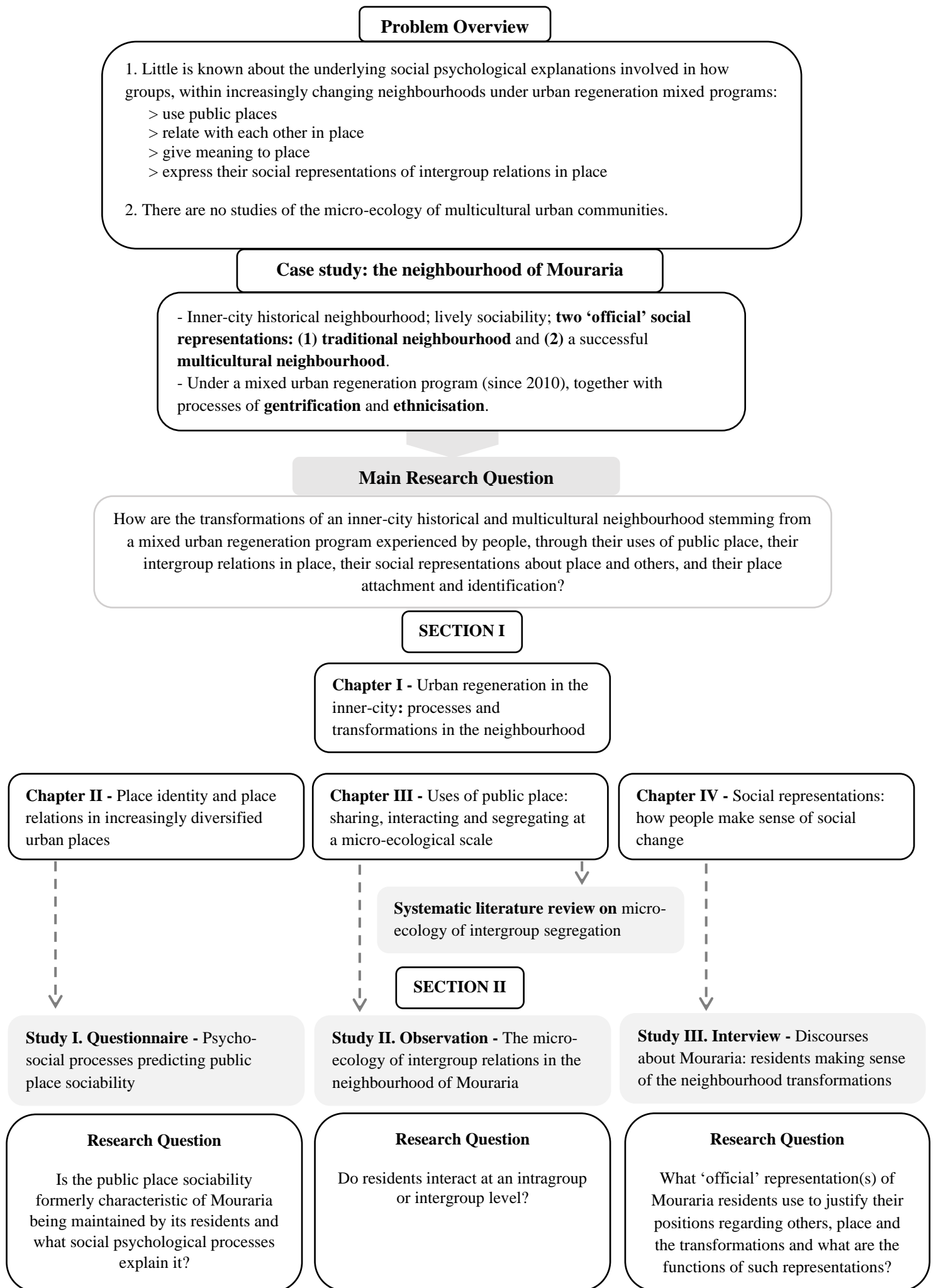


Figure 1. General scheme of the thesis - outline of the problem, studies and research questions.

SECTION I
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

CHAPTER I

URBAN REGENERATION IN THE INNER-CITY: PROCESSES AND TRANSFORMATIONS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Chapter Presentation

This chapter aims to review the literature on processes and transformations inherent to urban regeneration programs in the inner-city, in order to contextualize the social and psychological challenges these may pose to residents. It will also provide a better understanding of the context of the object of study on which this work focuses, a neighbourhood undergoing a bottom-up/mixed intervention, and how this kind of intervention may be connected to new people-place relations and uses of place. In this sense, the chapter begins by showing how urban regeneration has become a central goal of urban governance over the years, through the adoption of different urban policy approaches, such as top-down and bottom-up/mixed (Pissourios, 2014). Next, it explores the potential consequences of such policies (e.g., Pissourios, 2014; Zoppi & Mereu, 2015), highlighting the process of gentrification and how this may emerge and develop differently accordingly to the type of policy model implemented (Savage & Warde, 1993; Lees, 2008; Freeman et al., 2016). The chapter ends with a reflection on the potential social and psychological consequences of these processes of regeneration and gentrification on the maintenance of the sociability and sociocultural diversity of public places (Lees, 2008) and on the development of new people-place bonds (Davison et al., 2012).

1. Introduction

“The mobility of a city, reason of its life and its history, turn their transformations simultaneously physical and social. Frequently, social structures begin to transform before physical structures.” (Goitia, 1989; p.207)

The history of town planning has suffered, over the last decades, a transition from local government to local governance (Blanco et al., 2011). Within an increasingly globalized system, urban policies have sought to adjust to an uncertain economic and social future of cities (Bailey, Miles, & Stark, 2004), adopting various forms of local governance, namely within the context of urban regeneration. Specifically across Europe, in the end of the 1990's, the tendency was to undertake an urban governance paradigm based on a coordination between the public and private sectors, rather than on a monopoly of one of these, also favouring citizen participation on political decision-making (Blanco et al., 2011). In order to follow this paradigm and to achieve a clear participation of the community, several urban regeneration programs have emerged, focusing on transforming underprivileged urban areas (Lees, 2008; Blanco et al., 2011). Alongside with the development of such policies, several historical inner-city areas of major European cities have been developed under different programs of urban regeneration (Lees, 2008; Van Kempen & Murie, 2009; Freeman et al., 2016).

In southern European cities, specifically, such historical inner-city areas were characterized by a long-disinvestment, in dire need of regeneration, and traditionally home to working-class tenants (Lees, 2008; Rodrigues, 2010; Gainza, 2016), where public place sociability, tight social and neighbours relations, and a familiar and traditional environment were prominent (Tulumello, 2015; Zoppi & Mereu, 2015). The urban planning under which these areas have been intervened has been defined by two main tendencies over the years (Pissourios, 2014). One oriented to centralism and de-politicizing decision-making and to the increased power of authorities and technical experts (Lees, 2008; Pissourios, 2014), and another directed towards a greater participation of the community in decision-making, together with a higher accountability on the part of local authorities and criticism of technical expertise (Pissourios, 2014). These two have been labelled in urban planning as top-down and bottom-up/mixed approaches respectively (Pissourios, 2014). It is important to explore central implications of each model for the development of historical inner-city areas, how social diversity and mixing in place are brought about and interrelated to different gentrification's rhythms, and what consequences may these have for public place sociability and residents' place relations and bonds, as follows.

2. Different models of regeneration policies

Urban regeneration has been conceived by two main policy tendencies: (1) top-down; and (2) bottom-up/mixed (Pissourios, 2014). Even though both models seek to create more social and cultural diversified neighbourhoods, both differ on the significance given to such diversity and on the strategies implemented to achieve it (Pissourios, 2014).

Top-down intervention models focus on incorporating cultural diversity (Lees, 2008), simultaneously fostering territorial competitiveness and cultural innovation (Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). These models stem from the idea that diversity can bring economic growth by setting the proper conditions for hosting a plurality of cultural values adjusted to new creative classes (Florida, 2002; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017), ultimately creating more tolerant cities (Lees, 2008). The core strategy of urban governance authorities to achieve this and therefore to respond to the aforementioned challenges has been to commit to city-branding and the reinforcement of ethnic commerce to attract investment, tourism and new middle classes (Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). A prominent and highly academically debated consequence of such strategy is the gentrification of regenerated places (e.g., Lees, 2008; Bélanger, 2007; 2010; Davidson & Lees, 2010; Davison et al., 2012; Freeman et al., 2016; Gainza, 2016; Mösgen, Rosol, & Schipper, 2019).

Gentrification has been linked to appeals to diversity and social mixing (Lees, 2008), yet there is not a consensus in the literature on what actually makes gentrification ‘gentrification’ (Bélanger, 2010). Its definition may comprise everything from decisions to regenerate buildings to real estate regenerations in working class neighbourhoods (Bélanger, 2010), or even in areas previously thought as ‘ungentrifiable’ (Mösgen et al., 2019). Notwithstanding, the effects of gentrification on displacement may vary at different stages (Freeman et al., 2016). Following a *top-down* model, central and/or local authorities enforce expert-led change to the areas, assuring their “middle-class upgrading” (Lees, 2008) by the partial replacement of extant public housing by new market properties (Davison et al., 2012), or the *a priori* definition of quotas for different socio-economic groups (Lelévrier, 2013). This model thus brings social diversity by *imposed gentrification* (Bailey et al., 2004; Freeman et al., 2016; Heath, Rabinovich, & Barreto, 2017; Pissourios, 2014). Under this state-led gentrification (Lees, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010), neighbourhoods rapidly enter the third and fourth phases of the gentrification process (Freeman et al., 2016), becoming a target for wealthier individuals and developers (Pacione, 2003). Many first and second stage gentrifiers abandon the neighbourhood, renovated dwellings return to the

market and are purchased by affluent individuals, and ultimately any form of sociocultural diversity is eradicated (Shaw, 2008; Lees, 2008; Freeman et al., 2016; Gainza, 2016).

Local authorities are not concerned with involving the community on the decision-making process, disregarding residents' views about the neighbourhood (Lees, 2008; Pissourios, 2014). Concomitantly social diversity may be commodified through tourism, strategic actions to promote a cultural creative neighbourhood, by creating an image of a simultaneously ethnically and gentrified place (Fincher, Iveson, Leitner, & Preston, 2014), which often translates into a segregated place (Lees, 2008). The movement of middle-class groups into rundown and marginal inner-city neighbourhoods, and the consequent highly acceleration of gentrification, is usually defined by local authorities as forcing social mixed communities, and as the desegregating solution to an isolation by class, income or ethnicity (Lees, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010). However, under such rapidly development of gentrification, neighbourhoods may experience patterns of segregation and polarisation (Lees, 2008; Davison et al., 2012) in their public places, contrary to an integrated and inclusive everyday life in place, defined by a real sociocultural diversity.

In contrast, in *bottom-up/mixed* models, authorities directly assure the regeneration of public places and buildings (Gainza, 2016; Padilla, Azevedo, & Olmos-Alcaraz, 2014), but offer subsidies and/or fiscal incentives to owners assuring renewal of their decaying properties, and implement community consultation for supporting the creation of local jobs, helping fight poverty and stigmatization (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017; Pissourios, 2014; Tulumello, 2015). This brings diversity by initiating *small-scale gentrification*, a process occurring in a more gradually manner and slower rate, with minimal impact on the physical and social environment of the neighbourhood (Davison et al., 2012; Malheiros et al., 2012; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). The process begins with the arrival of middle-class young adults well-educated but economically struggling, with an unstable professional situation and a stronger cultural and academic capital than long-time residents (Smith, 1996; Davison et al., 2012; Malheiros et al., 2012). These pioneers of the gentrification process, or marginal/new gentrifiers (Clay, 1979; Rose 1984; Caulfield, 1994; Ley, 1996; Butler, 1997; Malheiros et al., 2012), prefer to live in central areas of the city due to their liberal and cosmopolitan lifestyle and the socially and ethnically tolerant environment that these offer (Rodrigues, 2010). At this phase, although rental costs are increasing, they are still affordable for the gentrifiers, and long-time residents can also still afford to remain in the neighbourhood (Rodrigues, 2010). Therefore, changes to the physical space by these newcomers are minimal (Rodrigues, 2010) and gentrifiers and working classes still live side-by-side (Davison et al., 2012).

The implementation of these kind of more participatory processes of regeneration, involving residents is also important to help maintaining a sense of identity of residents (Zoppi & Mereu, 2015). Public place is not only a place of economic activity, but also and importantly a place of sociability and identity (Bélanger, 2010). This is particularly relevant in contexts traditionally characterized by diversity, influxes of immigration, and a simultaneous familiar environment, such as inner-city historical neighbourhoods, for instance, in Lisbon (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015), Cagliari (Zoppi & Mereu, 2015), Barcelona (Blanco et al., 2011), or Granada (Padilla et al., 2014). Diversity may be understood in two ways, one in terms of cross-cultural exchanges in local encounters in place, and another as a resource for social economic local development (Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). An intervention based on *bottom-up/mixed* policies seems to be more prepared to find a balance between these two, without displacing the different social groups living in the neighbourhood (Zoppi & Mereu, 2015) and preventing a de-ethnicisation, where foreigners cross paths and are not confined to social and ethnic belongings and segregated places (Oliveira & Padilla, 2017).

In sum, once abandoned by economic activities, long-disinvested and in dire need of a revitalisation (Gainza, 2016; Lees, 2008; Rodrigues, 2010), inner-city historical neighbourhoods become the target of different regeneration interventions adopted by local authorities – top-down or bottom-up/mixed (Pissourios, 2014). These will differently impact the neighbourhood and its residents, with the arrival of a new population (Bélanger, 2010), for instance, gentrifiers (Lees, 2008) and new immigrants (Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). Buildings, streets and squares get a facelift, and new commerce and service activities emerge in order to fulfill the needs and demands of this new population (e.g., Bélanger, 2010; Davison et al., 2012). However, the interventions adopted to achieve these changes comprise different strategies. Some defined by encouraging gentrification through top-down regeneration programs, ultimately leading to rising rents, higher everyday life cost, displacement of specific and more vulnerable groups of residents, lesser social mixing, and more local patterns of segregation (Shaw, 2008; Lees, 2008; Freeman et al., 2016; Gainza, 2016). Others focused on more participatory processes of regeneration, following a bottom-up/mixed approach, where the neighbourhood undergoes a small-scale gentrification and remains a place still affordable for both gentrifiers and long-time residents, guaranteeing a more social and cultural diversified place (Davison et al., 2012; Malheiros et al., 2012).

The changing image of these regenerated inner-city neighbourhoods will be attractive for different groups, which lifestyles may conflict with the cultural values, traditions and ways of life of long-time residents. Indeed, if the arrival of new middle classes and younger immigrants

to some of these neighbourhoods initiate processes of socio-ethnic transition and gentrification (Malheiros et al., 2012), new uses are developed and new representations of the public places generated, as well as new forms of relating to the city (Menezes, 2012). Therefore, the regeneration of these neighbourhoods may pose several social and psychological challenges to their residents, as argued next.

3. Social and psychological challenges and consequences of urban regeneration

Urban regeneration programs present several challenges to people living in and using the city, and may have multiple effects on city's development. The impact the intensification of population in regenerated historical areas can have on the character and cultural features of such areas is one major challenge of regeneration policies (Davison et al., 2012). The maintenance of the character of a place is many times an underlying idea and priority disseminated by urban planners in order to justify the implementation of such policies (Davison et al., 2012; Zoppi & Mereu, 2015). Long-time residents may be resistant to the changes stemming from these policies, claiming how such changes can endanger their neighbourhood character and culture (Davison et al., 2012). Perceiving a loss of character of the neighbourhood may lead to weaker bonds to place. Residents may feel less identified with their place of residence, for not finding in public places social and cultural elements which represent them and the usual environment that distinguish their neighbourhood from the others (Davison et al., 2012; Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). Some pioneer studies in Social Psychology also reinforce the importance of feeling identified with the community, showing that bottom-up strategies lead to higher levels of community identification, which in turn predicts individual well-being (Heath et al., 2017).

The diminishing of identification with the neighbourhood may, in turn, lead to other potential consequence of urban regeneration, namely empty and abandoned public places (Buchecker, 2009). Socialization and social integration happen in public places, making these important to the development of people's identity (Buchecker, 2009; Dixon & Durrheim, 2004), especially in historical inner-city areas (Tulumello, 2015). If residents no longer identify themselves to these places, they may tend to stay away from them and remain into the private sphere of their homes or other remote areas far away (Buchecker, 2009), happening a withdrawal from public life. This arises a central challenge to urban policies, that is how to accommodate different cultures in a way which the neighbourhood continues to represent their residents, and promotes social inclusion of old and new diversities (Bailey et al., 2004; Blanco et al., 2011; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017), also guarantying immigration (Oliveira & Padilla, 2017).

Indeed, urban regeneration is also a matter of revitalising cultural identities, emphasizing culture-led regeneration as a means to facilitate residents to re-establish their own sense of place and sense of history (Bailey et al., 2004), as bottom-up/mixed strategies seek to do (Pissourios, 2014). Nevertheless, even citizen participatory planning processes may encompass political ambivalent dynamics (Van Wymeersch, Oosterlynck, & Vanoutrive, 2019). These are not always successful in recognizing and negotiating multiple identities, promoting social inclusion of different groups, and mixing social uses (Davies, 2007; Lees, 2008; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017), often because the community actors involved are not truly representative of the population, and the interventions are dominated by institutional and institutionalized actors (Davies, 2007). At other times, even with the participation of the community, residents may simply feel that the physical and cultural features of the neighbourhood no longer match their affective perceptions and functional needs (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015).

In sum, even bottom-up/mixed interventions present several challenges for residents and not always have the same effects in different places (Lees, 2008; Blanco et al., 2011). It is important, then to examine what factors prevail and are able to maintain the necessary social conditions for residents continuing to feel connected to their neighbourhood. At the end, these emotional bonds to place may influence attitudes and behaviours (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015) and determine the sustainability of public places' vitality (Buchecker, 2009). This suggests several reflections as relevant issues for the present work, which specifically focuses on a historical inner-city neighbourhood under a bottom-up/mixed intervention, the neighbourhood of Mouraria, in Lisbon (Malheiros et al., 2012). Particularly, reflecting on how the transformations in the neighbourhood stemming from urban regeneration relate to new people-place relations and bonds, new patterns of public place use, new intergroup relations in place, new place meanings, and new social representations about place and the others. It poses a relevant question for this work, namely to understand at what extent and how can a neighbourhood be transformed - examined in the context of a bottom-up/mixed policy model adopted - in order to ensure the maintenance of sociability and sociocultural diversity of its public places, guaranteeing these as integrated places, rather than segregated ones.

A final observation arises from the abovementioned. Although there is a well-established literature on the sociological (Blanco et al., 2011; Lees, 2008), geographical (Tulumello, 2015) and urban planning (Davison et al., 2012; Freeman et al., 2016) regarding the dimensions and consequences of inner-city neighbourhoods transformations and the policy models they follow, research on Social Psychology is scarce (e.g., Heath et al., 2017). This work seeks to contribute

to this literature, proposing to shed a light on which psychosocial processes are involved on people's experiencing these transformations.

4. Concluding remarks

This chapter sought to reflect on the main processes and consequences of urban regeneration interventions in inner-city neighbourhoods, particularly in southern European cities. It highlighted how distinct urban policy models, namely top-down and bottom-up/mixed (Pissourios, 2014), have different consequences in the neighbourhoods and their residents (Bailey et al., 2004; Lees, 2008; Heath et al., 2017). The first guided by an increased power of authorities and technical experts on de-politicizing decision-making processes (Lees, 2008; Pissourios, 2014), and the other directed towards a greater participation of the community and higher accountability on the part of local authorities and criticism of technical expertise (Pissourios, 2014; Gainza, 2016). The literature shows how top-down models foster a highly acceleration of gentrification, forcing social diversity (Lees, 2008; Davison et al., 2012). Under such imposed gentrification (Bailey et al., 2004; Freeman et al., 2016; Heath et al., 2017), neighbourhoods may experience patterns of segregation and polarisation (Lees, 2008; Davison et al., 2012) in their public places. Alternatively, bottom-up/mixed models bring diversity by initiating small-scale gentrification, with minimal impact on the physical and social environment of neighbourhoods (Davison et al., 2012; Malheiros et al., 2012; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017), where new gentrifiers and long-time residents can still live side-by-side (Davison et al., 2012).

It becomes clear that the regeneration of inner-city neighbourhoods may pose several social and psychological challenges to their residents. Different lifestyles and cultural values may conflict with each other, emerging new uses, new representations of public places, and new forms of relating to the city (Menezes, 2012). A central challenge to urban policies may involve finding ways to accommodate these differences, enabling the neighbourhood continuing to represent their residents, and to promote the social inclusion of old and new diversities (Bailey et al., 2004; Blanco et al., 2011; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). Under processes of urban regeneration, residents may feel the physical and cultural features of the neighbourhood no longer match their affective perceptions and functional needs (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). The social psychological literature also points out for the importance of feeling identified with the community, showing bottom-up strategies as forwarding higher levels of community identification than top-down interventions, which in turn predicts individual

well-being (Heath et al., 2017). In addition, maintaining a connection to the neighbourhood may be crucial for preventing empty and abandoned public places (Buchecker, 2009). Weaker bonds to place, or not feeling identified with the neighbourhood can lead residents to stay away from public places (Buchecker, 2009).

Even though bottom-up/mixed interventions have proven to be more favourable for the community well-being (Davison et al., 2012; Heath et al., 2017), even citizen participatory planning processes are not always successful in recognizing and negotiating multiple identities, promoting social inclusion of different groups, and mixing social uses (Davies, 2007; Lees, 2008; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). In this sense, it is important to understand what factors prevail and are able to maintain the necessary social conditions for residents continuing to feel connected to their neighbourhood, a discussion to which this work intends to contribute, by complementing the scarce research on Social Psychology regarding the psychosocial processes involved on people's experiencing regenerated neighbourhoods transformations.

The next chapter reviews the literature on Social and Environmental Psychology on people-place bonds. The chapter focuses on place identity, and its relation to different psychosocial processes, specifying existing research on urban environments. It highlights the main theoretical contributions and the lacunae these present on understanding the psycho-social processes explaining people's uses of public place.

CHAPTER II

PLACE IDENTITY AND PLACE RELATIONS IN INCREASINGLY DIVERSIFIED URBAN PLACES

Chapter Presentation

The present chapter reviews relevant literature and research on Social and Environmental Psychology on people-place bonds. It aims to provide the theoretical framework supporting the first aim of the thesis, which is to analyse what psychosocial processes underlie residents' reported use of the public places of the neighbourhood to socialize with others. It also offers support to the understanding of people's relations in and to place in a changing neighbourhood, theoretically framing the third aim of the thesis. It also, and importantly, specifically provides the empirical and theoretical rationale for a survey study centered on analyzing the psychosocial processes predicting public place sociability (see Chapter VI).

The chapter focuses mainly on place identity and its relationship to different psychosocial processes. Additionally, it highlights the main theoretical contributions of the work on this relationship, but also identifies gaps in our understanding of the psycho-social processes that informs people's uses of public place. These gaps are addressed in the survey present in Chapter VI (Study 1).

The first part of the chapter presents a brief review on how place identity has been conceptualized within different theoretical perspectives. Some perspectives have oriented towards the cognitive dimensions of place identity (e.g., Proshansky, 1978; Graumann, 1983) and others have followed a social constructionism paradigm (e.g., Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Hopkins & Dixon, 2006). In order to respond to the aims of the thesis, place identity is considered in an integrative way, comprising theoretical assumptions of both perspectives. This part of the chapter also addresses an extensively studied topic on Social and Environmental Psychology, which concerns the relation between place identity and place attachment.

The second part of the chapter reviews research on place identity within the context of urban environments. It discusses the literature on the relation between place identity and individuals' perceptions of the extent to which a place retains core cultural elements (Sani et al., 2007; 2008; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014), is able to reproduce past memories of previous places (Main & Sandoval, 2015), or sustains knowledge about its history and community (Benages-Albert et al., 2015). It also addresses how these relations may differ between different types of residents, namely long-time residents and relative newcomers, such as immigrants and gentrifiers. Finally, the chapter offers some thoughts on how place identity and interrelated psycho-social processes may be linked to individuals' uses of public places.

1. Introduction

“If a place can be defined as relational, historical and concerned with identity, then a space which cannot be defined as relational, or historical, or concerned with identity will be a non-place.” (Augé, 1995; p.79)

Understanding how people relate to and give meaning to urban public places has been a central subject of research within Social and Environmental Psychology (e.g., Ittelson, 1978; Bonnes & Secchiaroli, 1995; Bonaiuto, Fornara, & Bonnes, 2003; Galindo & Hidalgo, 2005; Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Anton & Lawrence, 2014; Di Masso & Dixon, 2015; Stevenson et al., 2018), particularly in contexts undergoing profound sociocultural transformations, such as urban regeneration (e.g., Ujang & Zakariya, 2015; Heath et al., 2017). Urban regeneration often includes a dramatic remaking of places and may thus in some conditions diminish place meanings and people-place bonds (Davison et al., 2012; Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). The inability of residents to continue to feel connected to their neighbourhood, to identify or recognize elements that contribute to self-identity (Proshansky, 1978), to form a sense of community (Francis, Giles-Corti, Wood, & Knuiaman, 2012), or to build a sense of place (Stedman, 2002), place identity (Twigger-Ross & Uzzel, 1996), and place attachment (Lewicka, 2008) may lead to a profound reconfiguration of how public places are used and lived.

Such changes could shift interactional and vibrant public spaces to become empty, abandoned, or segregated spaces, limiting the access of specific social groups (Di Masso, 2015; Stevenson, Dixon, Hopkins, & Luyta, 2015b), and threatening the quality of public places (Oktay, 2012). This is perhaps especially important within the context of inner-city historical neighbourhoods, where the significance of public places for conviviality, identity, social memories and shared experiences are so marked. It is then imperative to understand how people-place bonds, perceptions of place, and uses of public spaces are impacted by events of regeneration interventions. Addressing this theme, this chapter will focus particularly on relevant literature on a highly studied concept in Social and Environmental Psychology, which is central for the present work, namely place identity (e.g., Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010).

2. Theoretical perspectives on place identity: a brief overview

When self-presenting as a person from the city, from the countryside, or simply from a neighbourhood, people are marking their personal identity and making a connection with a specific place. Identity can involve not only the personal characteristics of an individual, but

also the membership in social groups or categories (social identity; Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1986), and the belonging to territories and places (Stedman, 2002; Twigger-Ross, Bonaiuto, & Breakwell, 2003). Place identity stems therefore from the relationship between individuals and communities with the physical and social environment, arising from the memories, ideas and feelings associated with a place and the people with whom individuals share it (Williams & Vaske, 2003; Anton & Lawrence, 2016), as well as from the social relations individuals develop with others in place (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006). Place identity is thus related to how a sense of belonging informs a broader sense of self – ‘who am I, who are we?’ (Devine-Wright & Clayton, 2010). Nevertheless, there is little agreement in the literature on how to define and measure people-place bonds, such as place identity, place attachment or sense of place, among others, and how these are interrelated (Lewicka, 2008). This controversy in the literature has made hard to confine place identity to one single definition (Devine-Wright & Clayton, 2010).

Place identity has its first roots on Fried’s (1963) study on the negative psychological effects of a relocation of a Boston suburb. In this study, Fried (1963) defined the concept as “spatial identity”, evidencing place as an important component of identity and its continuity. Other authors elaborated this concept and began to focus on its collective and social dimensions. Hence, ‘place identity’ shifted from being conceptualized and operationalized as an individual and cognitive structure (Proshansky, 1978; Proshansky, Fabian, & Kaminoff, 1983; Graumann, 1983), to being conceptualized as resulting from a dynamic process, a social construction (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Hopkins & Dixon, 2006), within which social interactions in place are central.

Following a cognitive approach, research focuses on analysing: (a) how individuals and groups categorize and evaluate place and how they behave in place; and (b) how interactions in place may transform cognitive strategies (Fresque-Baxter & Armitage, 2012). Following a social construction approach, by contrast, research focuses on how place identity stems from how individuals and groups: (a) (re)produce social representations about place and (b) give meaning to place through discourse and social practices in place (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Manzo & Perkins, 2006) in ways that have social and political consequences. Specifically, place identity is constructed and enacted via everyday language use, which has local and global effects (e.g., in terms of warranting who belongs where; Dixon & Durrheim, 2000). However, research on place identity has not exclusively followed one of these perspectives, over the years. As Devine-Wright and Clayton (2010) argue, studying place relations must be framed as a multidimensional question. Specifically, research on Social and Environmental Psychology

should step up efforts to follow a multidisciplinary approach when studying place identity, assuming the multiplicity of its definitions and methodologies (Devine-Wright & Clayton, 2010).

An example of the multidimensional feature of people-place relations, and place identity in particular, is the existing well developed body of work evidencing the relationship between place identity and place attachment (e.g., Williams & Vaske, 2003; Hernández, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, & Hess, 2007; Hernández, Martín, Ruiz, & Hidalgo, 2010; Lewicka, 2008; 2011; Raymond, Brown, & Weber, 2010; Ujang, 2012; Anton & Lawrence, 2014; Tsaur, Liang, & Weng, 2014; Brown, Raymond, & Corcoran, 2015), and how both influence social and cultural values of a place for its inhabitants (Shamsuddin & Ujang, 2008). Some authors consider both as the same concept (e.g., Brown & Werner, 1985), or dimensions of a supra-ordered notion like sense of place (e.g., Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001). Others argue that place attachment is a component of place identity (e.g., Lalli, 1992; Pretty, Chipuer, & Bramston, 2003), or the other way around (e.g., Kyle, Graefe, & Manning, 2005), or even that place attachment precedes place identity (Hernández et al., 2007). Despite this controversy in which the literature on place identity and place attachment is embedded, some general and integrative themes remain. For instance, the development of emotional bonds with places fosters psychological balance and good adjustment (Rowles, 1990), helps to deal with identity crises, gives a sense of stability in changing environments (Hay, 1998), and promotes the involvement in local activities (Brown, Perkins, & Brown, 2003; Lewicka, 2005; Anton & Lawrence, 2014; Main & Sandoval, 2015).

Understanding such relationships (i.e. how developing emotional bonds to place can be connected to a better adaptation to environments under social and cultural changes), is particularly relevant when studying the impact of the transformations stemming from urban regeneration interventions on residents' relations in place, bonds to place and decisions about whether or not continue to be involved in the local public life of their neighbourhood. This is a central concern of this thesis. Addressing this concern entails analysing the underlying psychosocial processes of residents' adaptation and adjustment to a changing environment. To accomplish this, in this thesis place identity is considered in an integrative way. It is conceptualized firstly as referring to the cognitions and feelings that allow individuals to understand geographic reality, guiding their perceptions and emotions about a place (e.g., Twigger-Ross et al., 2003; Hernández et al., 2007; Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010). Secondly it is conceptualized as a result of discursive, meaning-making and relational processes, a focus that

also highlights the social and collective nature of the relations between people, identities and places (e.g., Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Di Masso et al., 2013).

In order to further elaborate the key concepts of the present thesis, the next section will discuss the literature on place identity in urban contexts in greater detail, connecting it to two central and related constructs, namely cultural continuity and place knowledge.

3. Place identity in changing urban environments and its relationship to cultural continuity and place knowledge

Identification with an urban place is shaped by various elements and activities or events taking place within its environment (e.g., Lewicka, 2008; Cheshmehzangi & Heath, 2012; Zakariya & Harun, 2013). Some studies suggest that residents' place identity stems from the equivalence between the typical elements of the neighbourhood, the nature of the interactions happening in place and self-values and attitudes (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996; Speller, Lyons, & Twigger-Ross, 2002; Bernardo & Palma-Oliveira, 2005). Others highlight how a strong emotional attachment to place may foster place identity (Hernández et al., 2007), helping to maintain the identity principles (Breakwell, 1993) of continuity, self-esteem, distinctiveness and self-efficacy (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). Place identity is also fostered by factors such as residential satisfaction (e.g., Ríos & Moreno-Jiménez, 2012), public participation in the community (e.g., Vidal, Berroeta, Di Masso, Valera, & Peró, 2013; Anton & Lawrence, 2014; Main & Sandoval, 2015), and collective action (Di Masso et al., 2011; 2015). Moreover, place scale, i.e. the dwelling, the neighbourhood, or the city (e.g., Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Lewicka, 2008; Casakin, Hernández, & Ruiz, 2015), and types of urban parks (e.g., Main & Sandoval, 2015) have been found to be associated to the development of place identity. For instance, in their study on different Israeli cities, Casakin et al. (2015) found higher levels of place identity in cities than in neighbourhoods, as well as in large rather than in small and medium-sized cities. Also relevant is the study of Main and Sandoval (2015) that evidences how particular physical elements of an urban park – trees, flowers, fountains – work as reminders of meaningful past places, enabling new residents to reconnect to the new place and feel identified with it.

Particularly, when urban places undergo profound social, cultural and physical transformations, there are some prominent processes relevant for how place identity is developed. Research has shown the longer people live in a place, the stronger the identification with that place (Anton & Lawrence, 2014; Casakin et al., 2015). Moreover, a higher familiarity with place (Lewicka, 2008; Ujang & Zakariya, 2015), for instance by finding meaningful

historical landmarks in place (Lewicka, 2008), or by having higher levels of experience stemming from a long-time habitation in a particular place (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015) lead to higher levels of place identity. It becomes clear how both familiarity and time of residence are interconnected (Benages-Albert et al., 2015), making appeals to other important and interrelated factors, namely sense of continuity (Main & Sandoval, 2015), social memories (e.g., Manzo, 2005; Kaplan & Recoquillon, 2014) and knowledge about place (Benages-Albert et al., 2015). Is it now worth of noting some studies on such processes, as shown below.

Lewicka (2008) shows in her study that the residents of Wroclaw (Poland), a post-war period rebuilt city, identify in a lesser degree with the city, than the residents of Lviv (Ukraine), a city less damaged during the Second World War. The author argues that the historical landmarks of a city foster a greater place identity (Lewicka, 2008). This finding suggests that connection to a place of residence may be affected by how well that place is able to evoke memories (Manzo, 2005), by offering physical and social elements that enable residents to feel a sense of place continuity and familiarity (Main & Sandoval, 2015) and of knowing the place (Benages-Albert et al., 2015). Nevertheless, the relationship between memory and identity can take two paths. On the one hand, places can lead to the emergence of memories of people and events related to place. On the other hand, the memory of people and events may enable places to be conceived as significant (Manzo, 2005). These relationships may also work differently for different groups and therefore have different consequences for groups' adjustment to changing urban environments (e.g., Davison et al., 2012; Kaplan & Recoquillon, 2014). For long-time residents, guarantying the living memory of the history, people and events of their place allows them to remain identified with place (Davison et al., 2012). For new residents, the possibility of finding elements in place that remind them of previous significant places, helps to development new place identities with the new place (Main & Sandoval, 2015).

As place becomes meaningful through memories and connections to the past, place identity provides a sense of continuity over time (Sani et al., 2007; Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014). Past memories about a neighbourhood (Kaplan & Recoquillon, 2014) or the remaking of past cultural and social practices in the current place (Ehrkamp, 2005; Main & Sandoval, 2015) are crucial for stronger place identification with people's place of residence (Ehrkamp, 2005; Demangeot et al., 2015; Main & Sandoval, 2015; Benages-Albert et al., 2015). In sociocultural diversified neighbourhoods (e.g., Lel vri r, 2013; Mugnano & Palvarini, 2013; Toru nczyk-Ruiz & Lewicka, 2016; Stevenson et al., 2018) and neighbourhoods undergoing profound transformations (e.g., Bettencourt & Castro, 2015; Heath et al., 2017; Stevenson et al., 2018), this is even more evident. In social contexts, different social groups and

their memories live side by side and multiple and overlapping meanings and identities emerge, such as in inner-city regenerated neighbourhoods. As the sociocultural environment creates a sense of stability, it is important for people to be able to find identities in their community and to express those identities in the material culture (Mellon, 2008). However, the role of continuity (Sani et al., 2007; Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014) is different for different groups. The understanding of how different groups – specifically long-time and new residents – experience the sociocultural transformations of the neighbourhood and the role of continuity in those experiences is central in the present thesis. Thus, the chapter continues by discussing how cultural continuity works differently for distinct groups.

3.1. Cultural continuity for long-time and new residents

In the case of long-time residents, the arrival of new residents – with different identities, lifestyles and uses of place – may lead them to feel that their own historical values, traditions and lifestyles are threatened (Davison et al., 2012; Stevenson et al., 2018), leading to a loss of continuity (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). This is often evident in regenerated neighbourhoods, where the representations of place as both ‘new’ and as ‘preserving the past’ may clash with each other (Czaplicka & Ruble, 2003), especially in places characterized by a strong place identity grounded in memories that are still very important to long-time residents (Malheiros et al., 2012; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). However, some studies demonstrate that perceiving higher diversity in neighbourhoods may strengthen attachment to place, particularly if diversity does not interfere with previous social norms of coexistence (Toruńczyk-Ruiz & Lewicka, 2016), i.e., with collective continuity. For instance, a study conducted with Poles residents of Warsaw showed that the more they perceived their neighbourhood as ethnic diversified, the more they felt attached to it, specifically because the cultural differences between them and the immigrants – Vietnamese – did not entail clashing norms of neighbourhood life (Toruńczyk-Ruiz & Lewicka, 2016). Moreover, the ethnic diversity of the neighbourhood brings about memories of the multicultural pre-war Warsaw. Thus, the changing socio-cultural environment of the neighbourhood had little interference on its character, and is even perceived as contributing to the maintenance of the cultural elements and values of the place – collective continuity – , strengthening neighbourhood attachment (Toruńczyk-Ruiz & Lewicka, 2016).

For new residents, bringing elements of their previous places of residence and becoming involved in daily and/or political activities enables them to remake significant places in their current neighbourhood, and to develop new place identities in their new place of residence (Kaplan & Recoquillon, 2014; Main & Sandoval, 2015). For such residents, memories of

previous places of residence play a crucial role in strengthening identification and attachment to the current place of residence, linking different periods of life and giving continuity to past experiences of place (Rishbeth & Powell, 2012). Indeed, when moving to new places new residents often seek out neighbourhoods continuous with those of their past and with values they favoured (Rishbeth & Powell, 2012), or they may remake new places to better reflect past significant ones (Ehrkamp, 2005) and better fit in their new locale (Stevenson et al., 2018), stimulating a quicker development of identification to the new places (Buchecker, 2009; Main & Sandoval, 2015; Manzo, 2005; Rishbeth & Powell, 2012).

A clear example of the multiplicity of identities in place and its connection with social memories is the qualitative study (interviews) of Kaplan and Recoquillon (2014) about the ethnically diversified inner-city neighbourhood *Goutte d'Or*, in Paris. This study investigated how the neighbourhood “is made” by three distinct groups: the new and long-time European French residents, the Maghrebi immigrants, and the West African immigrants. It demonstrated how all three contributed differently to the public life and uses of place of the neighbourhood (Kaplan & Recoquillon, 2014). The European French participated more broadly beyond the boundaries of the neighbourhood, mostly the newcomers, while the immigrant groups modified the landscape of the community by creating cultural and religious anchors (e.g., the establishment of an Islamic Center) and commercial businesses (Kaplan & Recoquillon, 2014).

Other studies suggest that new immigrants seek to integrate in their current neighbourhood, establishing commercial relations with long-time residents. This is evidenced, for example, in the case-study of Marxloh, a neighbourhood in Duisburg, Germany, with Turkish immigrants (Ehrkamp, 2005), and in the case-study of the MacArthur Park in Los Angeles, California, USA, with immigrants from Mexico and Central America (Main & Sandoval, 2015). Past memories can help people to envisage how everyday life continues in the new context and to develop feelings of rootedness (Ehrkamp, 2005), particularly when memories are expressed through material and social practices in place (Ehrkamp, 2005; Main & Sandoval, 2015). Therefore, residents’ involvement in the social and commercial environment of neighbourhoods facilitates stronger identification to places.

Another particularly interesting example of how different groups of residents perceive and position themselves different during neighbourhood regeneration programs is the case-study of the East London district of Dalston (Davison et al., 2012). In this case, residents’ resistance to the changes brought about by the urban intervention was a consequence of how they constructed, valued, and identified with the distinctive character of the neighbourhood. Interestingly, Davison et al. (2012) found there was a convergence of positions between two

local groups, namely, long-time residents and second-stage gentrifiers. Both expressed resistance to the arrival of a wealthier cohort of third-stage gentrifiers, who they viewed as not belonging to the neighbourhood and therefore as threatening its cultural continuity. Like long-time residents, second-stage gentrifiers presented themselves as having already developed strong bonds with the neighbourhood, and as willing to protect and maintain its distinctiveness from other parts of London (Davison et al., 2012).

In this sense, it is relevant to ask when, why and to what extent the collective cultural continuity of a neighbourhood is perceived by residents as threatened during events of sociocultural transformations and what consequences it may have. Moreover, it is important to understand how perceiving such threat to the cultural continuity of the neighbourhood is connected to the extent to which residents feel identified to it. In contexts undergoing change or social diversification, if a sense of collective continuity of the community's core elements is assured, then changes may be constructed as non-threatening (Obradović & Howarth, 2018), lessening the rejection of those seen as different (Smeeke & Verkuyten, 2014). Perceiving the maintenance of the community's core elements enables residents to find elements in place to which they identify with (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). However, research has focused on studying the relationship between place identity and a sense of continuity mostly at the individual level, rather than the collective one (e.g., Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010), a gap the present thesis proposes to address.

Perceiving a community as retaining cultural continuity with the past (Sani et al., 2008) fosters not only emotional connectivity and identification with place (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015; Main & Sandoval, 2015), but also knowledge about the place (Benages-Albert et al., 2015). Hence, the extent to which people feel knowing the place they live in seems equally crucial for people-place relations (Benages-Albert et al., 2015), a topic on which this thesis focuses and will be discussed next.

3.2. Place knowledge for people's relations to urban places

Place knowledge has been conceptualized as a sub-dimension of place identity and/or attachment (e.g., Lewicka, 2008), constructed through (individual) everyday experiences and familiarity, bringing a sense of efficacy in place (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010). Other work argues how it is linked to shared memories and historical, collective knowledge (Berkes, 2004; Naess, 2013; Castro & Mouro, 2016). However, research is scarce regarding the role of place knowledge on people's relations to urban places. Yet sharing stories, memories, and knowledge of past events may help develop bonds to place over time (Benages-Albert et al., 2015),

especially in places where this knowledge has, for generations, been a central feature for residents (Malheiros et al., 2012; Tulumello, 2015).

The places considered as the most familiar are usually those most frequently used, and those with which people have higher levels of experience, often resulting from a long time of residence (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015). The familiarity with place and thus the level of knowledge about it entails interacting *with* and *in* place, integrating with its social, cultural and functional elements through different practices in place (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015; Benages-Albert et al., 2015). Knowing a place, its spaces, paths, streets, services, as well as its history and people, may contribute to what it means to belong to it, a city, or a neighbourhood. It means saying “I know this place, because I am from here, it is part of what I am, part of my identity”. One can say that place knowledge is intimately linked to the development of place identification. Benages-Albert et al. (2015) study is central and somewhat innovative in this field, showing how the temporal dimension is crucial for the development of stronger place identities. As people get to know better a place over time – in their study a riverside area of an urban park in Barcelona – they establish stronger bonds with it, including a sense of place identity, and are more prone to appropriate and use it (Benages-Albert et al., 2015). In sum, place knowledge can affect people’s perceptions, attitudes, bonds to place and, ultimately, actions in place. Understanding how this relationship happens is particularly important in historical inner-city neighbourhoods under urban regeneration, where dissociation from the known and familiar elements of their public places may deter residents from using those places (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015; Benages-Albert et al., 2015). The present research aims to contribute to the scarce literature in Social and Environmental Psychology on place knowledge, extending it to the context of urban regenerated contexts, and to the literature on cultural continuity, by extending its relationship with place identity from the individual to the collective level.

4. Concluding remarks

The present chapter has reviewed relevant literature and research on Social and Environmental Psychology on people-place bonds, providing the theoretical framework that supports the first study of the thesis, a survey study centered on analyzing the psycho-social processes predicting public place sociability. Particularly, the chapter has begun by providing a brief overview about the main theoretical perspectives on place identity. It has shown how place identity was first conceptualized and operationalized as an individual and cognitive structure (Proshansky, 1978; Proshansky et al., 1983; Graumann, 1983). Later on, some authors have pointed out the relational dimension of place identity, presenting it as resulting from a dynamic process, a social construction (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Hopkins & Dixon, 2006), within which social interactions in place are determinant. Nevertheless, research has not been solely focused on one of these perspectives. Instead, it has been conceptualizing place identity in diversified forms, studying it through various methodologies (Devine-Wright & Clayton, 2010). In this sense, this thesis adopts a multidimensional conception of place identity. First, it views place identity as comprising the cognitions that enable individuals to understand and act effectively within their environments (e.g., Hernández et al., 2007; Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010). Second, it views place identity as expressing emotional bonds and feelings of belonging to place (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010). Third, it views place identity not simply as an individual psychological structure, but also as relational in nature, resulting from collective and shared processes of meaning making (e.g., Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Di Masso et al., 2013).

The chapter has also sought to review the main theoretical contributions and limitations of research on place identity in urban environments, focusing on gaps in our understanding of the psycho-social processes explaining people's uses of public place. Specifically, it has focused the role of two central and interrelated constructs, namely cultural continuity (Sani et al., 2007; 2008; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014) and place knowledge (Benages-Albert et al., 2015). In so doing, it has revealed two relevant lacunae on Social and Environmental Psychology, which this work intends to respond to: (1) how the literature on the relationship between place identity and cultural continuity has tended to focus on individual processes and has neglected the collective dimension of this relationship (e.g., Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010); and (2) the literature on the role of place knowledge on people relations to urban places is relatively scarce.

Regenerating places without considering its cultural aspects may lead to non-places (Augé, 1995) devoid of local identity (Lees, 2008; Davison et al., 2012; Ujang & Zakariya,

2015), and created as spaces only for particular instrumental ends (e.g., transport, transit, commerce, leisure) and for particular groups (e.g., passengers, travelers and consumers). Conversely, if cultural continuity and place identity can be preserved then richer and more sociable public spaces can be maintained. Indeed, research has evidenced that perceiving that the community has been able to maintain its core values and traditions (Sani et al., 2007; 2008) leads to higher levels of emotional connectivity and identification with place (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015; Main & Sandoval, 2015) and knowledge about the place (Benages-Albert et al., 2015). It is important to comprehend how these processes work for long-time and new residents. For long-time residents, the arrival of new residents with new lifestyles may constitute a threat to past values, traditions and lifestyles (Davison et al., 2012; Stevenson et al., 2018), and some loss of continuity (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). For new residents, such continuity will come from remaking previous places of residence (Main & Sandoval, 2015), and finding values they favour (Rishbeth & Powell, 2012). Moreover, the challenge here is to understand if the involvement of residents and their identification with place are really translated into a desire to preserve public “*place encounters*” (Viola, 2012; p.143), i.e., actual participation in the everyday public life of the neighbourhood. If they do not, then this may result in loss of the character of the neighbourhood and its sociocultural diversity (Lees, 2008; Mugnano & Palvarini, 2013).

The chapter has quite rightly stressed the relationships between place identity, time of residence, cultural continuity, social memory and place knowledge, and how these are important analytic tools in order to interpret people’s lived experiences in public place. Regeneration interventions seek to facilitate better social life for people (Roberts & Sykes, 2000), but the loss of physical and cultural character may affect people’s identification and place bonds with it (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015), where the temporal dimension, culture and memories of different groups of residents play a central role in how changes are experienced every day. This thesis will then explore the extent to which different groups of residents are able to continue to feel connected to their neighbourhood during an ongoing process of urban regeneration. Also important, it will seek to understand if perceiving the cultural continuity of the neighbourhood (Sani et al., 2007; 2008; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014), feeling identified with it (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010) and finding familiar and known elements in it (Benages-Albert et al., 2015) will influence residents’ willingness to use its public places. In so doing, it aims to provide a deeper understanding of the psychosocial processes involved in maintaining the vitality of the public life of inner-city neighbourhoods and its sociocultural diversity during events of urban change

Understanding if the vitality of the public life of neighbourhoods is maintained also comprises looking at how individuals use its public places, corresponding this to the second aim of the thesis. In order to grasp how public places may be lived and experienced, the following chapter will present a review on the literature about the importance of public place for people's relations with others and place. Particularly, addressing how people use public place and its connection to citizenship, also highlighting the potential spatial patterns of segregation or integration occurring locally in informal settings, the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (Dixon et al., 2008).

CHAPTER III

USES OF PUBLIC PLACE: SHARING, INTERACTING AND SEGREGATING AT A MICRO-ECOLOGICAL SCALE¹

¹ The systematic literature review presented in this chapter regards the following article:

Bettencourt, L., Dixon, J., & Castro, P. (2019). Understanding how and why spatial segregation endures: A systematic review of recent research on intergroup relations at a micro-ecological scale. *Social Psychological Bulletin*, 14. doi: 10.32872/spb.v14i2.33482

Chapter Presentation

The present chapter reviews the social and environmental psychological literature on people's uses of public places, with the purpose of providing the theoretical framework of Study 2, namely the observational study focused on examining if different groups use the public places of the neighbourhood and if they interact at an intragroup or intergroup level. The chapter stresses how public places constitute essential arenas for the expression and production of citizenship (Stevenson et al., 2015b; Di Masso, 2015), how this is interrelated to the equal and inclusive access to place of everyone, and the potential consequences for a social and cultural diversified public conviviality (Dixon et al., 2008; Buchecker, 2009). If specific social groups no longer want to use the public places of their neighbourhood, these may become segregated or abandoned places (Lees, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010), contradicting a central goal of several urban regeneration programs, i.e., to foster social mixing in place (Lees, 2008). Drawing on this idea, the chapter highlights the importance of looking at the everyday practices and encounters of different groups in place, particularly in contexts undergoing profound social and cultural transformations (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon, 2005), such as inner-city neighbourhoods under regeneration. In order to study such behaviours in place, research has followed the paradigm of the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Dixon et al., 2008), a field which so far has not offered a systematic literature review on the topic in Social Psychology. Therefore, the chapter follows with a systematic literature review about research on Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation in Social Psychology between 2001 and 2017, also pointing out social psychological processes explaining segregation spatial patterns (Bettencourt et al., 2019). It ends by suggesting how a better social psychological understanding about people's uses of place benefits from the analysis of people's interpretations and social representations of place, and their place-based identities' construction.

1. Introduction

Remaking neighbourhoods under the motto of fostering social mixing in their public places may have the opposite effect (Lees, 2008). More vulnerable groups may feel, uncomfortable, 'out of place' and a sense that they no longer belong to the neighbourhood, stop using its public places. These are no longer shared, turning into segregated or abandoned places (Lees, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010), questioning whether specific groups will view themselves as full citizens of their community (Painter & Philo, 1995). Actually, the study of locatedness of citizenship and how public place dynamics influence daily construction of citizenship (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Vidal et al., 2013; Di Masso, 2015; Stevenson et al., 2015b) has been gaining increasingly attention on the part of social and environmental psychologists (Stevenson et al., 2015a). Even though distinct social groups may construe differently the same place, this does not necessarily translate to equality in terms of how they act in place, accordingly to their relations and understandings of place (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Di Masso, 2015). Specific constructions of place may be dominant and lead people to, for instance, retreat from public conviviality (Rapoport, 1985; Buchecker, 2009).

In contexts where public conviviality has been for a long time a prominent feature, such as inner-city historical neighbourhoods, the impact of specific urban regeneration programs may metamorphose the traditional landscape and uses of its public places (Lees, 2008; Padilla et al., 2014; Zoppi & Mereu, 2015), potentially comprising inequalities in the everyday social life of different groups of residents. Despite at first such inner-city public places seem to present the conditions to come into contact with different social groups (e.g., Spitz, 2015), both long-time residents and newcomers may get into self-segregating behaviours or solely intragroup interactions. It is then important to go beyond traditional research approaches on Social Psychology (e.g., Pettigrew & Tropp, 2008; Birtel & Crisp, 2012) when studying contact and segregation in place, by studying the real behaviour of individuals and groups in naturalistic settings (e.g., Swyngedouw, 2013). This can be achieved by following the theoretical and methodological premises of a growing area of research in Social Psychology, i.e., the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Dixon et al., 2008).

Next, the chapter emphasizes some examples of research on Social and Environmental Psychology focused on public places' uses on urban context and its relationship to the daily construction of citizenship (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006). Then it focuses on the potential local segregation of public places that transforming neighbourhoods may encompass (Lees, 2008), and expands on the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (Dixon et al., 2008) by presenting a systematic literature review on the topic.

2. Public socio-spatial behaviour, citizenship and micro-segregation

Places are not “mere passive containers in which social life happens to unfold” (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006, p.174), but rather they have political significance for everyday life and decision making (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006). Examining how people give meaning to places and how they end using those places, is also a way of understanding how citizenship itself is experienced and challenged on a daily basis in the concrete places of everyday life (Di Masso, 2015). Research has emphasized the relationship between place and identity in claiming fundamental rights and negotiating the coexistence of different sociocultural and/or economical groups within the same community (e.g., Abell, Condor, & Stevenson, 2006; Gray & Manning, 2014; Di Masso, 2015). Feeling a sense of belonging to place is fundamental to achieve the ‘category of citizen’, and this belongingness stems (among other factors) from people’s interactional behaviours in place (Barnes, Auburn, & Lea, 2004; Di Masso, 2015). In this sense, understanding how different groups position themselves in place and interact with each other may reveal people’s acceptance or non-acceptance of outgroups’ presence in particular public places (e.g., Barnes et al., 2004). Those who are excluded or discriminated from public places will be the first to experience a lack of positive inclusion, which defines in itself a legitimate citizenship (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Di Masso, 2015). Thus, locational citizenship pertains to the belongingness and recognition of the other as a legitimate public, the acceptance of the other’s spatial behaviour and use of place, and perceiving the other as autonomous political subjects (Di Masso, 2015; Stevenson et al., 2015a).

For instance, Dixon, Levine and McAuley’s (2006) study on street drinking evidences how certain behaviours can be constructed as ‘out of place’ and as transgressing the place, highlighting ideological tensions between freedom and control over public domain of place. Other studies show how social practices are interrelated with their location, and how residents’ rights are located and enacted in public place (Gray & Manning, 2014; Di Masso & Dixon, 2015). Additionally, research reveals how the self-evident idea that everyone has equal access to public place is demolished by the assumption that public place should be primarily available for its residents, for who belong to the place (Di Masso & Dixon, 2015; Di Masso, 2015). Hence, the access and control of place seems to be intimately drove by political reasons and connected to contested understandings of who may claim their belongingness to place (Stevenson et al., 2015a). These studies point out how places can be sites of contestation and expression of representations about others, when assumptions of “who belongs where clash” (Manzo, 2003, p.55). This is particularly relevant for regenerated urban environments, where public places are rapidly transformed, newcomers and long-time residents have to share the

same places, and distinct identities and lifestyles may clash with each other (Menezes, 2012; Davison et al., 2012). The access to, free use of and agency in public places (Di Masso, 2015) may be challenged in these environments, and patterns of local segregation may occur (see Dixon et al., 2008).

Under some conditions, like fast-growing processes of gentrification, implementing urban regeneration programs which keep as a central aim the promotion of social mixing in public places may lead to segregated areas (Lees, 2008). If residents no longer feel as belonging to their neighbourhood, for not being recognized as such by others for instance, it may retreat them from using public places and consequently intergroup contact may be limited, turning places into segregated areas. Limited access and interaction between members of different social groups may lead to higher levels of intergroup discrimination and conflict (Vezzali & Stathi, 2017), establishing territorial claims. Understanding these claims comprises looking to groups' actual spatial behaviour (Spitz, 2015). This can be achieved by examining the routines and encounters of daily life, through the analysis of the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Dixon et al., 2008), as briefly shown next.

Research on Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (Dixon et al., 2008) has earned its relevance in social psychology over the years. Following a bottom-up approach, its studies contribute to a refocus of Social Psychology on a historically important but increasingly neglected imperative (see Doliński, 2018), i.e., the study of real behaviour, through its observation in naturalistic settings. Specifically, they aim to directly observe people's uses of place and intergroup interactions (e.g., Schrieff et al., 2010; Priest et al., 2014). Research in this field has shown that micro-ecological processes have the potential to restrict who belongs where with whom in everyday settings, establishing territorial claims within ostensibly 'public' places, fostering complex patterns of perceived exclusion, or even challenging the basic rights of certain categories of person to occupy or use supposed shared places such as classrooms (e.g., Alexander, & Tredoux, 2010), beaches (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon, 2005), or a train (Swyngedouw, 2013). Therefore, the mere co-presence of different groups in the same place is not sufficient per se for the promotion of intergroup interactions (e.g., Mckeown et al., 2016). Spatial segregation at micro-ecological level may deeply mark social relations across various contexts, often ostensibly integrated (Mckeown et al., 2016). Even in contexts where desegregation has been successfully implemented, segregation may be reinstated and enacted via informal and 'preference driven' practices of avoidance (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005). Such practices can express a range of underlying and interrelated psychosocial processes, including negative attitudes and stereotypes (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon,

2005), ingroup identification and perceived threat (e.g., Van Praag et al., 2015), feelings of anxiety, fear and insecurity (e.g., Keizan & Duncan, 2010).

Even though there is a growing body of work on the micro-ecology of intergroup segregation focused on several settings, it has not yet offered a systematic literature review on the topic in Social Psychology, and there is no research on multicultural and regenerated urban communities. This thesis proposes to contribute to these gaps in the literature. If “changing public space requires changing subjective perceptions of the ownership and rights of access to space as well as what behaviour is normatively appropriate there” (Stevenson et al., 2015b, p.200), urban regeneration interventions in a neighbourhood may involve the emergence of new informal boundaries in public place. This can be (re)constructed as shared and inclusive, allowing the co-existence of distinctive groups that define the urban environment of the city, or as segregated and exclusive of specific individuals (Durrheim & Dixon, 2013). This is even more relevant in a context where different meanings, images, and representations of the old and new neighbourhood are brought about by long-time and new residents, and may be consequential for the continuity or renovation of specific cultural features of the neighbourhood, such as its vibrant public life.

3. Understanding how and why spatial segregation endures: a systematic review of recent research on intergroup relations at a micro-ecological scale

Segregation plays an important role in perpetuating inequalities and prejudice in everyday realities of social life, even in formally integrated societies. People spend their daily time in various places, such as leisure or public places, which at first may seem to offer the opportunity to come into contact with different social groups. However, such mixing is not always common. Understanding how, when and why it happens has been the subject of study of several social psychologists. Indeed, the study of intergroup segregation is important for two main reasons. First, by limiting the access of some social groups to valued resources, segregation helps maintain social inequalities in institutions of health, housing, education and employment. Second, by limiting interaction between members of different social groups, segregation fosters intergroup prejudice and therefore creates conditions under which intergroup and interpersonal conflict and discrimination become more likely.

In psychology, the link between segregation and prejudice has been addressed by a long tradition of research on the contact hypothesis (Allport, 1954; Brown & Hewstone, 2005; Moody, 2001; Pettigrew, 1961). This tradition has demonstrated that interaction between groups - particularly when it occurs under favourable conditions (e.g., equality of status) - tends

to promote positive emotions such as empathy and forgiveness and to reduce negative emotions such as anxiety and threat (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2011). Indeed, work in this tradition is often framed as one of psychology's most important contributions to creating a more equal and tolerant society and combating problems such as racism, homophobia, ageism and xenophobia (Vezzali & Stathi, 2017). For this reason, contact research has long underpinned policies advocating institutional desegregation, as exemplified most famously in the Brown versus the Board of Education case, which heralded the end of legally enforced racial segregation in the US (Dixon, Durrheim, & Thomae, 2014).

Dismantling the legal foundations of segregation, however, does not inevitably lead to either more frequent or more positive forms of contact between groups. At an institutional level, segregation may persist in residence, employment and schooling, driven, among other things, by enduring everyday practices of discrimination (e.g., Massey & Denton, 1993). Moreover, even in contexts where desegregation has been successfully implemented, and where members of different groups in theory have ample opportunities to interact, segregation may be reinstated via mundane, informal, and 'preference driven' practices of avoidance. Indeed, a growing body of research suggests that the formal policies of desegregation are typically offset by informal 'micro-ecological' (Dixon, Tredoux, Durrheim, Finchilescu, & Clack, 2008) practices of (re)segregation, enacted across a range of everyday and institutional settings (e.g., Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Swyngedouw, 2013; Tredoux & Dixon, 2009). In so far as such practices maintain intergroup divisions, and limit the opportunity for individual members to experience intergroup contact, understanding how, when and why they occur becomes a significant research problem. More broadly, because analyses of such practices require research that captures individuals' everyday actions and activities, they also refocus social psychology on a historically important but increasingly neglected imperative (see Doliński, 2018): the study of real behaviour, through its observation in naturalistic settings.

The present paper presents a systematic literature review of research on social psychology on the micro-ecology of intergroup segregation in everyday life spaces. We consider the nature and extent of empirical evidence on this form of segregation, and discuss the social psychological processes that may help sustain and explain it. In particular, this systematic literature review regards recent evidence on micro-ecological practices of segregation, focusing on work that (1) has employed observation in naturalistic settings, alone or together with other methodologies; (2) has been published between 2001 and 2017, a period when the study of micro-level segregation emerged as a systematic research topic in social psychology [though we also acknowledge the significance of earlier studies conducted both by psychologists (e.g.,

Schofield & Sagar, 1977) and by researchers working in other disciplines (e.g., Davis, Seibert, & Breed, 1966)]. Specifically, this review aims to analyse: a) the types of segregation, contexts and methodologies on which social psychology researchers have focused; b) the main findings they have produced; and c) the psychosocial processes that may help explain observed micro-ecological patterns of interaction and segregation.

We also identify areas of future research and the directions (e.g., multi-method, interdisciplinary) that it may take to help develop a fuller understanding of the persistence of micro-ecological segregation.

3.1. Methodology

3.1.1. Information sources and search strategy

A systematic literature search was conducted in eight electronic databases: 1) Academic Search Complete 2) PsycARTICLES, 3) PsycINFO, 4) Psychology and Behavioural Sciences Collection, 5) Scopus, 6) ScienceDirect, 7) Web of Science, and 8) Google Scholar. The search was restricted to original and peer-reviewed research written in English and other languages, and studies published between January 2001 and December 2017. The following groups of keywords were combined and used to identify the studies: a) “social groups” OR “racial groups”; AND b) “micro-ecology of segregation” OR “micro-ecology of contact” OR “micro-ecology of everyday life spaces” OR “racial segregation” OR “socio- spatial segregation” OR “micro-ecological behaviour” OR “informal segregation” OR “classroom segregation”; AND c) “observation” OR “case study” OR “intergroup contact” OR “spatio-temporal interactions”; AND d) “qualitative” OR “mixed methods” OR “micro-ecological research” OR “quantitative”. Additionally, a hand search was conducted in the references of the relevant papers and in a previous literature review on the issue of micro-ecology of segregation (Dixon et al., 2008), for potentially relevant citations.

3.1.2. Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Studies were included in this review if they met the following criteria: 1) investigated how, why or when different (social, ethnic, religious) groups interact with or avoid one another in everyday spaces; 2) studied the local spatial practices of contact/segregation of different groups; and 3) used observational methods - i.e., direct observation of people’s behaviour in everyday natural situations - either alone or in conjunction with other methods - for addressing practices of contact and segregation in natural settings. Studies were excluded that: 1) focused only on macro-spatial segregation, i.e., residential, socioeconomic, or housing segregation, or

distribution of different groups on a city or national scale; 2) used only laboratory experimental methodologies for producing contact or segregation; and 3) did not employ an observational methodology.

3.1.3. Study selection and data extraction

We conducted a four-phase process, following the Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) Statement (see Liberati et al., 2009). The initial search with the keywords above resulted in 2499 articles, reduced to 1995 when all duplicates were removed (see Figure 2). The selection of the relevant studies began with an examination of the information included in the title and abstract, which helped exclude articles obviously non-relevant. This left 134 articles whose titles and abstracts met the inclusion criteria, and which were fully read. The reading showed that 94 of these 134 articles did not, in fact, meet the inclusion criteria, and these were excluded. They focused, for example, on macro-level segregation analysis (residential demography), or solely used questionnaire or interview methods, without observation. After all studies had been reviewed, 38 studies remained as fully relevant (see Figure 2). From these, data were extracted using both quantitative and qualitative syntheses. Regarding quantitative synthesis, the following data were extracted: a) type of segregation and sample characteristics; b) context of study (setting and country); and c) methodology (only observation or mixed method). Regarding the qualitative synthesis, it was focused on: a) aim of the study; and b) main findings. This approach enabled us to explore the nature and key findings of recent research on how groups interact with each other in particular contexts, as well as to elucidate the psychosocial processes that may underlie local patterns of interaction or segregation.

3.2. Results

A total of 38 articles were included in the review (see Figure 2).

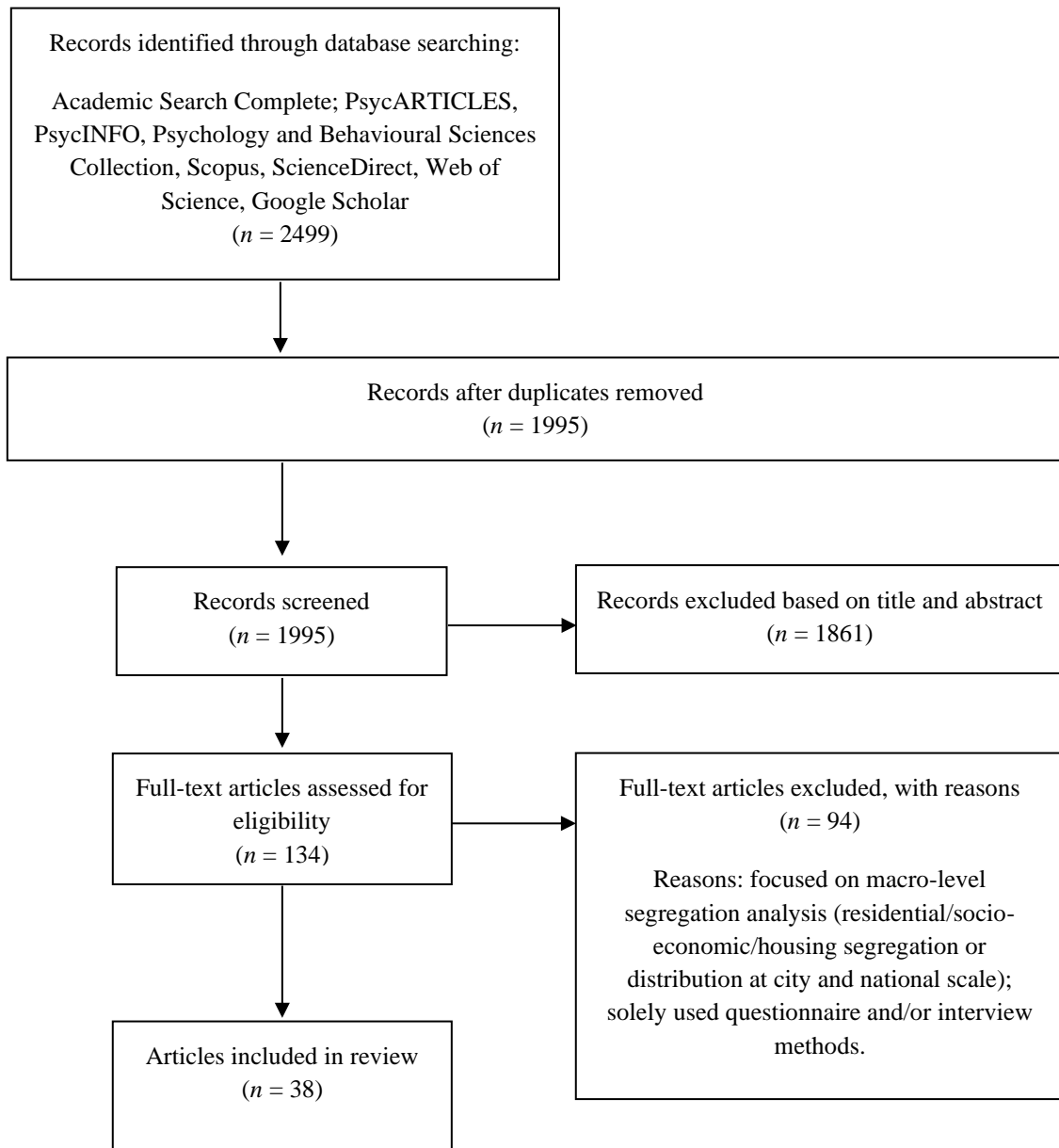


Figure 2. Results of the search strategy based on the PRISMA statement (Liberati et al., 2009).

The findings of the review will now be reported in two major sections. The first section reports a quantitative analysis of the articles, looking at (1) the type of segregation studied; (2) the sample; (3) the context of study; and (4) the methodology/ies used. The second section reports a detailed qualitative analysis of the articles, summarising the central findings in two sub-sections. This analysis was conducted as follows. First, each article was read in its entirety. Second, the central findings regarding the patterns of segregation and interaction found were identified (first sub-section). Third, regarding the studies using a mixed methodology, the

results found by each method (questionnaires, interviews/focus group), and the psychosocial processes that researchers used to explain micro-ecological patterns of segregation in a given setting were identified (second sub-section).

3.2.1. Research on the micro-ecology of segregation: a quantitative overview

As shown in Table 1, 11 of the 38 located studies focused solely on observations. The remaining 27 used a mixed method approach, complementing observational methodologies with interviews/focus group (N = 18), questionnaires (N = 5), and interviews/focus group plus questionnaires (N = 4).

Regarding the contexts of study, the micro-ecology of segregation has mainly been studied in school and university settings (N = 20). Within this body of work, research has been mainly developed in South Africa (N = 7), with researchers studying the seating patterns of students of multi-ethnic university dining halls (Alexander, 2007; Schrieff, Tredoux, Dixon, & Finchilescu, 2005), public steps (Tredoux, Dixon, Underwood, Nunez, & Finchilescu, 2005), lecture theatres (Koen & Durrheim, 2010) and classrooms (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010), university residences (Schrieff, Tredoux, Finchilescu, & Dixon, 2010), and private and desegregated co-educational high schools (Keizan & Duncan, 2010).

The USA is the country that comes next in number of studies (N = 5). Here the microecology of segregation has been studied in educational settings: notably, classrooms and other informal settings in university campuses (Cowan, 2005), classrooms and other school settings in an elementary school (Henze, 2001), middle school cafeterias (Echols, Solomon, & Graham, 2014), university dining halls (Lewis, 2012), and youth sports events in the suburbs (Messner & Bozada-Deas, 2009). In Northern Ireland (n = 3), too, studies have explored the meeting halls and buses of segregated schools (McKeown, Cairns, Stringer, & Era, 2012), university lecture theatres (Orr, McKeown, Cairns, & Stringer, 2012), and classrooms of integrated secondary schools (McKeown, Stringer, & Cairns, 2016). The remaining five articles investigated relations in multi-ethnic university and high-school cafeterias in England (Clack, Dixon, & Tredoux, 2005; Ramiah, Schmid, Hewstone, & Floe, 2015), a public school recess in a working-class neighbourhood in Spain (Rodriguez-Navarro, García-Monge, & Rubio-Campos, 2014), the classrooms of three multiethnic secondary schools in Belgium (Van Praag, Boone, Stevens, & Van Houtte, 2015), and the classrooms of two high schools in the Netherlands and the USA (de Haan & Leander, 2011).

Table 1.

Summary of studies from 2001 to 2017 relative to studies' type of segregation analysed, sample, context of study and methodology

Authors	Type of Segregation	Sample	Context of Study	Methodology
Schrieff et al. (2005)	Ethnic ^a	White (minority group) and black university students (majority group) using the dining hall.	2 university dining halls of the University of Cape Town, South Africa.	Observation
Alexander (2007)	Ethnic	Black and white university students using the dining hall.	2 university dining halls of a multi-ethnic university in South Africa.	Observation
Tredoux et al. (2005)	Ethnic	University students from different ethnic groups using the steps.	Jameson steps located on the campus of the University of Cape Town, South Africa.	Observation
Cowan (2005)	Ethnic	2177 groups of university students from 4 ethnic groups: African American, Asian American, Latinos, Whites.	6 California State University campuses, USA – classrooms and informal settings on campus.	Observation
Clack et al. (2005)	Ethnic	University students from different ethnic groups using the cafeteria.	Multi-ethnic university cafeteria in a city in the north-west of England.	Observation
Tredoux and Dixon (2009)	Ethnic	Users from different ethnic groups (blacks, coloured and whites) of 10 establishments.	Nightclubs in Long Street in Cape Town's city centre, South Africa.	Observation
Koen and Durrheim (2010)	Ethnic	1st year university students - blacks, coloured, Indian and whites.	University lecture theatres at the University of kwaZulu-Natal, Pietermaritzburg campus, South Africa.	Observation
Swyngedouw (2013)	Ethnic	Users of a train line, from different neighbourhoods of an ethnically segregated city.	L-train line in Chicago, USA.	Observation
Priest et al. (2014)	Ethnic	Users of urban public places, from different ethnic groups.	Urban public places in Victoria, Australia.	Observation
Dixon and Durrheim (2003)	Ethnic	Visitors of a beachfront from different ethnic groups - black, white, Asian, coloured.	Scottburgh's beachfront, South Africa.	Observation and interview/focus group
Durrheim and Dixon (2005)	Ethnic	Visitors of a beachfront from different ethnic groups -	Scottburgh's beachfront, South Africa.	Observation and interview/focus group

		black, white, Asian, coloured.		
Durrheim (2005)	Ethnic	Visitors of a beachfront from different ethnic groups - black, white, Asian, coloured.	Scottburgh's beachfront, South Africa.	Observation and interview/focus group
Salari et al. (2006)	Ethnic	Seniors attendants from diverse ethnic groups.	3 Senior centres in a western state in the USA.	Observation and interview/focus group
Arjona and Checa (2008)	Ethnic	Users of a bus line from different ethnic groups.	Bus of a line of <i>Roquetas de Mar</i> , in Almería, Spain.	Observation and interview/focus group
Hunter (2010)	Ethnic	Club-goers of different ethnic groups.	A predominantly black nightclub, <i>The Spot</i> , in Chicago, USA.	Observation and interview/focus group
Echols et al. (2014)	Ethnic	6th, 7th, and 8th school graders from different ethnic groups: white, Latino, Asian, African American, and biracial.	Cafeteria of a multi-ethnic middle school in Northern California, USA.	Observation and interview/focus group
Spitz (2015)	Ethnic	Users of public places of a neighbourhood: black, white, and Latino/a residents and business owners.	Urban public places of the sociocultural diverse neighbourhood of Riverwest, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, USA.	Observation and interview/focus group
Besharati and Foster (2013)	Ethnic	Residents of the Indian community.	Indian community of Mokopane, Akasia, South Africa.	Observation and interview/focus group
Van Praag et al. (2015)	Ethnic	Students of 3 secondary schools, from different ethnic groups.	Classrooms of 3 Flemish multiethnic secondary schools - St. Bernardus, Mountain High, and Catherine College, Belgium.	Observation and interview/focus group
Kesten et al. (2011)	Ethnic	Local authority staff, youth workers, community development workers, staff working in schools, representatives of local community; 'Black African' communities-Ghanaian and Somali.	Urban public places in Milton Keynes, England.	Observation and interview/focus group

de Haan and Leander (2011)	Ethnic	High school students from different ethnic groups	Classrooms of 2 high schools. One in Utrecht, Netherlands, and the other is Kempton High in a moderately sized Midwestern city in the USA.	Observation and interview/focus group
Alexander and Tredoux, (2010)	Ethnic	749 black and white university students.	University classrooms in a public university in South Africa.	Observation and interview/focus group
Keizan and Duncan (2010)	Ethnic	Adolescents' students from different ethnic groups.	Free time of students in 2 different private, desegregated, co-educational high schools in Gauteng province, South Africa.	Observation and interview/focus group
Henze (2001)	Ethnic	Students from different ethnic groups, teachers, administrators, other staff, and parents.	Classrooms, meetings and other key events in Cornell Elementary School, in northern California, USA.	Observation and interview/focus group and questionnaire
Lewis (2012)	Ethnic	University students using dining halls during lunch time, from different ethnic groups.	University dining-halls in Southtown University, in the southern USA.	Observation and interview/focus group and questionnaire
Schrieff et al. (2010)	Ethnic	University students of different ethnic groups.	2 undergraduate university catered residences (one female, one male) at the University of Cape Town, South Africa.	Observation and questionnaire
Al Ramiah et al. (2015)	Ethnic	White and Asian students, aged 16-18 and 10-11 years old.	High school cafeteria in England.	Observation and questionnaire
Nagle (2009)	Religious ^b	Protestant and Catholic users of Belfast City Centre in public events (e.g., Gay Pride, St. Patrick's Day, May Day, Lord Mayor's Carnival).	Urban public places in Belfast City Centre, Northern Ireland.	Observation
Abdelmonem and McWhinney (2015)	Religious	Protestant and Catholic users of the public parks.	Public parks in Belfast, Northern Ireland.	Observation and interview/focus group and questionnaire
McKeown et al. (2012)	Religious	Protestant and Catholic students aged 16 and above.	Spaces of segregated schools: meeting room; meeting hall and bus (before and after students attending a cross-community weekend), in Northern Ireland.	Observation and interview/focus group and questionnaire

Orr et al. (2012)	Religious	Protestant and Catholic 2nd year undergraduate students.	Lecture theatres in a university in Northern Ireland.	Observation and questionnaire
McKeown et al. (2016)	Religious	Protestant and Catholic students aged 11–12 and 13–14 years old.	Classrooms of 3 integrated secondary schools in Northern Ireland.	Observation and questionnaire
Pérez-Tejera (2012)	Socioeconomic ^c	Users of 40 public squares and parks from different socioeconomic status groups.	Urban public places - squares and parks – in Barcelona, Spain.	Observation
Stillerman and Salcedo (2012)	Socioeconomic	Users of shopping malls, from different socioeconomic status groups.	2 shopping malls in Santiago, Chile.	Observation and interview/focus group
Krellenberg et al. (2014)	Socioeconomic	Users of green spaces and residents from different socioeconomic status groups of the surrounding neighbourhoods.	4 green public spaces of a socioeconomically mixed neighbourhood in Santiago, Chile.	Observation and questionnaire
Garrido (2013)	Socioeconomic	Residents of enclaves (villagers) and slums (squatters).	Public urban places in Metro Manila, Philippines.	Observation and interview/focus group
Messner and Bozada-Deas (2009)	Gender ^d	Women and men volunteers on youth sports events.	Youth sports events in a small independent suburb of Los Angeles, USA.	Observation and interview/focus group
Rodríguez-Navarro et al. (2014)	Gender and Ethnic ^e	School students: immigrant newcomers, girls and boys.	School recess of a public school from a working-class neighbourhood in Castile-León, Spain.	Observation and interview/focus group

^aNethnic = 27. ^bNreligious = 5. ^cNsocioeconomic = 4. ^dNgender = 1. ^eNgender/ethnic = 1

The next most frequently studied contexts were leisure or recreational public places (N = 16). Such places were widely varying and included an open beach in post-apartheid South Africa (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Durrheim, 2005; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005) and senior citizen centres in a USA western state (Salari, Brown, & Eaton, 2006). They also included public urban places in Northern Ireland (N = 2; Abdelmonem & McWhinney, 2015; Nagle, 2009), Spain (Pérez-Tejera, 2012), Australia (Priest, Paradies, Ferdinand, Rouhani, & Kelaher, 2014), the USA (Spitz, 2015), the Philippines (Garrido, 2013), South Africa (Besharati & Foster, 2013), and England (Kesten, Cochrane, Mohan, & Neal, 2011), as well as green public places in Chile (Krellenberg, Welz, & Reyes-Päcke, 2014), pubs and nightclubs in South Africa (Tredoux &

Dixon, 2009) and the USA (Hunter, 2010), and shopping malls in Chile (Stillerman & Salcedo, 2012). Finally, two studies focused on understanding the use and seating patterns of different ethnic groups along a bus line in a province of Spain (Arjona & Checa, 2008) and on a train line in the USA, Chicago (Swyngedouw, 2013).

In terms of social categories, research has mainly studied the everyday local patterns of segregation between different ethnic groups (N = 27; e.g., Arjona & Checa, 2008; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Kesten et al., 2011; Lewis, 2012; Ramiah et al., 2015; Swyngedouw, 2013; Tredoux & Dixon, 2009). For this, it has focused on students (e.g., Alexander & Tredoux, 2010), beachgoers (e.g., Dixon & Durrheim, 2003), senior centre attendants (Salari et al., 2006) and public transport users (e.g., Arjona & Checa, 2008; Swyngedouw, 2013). However, various authors have also investigated micro-ecological segregation in relation to religious categories (N = 5; Abdelmonem & McWhinney, 2015; McKeown et al., 2012; McKeown et al., 2016; Nagle, 2009; Orr et al., 2012), socioeconomic status (N = 4; Garrido, 2013; Krellenberg et al., 2014; Pérez-Tejera, 2012; Stillerman & Salcedo, 2012), gender (N = 1; Messner & Bozadadeas, 2009), and gender and ethnic background (N = 1; Rodriguez-Navarro et al., 2014). Taking into account the considerable diversity of types of segregation and contexts studied, the next section will outline the main findings of such studies.

3.2.2. Main findings of research: a qualitative overview

3.2.2.1. Micro-ecological patterns observed.

In general, studies have shown that local patterns of segregation occur even in contexts that at first sight seem inclusive, because different groups are co-present there, thus revealing how informal segregation can happen despite people being in a shared space (McKeown et al., 2016). This finding characterizes almost all of the studies (see Appendix A for a table showing a summary of the studies' main findings). That is, micro-ecological observations of people's behavioural patterns in various places reveal that, independent of the nature of the analysed context, groups from different ethnic, religious, socioeconomic backgrounds or of different gender tend to isolate themselves and to interact at an intragroup level only, even in settings where no formal boundaries to intergroup interaction exist (e.g., Durrheim, 2005; McKeown et al., 2012; Pérez-Tejera, 2012; Rodriguez-Navarro et al., 2014). Some relevant empirical findings are worth highlighting as examples of this pattern, regarding different types of segregation: a) ethnic; b) religious; c) socioeconomic; d) gender; and e) gender and ethnic.

Ethnic segregation. Studies of ethnic interactions on a public open beach in the new post-apartheid South Africa have shown how the formal end of a regime that legalised institutional segregation may be insufficient to dissolve informal segregation behaviours in leisure spaces (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Durrheim, 2005). Indeed, in this research, the behaviour of observed black and white beachgoers exhibited clear patterns of avoidance of the other across a number of scales. First, at the most intimate scale, “umbrella space” segregation by race was almost complete (see Figure 3), with black and white beachgoers tending to sit in racially homogeneous clusters (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005). Second, segregation was also manifest via broader spatial patterns of racial distribution across the beachfront, as expressed via the statistically uneven distribution of white and black beachgoers across different sectors (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003). Third, segregation occurred via temporal patterns of movement and avoidance. Specifically, whites tended to maintain racial distances from blacks by occupying the beach early, clustering together, and then gradually withdrawing if black beachgoers entered the beach in greater numbers (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Durrheim, 2005).

Such patterns of segregation are the most common finding revealed in this review. Moreover, while some studies suggest that members of different minority groups may display lower levels of segregation than those that characterize majority-minority relations (e.g., Keizan & Duncan, 2010), segregation can also occur between minority subgroups, as shown by Besharati and Foster (2013). In this study, members of the Indian minority community in Mokopane (South Africa) identified themselves with different categories, namely ‘South African Indians’ and ‘immigrant Indians’, and this categorisation was in turn expressed in terms of socio-spatial divisions between their members. Research conducted in educational settings shows that there may be a gradual tendency for friendships to occur in ethnically homogeneous groups over a semester (Koen & Durrheim, 2010), and how ethnic micro segregation may increase over time (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010; Koen & Durrheim, 2010), and that patterns of segregation may also be consistent over time. Schrieff et al. (2010), for example, found that the organisation of seating arrangements in a university dining hall evinced stable, long-term patterns of ethnic segregation.



Figure 3. Map of micro-ecological patterns of ethnic segregation on a beachfront in post-apartheid South Africa (see Durrheim & Dixon, 2005).

Note. The map captured relations on the morning of December 28, 1999. White occupants are indicated in blue, Black occupants in red, Indian occupants in yellow and Coloured occupants in orange.

An interesting topic running through some of the reviewed articles is the idea of linking the macro with the micro level contexts, as illustrated by Swyngedouw's (2013) study. The study focused on analysing the seating patterns on the Red Line train from South Side to the North Side in Chicago. It showed that segregation on the Red Line expressed both local seating choices and wider forms of geographical and social exclusion in the city. Commuters tended to sit mainly with people who looked similar to themselves and appeared to be from the same area in Chicago. At the same time, as the trains travelled from north to south Chicago, such patterns also reflected the wider racial organisation of residential segregation in the city, including local demographic patterns and social norms.

Religious segregation. Orr et al. (2012) evidence how even in a place where students are free to choose where to sit, such as a university lecture theatre, they tend to sit next to individuals

with the same religious background, a categorisation not immediately recognisable by visual identity cues as obvious as skin colour (Orr et al., 2012). Indeed, a growing body of work conducted in Northern Ireland – known as a ‘divided society’ characterized by profound patterns of ethnonational and religious segregation (Nagle, 2009) – has shown how religious identities may shape micro-ecological behaviours in both educational and public places. Nagle (2009) and Abdelmonem and McWhinney’s (2015) studies in Belfast, for example, indicate how Protestants and Catholics tend to create intergroup boundaries in public places, giving rise to local segregation patterns. For instance, in public events organized in Belfast’s City Centre designed to promote ‘shared space’, notably the annual St. Patrick’s Day celebrations, some Protestants tend to segregate themselves in city-centre space. Arguably, this is because they feel uncomfortable in an environment that is perceived to reflect Catholic, nationalist “triumphalism” (Nagle, 2009). These findings show how the micro-ecology of spatial segregation may shape not only local patterns of intergroup contact, but also the broader social and political organisation of a given urban environment (Abdelmonem & McWhinney, 2015; Nagle, 2009).

Socioeconomic segregation. Micro-ecological patterns of segregation in everyday life can stem from individuals’ choices based on socioeconomic status (Garrido, 2013). People tend to employ practices of social and economic exclusion when using shopping malls (Stillerman & Salcedo, 2012), parks or squares in the city (Pérez-Tejera, 2012), green public places (Krellenberg et al., 2014) or public places situated in parts of the city with profound status distinctions between residents (Garrido, 2013). Pérez-Tejera (2012) suggests that public places with the presence of immigrants (independently of their ethnicity) and other social groups with evident cues of lower economic power are seen as less secure. The result is the avoidance of these places and the emergence of segregated areas (Pérez-Tejera, 2012), seen as comfort zones by the individuals that have chosen them (Garrido, 2013). The same occurs when poor residents avoid specific malls for fear of feeling humiliated by wealthier customers (Stillerman & Salcedo, 2012). In sum, there is a tendency to avoid proximity to, and potential mixing with, residents of a different socioeconomic status (Garrido, 2013; Krellenberg et al., 2014). These findings reflect once again the connection between macro and micro segregation, as local segregated public places in the city may express the city’s macro socioeconomic organisation (Krellenberg et al., 2014).

Gender and gender and ethnicity. We found only two studies focusing on gender segregation, which suggests it has been neglected in the micro-ecological literature (Messner & Bozada-Deas, 2009; Rodriguez-Navarro et al., 2014). Exploring the interaction between gender and ethnic segregation, Rodriguez-Navarro et al. (2014) found that boys segregated from immigrants in school recess activities to a greater degree than girls. Moreover, girls were more prone to interact with boys and to engage in cross-gender activities than vice versa, with boys being more likely to reject girls' presence in activities such as sports (Rodriguez-Navarro et al., 2014). Along similar lines, Messner and Bozada-Deas's (2009) study revealed how micro-ecological patterns of gender segregation unfold between mothers and fathers at their children's sport events. In this study, fathers tend to assume a leadership role during soccer games, leaving mothers with a secondary or nonparticipatory role. This, in turn, led to the creation of gender homogeneous spaces, with no or little interaction between women and men.

Two opposing examples. Qualifying the main findings of this systematic review, which confirmed the widespread occurrence of micro-ecological patterns of segregation, is the work of Cowan (2005) and Hunter (2010), both developed in the USA. Cowan (2005) found no differences in the percentages of inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic groupings of students present in ethnically diverse university campuses in six southern California State University campuses - within four ethnic groups (African American, Asian American, Latinos, and whites) - and also confirmed that interethnic contact was more frequent in ethnically heterogeneous environments. In turn, Hunter (2010) found that a predominantly black nightclub in downtown Chicago provided a unique opportunity for black clients to interact across ethnic lines with people who were not from their own neighbourhoods. Both studies show that in multi-ethnic contexts individuals may not invariably act in ways that reproduce segregation.

A brief summary. In sum, the two examples above notwithstanding, the micro-ecology literature shows people generally maintain patterns of in-group isolation (e.g., Keizan & Duncan, 2010; Kesten et al., 2011; McKeown et al., 2012; Nagle, 2009; Priest et al., 2014; Ramiah et al., 2015). It is important to recognise, of course, that the degree of such isolation may vary across contexts and social groups. The social context created by crowding, for example, leads individuals to be less willing to associate with members of other groups (Clack et al., 2005; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005). Moreover, different levels of segregation may characterize relations among different groups (Keizan & Duncan, 2010; Lewis, 2012), and patterns of segregation may occur between minority sub-groups as well as between minority-majority groups (Besharati & Foster, 2013).

Given their sheer prevalence and potentially negative consequences, it is important to understand why such kinds of segregationist behaviours are so common and persistent. Addressing this issue, the next section explores some potential social psychological processes that may help explain such behaviours.

3.2.2.2. Social psychological processes associated with micro-ecological segregation.

Several researchers (e.g., Besharati & Foster; 2013; Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Spitz, 2015) have emphasised the need to understand the social psychological processes that underpin nonverbal ‘macrokinetic’ behaviours maintaining socio-spatial divisions (Dixon et al., 2008). In order to address such social psychological processes in their studies, some researchers have employed mixed method approaches – for example, by combining observations with interviews or focus group methods (e.g., Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Rodriguez-Navarro et al., 2014) and/or questionnaires (e.g., Lewis, 2012; McKeown et al., 2012). Drawing on these studies, we explored the social psychological processes linked to patterns of micro segregation. The studies’ findings were decomposed into three categories of processes, based on the mechanisms identified by the researchers: 1) negative attitudes and stereotypes; 2) ingroup identification and threat; and 3) feelings of anxiety, fear and insecurity.

Negative attitudes and stereotypes. Several studies explored how local patterns of segregation might be associated with beliefs and stereotypes about specific ethnic or religious groups (e.g., Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; McKeown et al., 2012) that people construct and internalise and with affective responses towards such groups (Bigler & Liben, 2006).

Through their interviews conducted in a newly desegregated beach in South Africa, Durrheim and Dixon (2005) found that black beachgoers interpreted patterns of racial segregation as expressions of white racism and an attempt to maintain racial privilege. Specifically, they argued that negative stereotypes of black beachgoers as ‘dirty’ or ‘dangerous’ led whites to practice avoidance. Drawing on themes that were prominent within the ideology of apartheid, by contrast, white South Africans explained segregation as part of the ‘natural order of things’, a normal and legitimate expression of universal cultural and biological differences (Durrheim & Dixon, 2005).

The relationship between racist talk and embodied segregationist practices is also present in the study of Arjona and Checa (2008) conducted on public transport. Through the analysis of semi-structured interviews with Spanish and foreign bus users, the study explained how the

frontiers maintained in inter-racial interactions stem from prejudice and stereotype towards immigrants, which “regulate the possibility of contact, and the final result of which is a personal apartheid” (Arjona & Checa, 2008; p.202). The same processes are highlighted in studies on suburban (Besharati & Foster, 2013) and urban public places (Spitz, 2015) and classrooms (Henze, 2001). The argument common to all studies regards the way in which racist talk leads to a well-defined racial positioning in the spaces of everyday life. This may be highly resistant to change (Durrheim, 2005) enacting “hidden and hostile racism” (Besharati & Foster, 2013; p.49) and naturalising asymmetries and exclusions (Arjona & Checa, 2008), where, for instance, blacks are stereotyped by whites as ‘aggressive’ and whites stereotyped by blacks as ‘racists’ (Durrheim, 2005).

Another prominent body of work in Northern Ireland suggests that religious segregation between Protestants and Catholics emerges in part as a consequence of negative attitudes towards the religious outgroup (McKeown et al., 2012). Moreover, Abdelmonem and McWhinney (2015) suggest that such prejudice in turn stems from individuals’ fear of losing their identity as Protestants or Catholics, a fear that manifests particularly when ‘control over space’ is at stake. Spatial practices of segregation are not merely related to ‘who uses the space’ for both Protestants and Catholics (Abdelmonem & McWhinney, 2015). Instead they are also associated with a desire to maintain territorial control, which may lead to the recreation of informal boundaries within spaces expected to be integrative of different groups (Abdelmonem & McWhinney, 2015).

Regarding micro-ecological segregation by gender, Messner and Bozada-Deas (2009) suggest women and men’s segregationist positioning and interaction in places, namely in youth sports events, result from their own beliefs of women’s role as “team moms” and men’s role as coaches. The “gendered language and meanings” (Messner & Bozada-Deas, 2009; p.68) people use when talking about women and men reinforces conventional gendered divisions as the natural order of things, a stereotyping process translated into segregationist behaviours in places. The authors suggest that this gender-segregated context can be perpetuated in society as children are initiated into it at a very early stage (Messner & Bozada-Deas, 2009).

Ingroup identification and threat. A related process involved in micro segregation concerns the strength of individuals’ bonds with their ingroup, i.e., their ingroup identification (Turner, Hogg, Oakes, Reicher, & Wetherell, 1987). Defensive responses to perceived ingroup threat are related to intergroup dynamics (Tajfel & Turner, 1986) and to associated processes of ingroup identification and intergroup differentiation (e.g., Tajfel & Turner, 1986). Various

studies in our review rely on this social identity framework to explain why the desire to interact with others increases when they are perceived as fellow members of social categories, including the categories of ethnicity (de Haan & Leander, 2011; Keizan & Duncan, 2010; Schrieff et al., 2010; Van Praag et al., 2015), religion (Orr et al., 2012), or from a combined category based on gender and religion (McKeown et al., 2016). According to this perspective, positioning in space is often a situated expression of social identity (de Haan & Leander, 2011) with ingroup identity threat helping to shape micro-ecological behaviours under particular conditions. For example, the local over-representation of a group usually underrepresented in general society – e.g., when high school students with an immigrant background outnumber students of national origin (Van Praag et al., 2015) – may invoke identity threats (e.g., fears about losing cultural dominance). As a result, majority group members can become more prone to join and interact with members of their ingroup and more likely to segregate themselves from members of the outgroup (see also de Haan & Leander, 2011; Keizan & Duncan, 2010). A clear example of how such identity threat may lead to micro-ecological segregation comes from an interview with a Turkish-descendent high school student talking about her relationship with other female classmates of Belgian descent:

“In this [current] class group, you are part of the group, but there [referring to class group of Mathematics-Sciences], I have never felt more ignored in my life. There was this group of girls in my class group that always made fun of others. They were called ‘airwijven’ [pretentious girls]. For example, they all had handbags from one specific brand. Like, for me, it’s not that important. I actually do not care” (Van Praag et al., 2015; p.171, our emphasis).

The study of de Haan and Leander (2011) illustrates how students recruit spaces to construct and preserve ethnic identities. This may, in turn, both justify the existence of such ‘ethnic spaces’ and legitimatise the choice to not mix with other groups. Students’ school identity practices are linked to explicit and implicit representations of the other ethnically different, in which power relations between ethnic groups are implied. As one student of a USA high school claims, regular use of the term ‘nigger’ in the school hallway by ‘black people’ made him acknowledge the ‘authority’ of black students over that space, which he primarily assumed was shared (de Haan & Leander, 2011).

In Salari et al.’s (2006) study on micro segregation among native and immigrant attendants of senior centres, a higher identification of the majority group members with their

ingroup was associated with a stronger tendency to protect their group interests and status position (Verkuyten & Brug, 2004). The authors found that natives tended to represent immigrants as being of lower social status and, by implication, to create segregated seating patterns. In a context where decision-making power was generally limited, choosing where to sit in the dining hall – a shared space – offered one of the few opportunities native attendants had to establish group boundaries and position themselves as belonging to a higher status social category.

McKeown et al.’s study (2016) is a particularly interesting example regarding processes of ingroup identification, as it demonstrates how both gender and religious identification may shape segregation. In this study, even though students often chose to sit in the classroom next to a peer of the same religious background – Protestant or Catholic – sitting next to a student of the same gender was statistically more prevalent (see Figure 4). That is, in making their seating choices, students’ gender identification prevailed over religious identification (McKeown et al., 2016). Students sat beside other students with whom they identified, despite the opportunity for intergroup contact (McKeown et al., 2016). Choosing to sit next to someone with whom people identify the most also relates to feelings of positivity and comfort (McKeown et al., 2016), which can be associated with deep-seated feelings of anxiety, fear and insecurity in mixed environments (Stillerman & Salcedo, 2012).

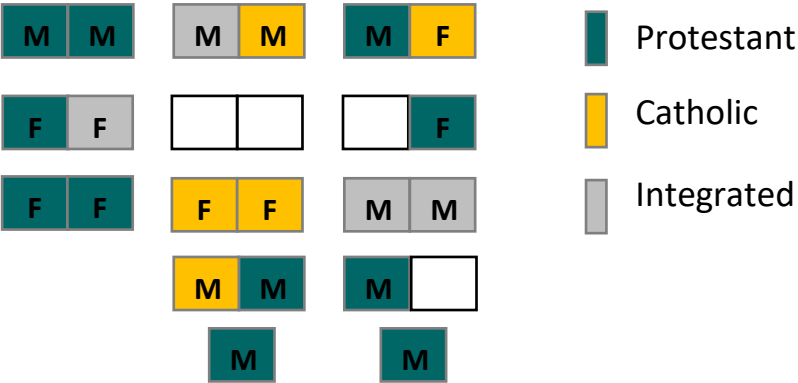


Figure 4. Map of the distribution of students in a school classroom according to students’ seating choice in terms of religious background and gender (see McKeown et al., 2016).

This review has enabled another mechanism to be identified. Employing an innovative approach, Lewis (2012) argued that the preference to interact with the ingroup is related not only to negative ethnic attitudes and stereotypes, but also and more significantly to the lower

energy group members expend when getting to know other people who are similar rather than different to them, with whom they identify. The choice to self-segregate, he argues, may reflect a drive for energy conservation at a social and psychological level (Lewis, 2012). As a black female university student interviewed in his research pointed out:

“If you’re a minority person, generally coming in [to Southtown] you have to pick which side of the racial fence you’re going to be on (...) It’s kind of hard to straddle the fence. It takes a lot of work (...)” (Lewis, 2012; p.281, our emphasis).

Feelings of anxiety, fear and insecurity. People tend to avoid contact with others if such contact creates feelings of discomfort or nervousness (Stillerman & Salcedo, 2012). As Integrated Threat Theory (Stephan & Stephan, 2000) suggests, these feelings of threat may lead ingroup members to dislike outgroup members, leading to stronger feelings of intergroup anxiety, fear and insecurity, and fewer intrinsic intergroup interactions. Avoiding others may also express a sense of territoriality and the feelings of safety it brings (Kesten et al., 2011). Others are avoided due to the fear of feeling potentially out of place, having awkward exchanges or even being humiliated by others with a higher socioeconomic status (Garrido, 2013; Stillerman & Salcedo, 2012). In contexts undergoing major transformations, such as shopping malls (Stillerman & Salcedo, 2012), people tend to feel anxious about the higher probability of encountering new and different groups that those transformations entail, which may be accompanied by a fear of feeling out of place (Stillerman & Salcedo, 2012). As a result, they may behave in ways that minimise the opportunity of experiencing contact across group lines in everyday activity spaces. For instance, explaining why he felt uncomfortable at a shopping mall’s association with a poorer area of the city of Santiago, Chile, a wealthy resident referred to shoppers as “fauna”: “I don’t like this mall very much because the parking lot is dangerous. The fauna are more diverse, and it’s not really a good place for an outing. I feel insecure here” (Stillerman & Salcedo, 2012; p.320).

The research reviewed also suggests that in contexts supportive of interethnic interactions – such as school and university classrooms – the possibility of interacting with the other ethnic groups creates anxiety where white students are the majority (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010; Keizan & Duncan, 2010; Schrieff et al., 2010). Even if the discourse of the majority often seems to reflect a desire for ethnic and social integration, anxiety may limit the degree of intergroup contact (Keizan & Duncan, 2010), resulting in ethnically homogeneous areas in the same place without social mixing. In their South African research, Alexander and Tredoux (2010) found

such ethnically homogeneous areas were created by different ethnic groups of students in mixed shared spaces of a multi-ethnic university campus. These areas offered a sense of belonging, security, comfort and acceptance and the chance to express oneself without fearing any judgment (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010).

Simultaneously, however, these areas also served to exclude racial others, regardless of whether exclusion was intended or not. Indeed, in their study, Alexander and Tredoux (2010) found that students sometimes described the decision-making process regarding the spaces they occupy as expressing “unspoken rules of space” (p.380). As one of their ‘coloured’ student participants explained:

“It’s like that kind of people that you are like sit there. (...) That’s why you go there, and you can be loud and you can laugh. If you like loud and out of place on the [Jammie] stairs then everybody looks at you, you have to know your place. It’s not like that there [at the billiard tables]” (p.379).

This tension between perceived exclusion and belonging is also evident in a study about religious segregation between Catholics and Protestants in public places of Belfast’s downtown, where some integrated parks have ironically expanded spaces of division (Abdelmonem & McWhinney, 2015). On one hand, majority group members make every use of larger areas of the parks. On the other hand, and in response, minority group members have isolated themselves from the majority group in ever smaller public territories.

The study of Rodriguez-Navarro et al. (2014) conducted in a Spanish school provides a final powerful example of how feelings of anxiety and insecurity may lead to micro segregationist patterns by ethnicity and sometimes gender. The authors argue that due to insecurities of not being accepted and being mocked by their peers outside the classroom, new male immigrant students may follow the recess norms dictated by the most powerful groups of boys (Rodriguez-Navarro et al., 2014). An ethnographic field note regarding a new immigrant student exemplifies how this situation may perpetuate gender segregation during recess:

“When the time for recess came, before leaving the class the teacher asked the children “who is going to play with Willy?” Many girls were willing to play with him but, in the end, a couple of boys grabbed Willy (...). When the children went out to play, the boys walked to a concrete patch in which they improvised a soccer field. (...) Some girls approached the boys. From time to time, they waved to Willy, asking him to join them.

Finally, some of the boys started yelling and acting out to “scare” the girls away [...]
(Rodriguez-Navarro et al., 2014; p.354).

3.3. Discussion and future directions

This paper has systematically reviewed the empirical work on micro-ecological processes of inter-group segregation from 2001 to 2017. Research has revealed how such segregation marks social relations across a wide range of contexts, often occurring in civic, public and educational settings that are ostensibly integrated. The reviewed research has revealed educational settings as the main context of study of micro-ecological processes, followed by leisure and recreational places, public urban places and public transport. The predominance of educational settings may also be due to the traditional convenience of using students as participants in psychology research. Even though there is a body of work on religious, socioeconomic and gender patterns of segregation, ethnic segregation remains by far the type of micro segregation most often studied. The research was conducted predominantly in English language countries where inter-ethnic or religious conflicts are prominent. We also found that, over the years, there has been a growing interest among authors in adopting a mixed method approach in order to understand the social psychological processes that may underlie observed behavioural patterns of segregation.

Following Allport's contact hypothesis (1954), researchers have long argued that the isolation of groups maintains negative attitudes and stereotypes, while increased contact reduces intergroup prejudice (Pettigrew & Tropp, 2006). This systematic review has shown that the mere co-presence of two groups in the same place may be insufficient to produce intergroup contact and, by implication, to reduce intergroup prejudice, which is also in line with Allport's studies (1954). However, the novelty of micro-ecological research lies in its focus on studying individuals and groups' experience in everyday life, rather than focusing on structured contact and explicit processes, through traditional methodological tools, such as laboratory experiments and questionnaire surveys, which do not fully capture the nature and meaning of contact in real life settings. The overall message of the review is that intergroup interactions must be analysed in the concrete realities of everyday settings in order to unlock their complexities and the complexity of the psychosocial processes underlying them. This requires forms of research that are still relatively rare and underdeveloped in the field of contact research, such as those based on direct and naturalistic observation.

What this review has also shown, however, is the recent emergence of a body of work that has attempted to fill this gap, revealing how segregation often arises through embodied

practices within the intimate arenas of everyday life spaces. It has shown, too, that such practices can express a range of underlying and interrelated psychosocial processes, including negative attitudes and stereotypes (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon, 2005), ingroup identification and perceived threat (e.g., Van Praag et al., 2015), feelings of anxiety, fear and insecurity (e.g., Keizan & Duncan, 2010).

This paper has also attempted to highlight the importance of studying the micro-ecology of intergroup segregation for social psychology and the emerging problems that segregation may cause. Studying the micro-ecology of segregation, we would add, is not only a matter of knowing how people locate themselves publicly in places and/or understanding how this limits intergroup contact. It is also a matter of understanding if and when members of different social categories are able to freely access, share and interact within different places as citizens. In this sense, it is also a way of understanding how citizenship itself is experienced and challenged on a daily basis in the concrete places of everyday life (Di Masso, 2015). As we have seen, for example, micro-ecological processes may demarcate who belongs where with whom in everyday settings, establishing territorial claims within ostensibly ‘public’ places, fostering complex patterns of perceived exclusion, or even challenging the basic rights of certain categories of person to occupy or use supposed shared places such as beaches (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon, 2005) or parks (Abdelmonem & McWhinney, 2015). Understanding how and why such processes unfold, how they are experienced, and perhaps most important, how they might be transformed, is an important topic for future research.

To conclude our review, we wish to identify three further areas of potential future research, thereby setting an agenda for work in the field.

3.3.1. Embracing methodological innovation

As our review illustrates, most social psychological work on the micro-ecological expression of segregation has consisted of relatively small scale, cross-sectional studies that entail observing socio-spatial practices in a single context (e.g., seating patterns in school cafeterias or public transport). This work has been valuable in establishing the nature and extent of segregation on an intimate scale of analysis; however, it has arguably neglected how segregation is reproduced over time across the full range of social contexts that individuals inhabit in their everyday lives. In this sense, we would argue that social psychologists might benefit from exploring methodological developments in companion disciplines. Such work includes innovations in the use of Participatory GIS methods for understanding how community members themselves perceive intergroup boundaries located across varying socio-spatial scales

and across different social contexts (e.g., Huck et al., 2019), methods for estimating the global nature and extent of segregation of everyday activity spaces (e.g., Li & Wang, 2017), and methods for tracking and analysing individuals' everyday movements in cities (e.g., Greenberg Raanan & Shoval, 2014).

With regards to the latter, some researchers have recently argued for the need to develop a richer picture of the 'time geography' of segregation as expressed via individuals' use of everyday activity spaces such as parks and shopping centres and via their routine patterns of movement along public pathways such as footpaths and streets (e.g., Kwan, 2013; Wang, Li, & Chai, 2012). Difficulties in acquiring relevant data probably explain why so little research has investigated how, in this broader sense, micro-ecological patterns of segregation (and contact) may become part of the 'choreography of everyday life' (Pred, 1977). However, recent advances in the tracking of everyday mobility practices using GPS technology, allied to the emergence of sophisticated GIS analytics for capturing, coding and visualising such practices, is opening up exciting new avenues of research (Palmer et al., 2013), on which some psychologists are beginning to draw (see Figure 5 below).

As an example, consider Dixon and colleagues' work on Catholics' and Protestants' use of public environments in north Belfast, Northern Ireland's capital city (Dixon et al., 2019; Hocking et al., 2018). Using a combination of GPS tracking and questionnaire survey methods, these researchers analysed over 1000 hours of movement data, based on the collection of over 20 million GPS data point. They found that north Belfast is characterized by high levels of sectarian segregation, expressed via residents' limited use of public facilities and pathways located in outgroup areas. They also found, however, that the use of shared destinations was fairly common, particularly in the period between 12 and 6pm, and mainly based in relatively neutral spaces of consumption such as shopping centres and retail outlets. Analysis of associated questionnaire data suggested that Catholic and Protestant residents' self-reported willingness to use activity spaces beyond their own communities was shaped by factors such as realistic threat, symbolic threat and past experiences of positive and negative contact with members of the 'other' community. Moreover, both intergroup threat and contact were associated with the amount of time residents actually spent in spaces beyond their own communities.

In our view, this integrative combination of subjective psychological data with data on concrete mobility practices over time offers rich possibilities for future research on activity space segregation. Such a combination, of course, also highlights the importance of developing interdisciplinary research frameworks, capitalising on emerging technologies for investigating

human mobility, and drawing new techniques for mapping the divided city (see also Huck et al., 2019).

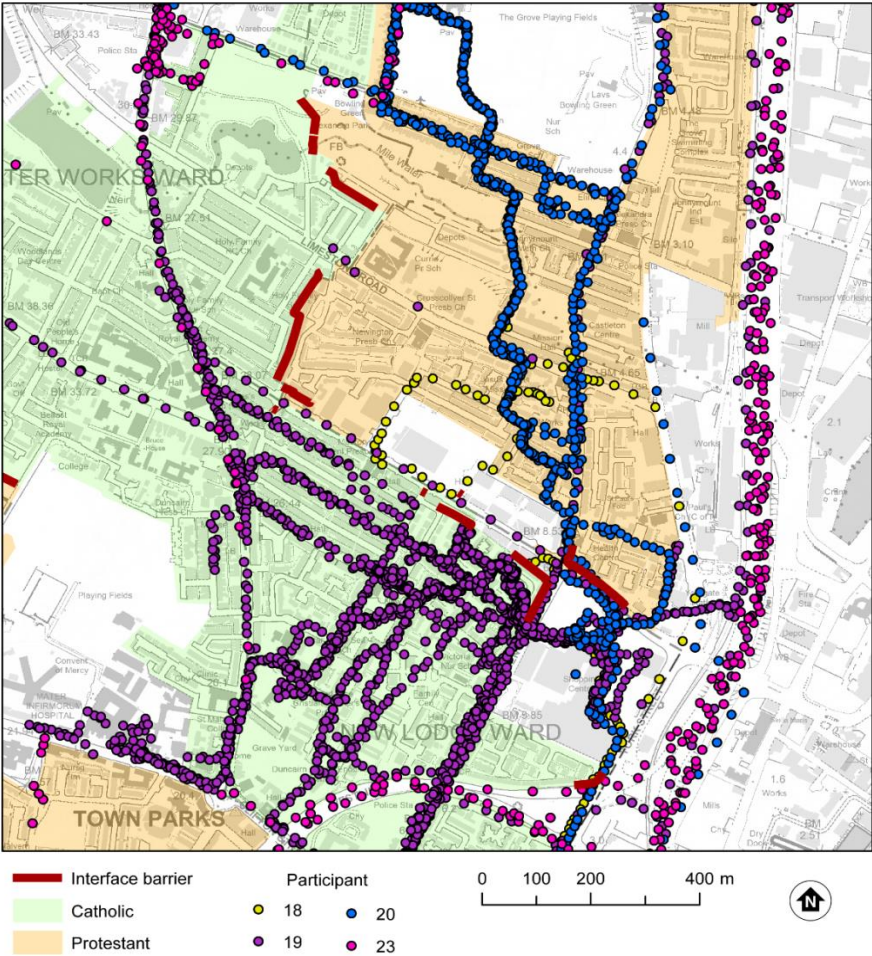


Figure 5. Capturing residents’ movements through everyday spaces in Belfast using GPS tracking and GIS data capture and representation (see Hocking et al., 2018).

3.3.2. Exploring the intersection of category memberships in everyday practices of segregation

As noted already, research on the micro-ecological dimension of segregation has recently started to move beyond a narrow focus on ethnic and racial categories to include work, for example, on gendered and sectarian relations (e.g., McKeown et al., 2016). The next step will be to systematically explore how, when and why the intersectionality of social categories and identities shape micro-ecological practices of contact and separation in everyday activity spaces.

As an example of the potential significance of such work, consider the recent debate around gender and seating arrangements on Haredi bus routes in Israel. Between 1997 and 2011, ‘Mehadrin’ bus lines running to and from ultra-orthodox Haredi Jewish communities in cities

such as Jerusalem, practised gender segregation. Women were expected to dress ‘modestly’, to enter buses via a back entrance, and to sit in the back regions of buses. This practice reflected a particular intersection of religious and gendered identities. Outlawed by the Israeli High court of Justice in 2011, instances where both secular women and Haredi women were threatened by Haredi men because they chose to sit in the front of a ‘Mehadrin bus’, have continued to attract high profile media coverage and lawsuits, as well as academic debate (see Harel, 2004; Greenfield, 2007; Triger, 2013; Warburg, 2011). The academic debate has revolved, among other things, around the question of whether the front versus back nature of gendered seating patterns on Haredi bus routes represents a form of gender discrimination, the unwarranted obtrusion of religious conceptions of gender relations into the public sphere, or the legitimate and voluntary expression of religious identity by Haredi women.

Our point here is not to intervene in this debate. Rather, we use this example to highlight how the complex intersection of social categories can reveal the political complexities of micro-ecological patterns of division, taking the field beyond the rather narrow, often binary, categories of race and ethnicity on which most previous work has focused. Such complexities, in our view, represent a potentially important focus of future research - not least because they bear upon the problem of social change.

3.3.3. Promoting micro-ecological change

If micro-ecological patterns of segregation are, at least in some circumstances, viewed as an obstacle to achieving social integration and reducing intergroup prejudice, then two related questions follow. First, why are the boundaries created by practices apparently so recalcitrant, emerging even in contexts where integration is being actively promoted? Second, how might we devise interventions to reduce the segregation in everyday life spaces and encourage new forms of contact across ethnic, racial, gendered and cultural barriers? In short, the theme of social change is critical to future work in the field.

The recalcitrance of micro-ecological boundaries is easy to understand in societies that practice de jure segregation. Under ‘Jim Crow’ race laws in the US, for example, racial divisions were legally enforced for such mundane activities as eating in restaurants or using a drinking fountain. You could be put in prison for flouting them. Similar rules were applied by the strictures of ‘petty apartheid’ in South Africa, which in its most extreme moments regulated such banal activities as queuing in post-offices and swimming in public baths. However, the corollary assumption that removing these legal foundations would dismantle the segregation of everyday places has not proven correct in either society (Dixon et al., 2008). Even in the absence

of legal foundations, as our review has starkly revealed, the segregation of everyday life places is persistent and widespread.

The present review has also shed some light on why these forms of segregation are difficult to change. On the one hand, as the previously discussed work of Swyngedouw (2013) illustrates, divisions on a micro-ecological scale may reflect divisions at a broader level: the patterns of racial segregation on public transport that she identified reflect not only Chicago commuters' seating choices, but also the wider residential polarisation of the city. As commuters travel the Red Line from South Side (comprising mainly African American neighbourhoods) to the North Side (comprising mainly white neighbourhoods), the racial demography of carriages shifts accordingly. Future research might further address this kind of relationship between micro and macro level processes of segregation in an attempt to develop strategies to promote socio-spatial change. On the other hand, our review has also emphasised the potential role of psychological processes such as negative attitudes and stereotypes, prejudice, social identification, threat, and sense of place in shaping individuals' preferences to maintain interactional distances and boundaries in everyday life spaces. Again, we would emphasise that work that links the psychological mechanisms directly to actual micro-ecological behaviours in everyday settings remains relatively sparse and is again a topic ripe for further research and, not least, theorisation.

In addition, we need to know more about how micro-ecological practices, and the social psychological mechanisms that underpin them, might be altered and what kinds of interventions might encourage greater intergroup contact. As an instructive closing example, consider McKeown, Williams, and Pauker's (2017) research in a primary school in the UK, which explored the consequences of a 'value in diversity' storybook intervention on seating patterns amongst 4 to 6 year-old children in a lunchroom setting. Prior to this intervention, such seating patterns displayed clear patterns of segregation along racial lines. However, immediately after listening to a story that emphasised the importance of valuing racial diversity, inclusion and contact, children's lunchtime seating arrangements displayed reduced levels of segregation. Qualifying this optimistic finding, McKeown et al. (2017) found this change to be short lived – 48 hours later, lunchtime self-segregation by race had re-emerged amongst children in their study. Even so, this work shows how teacher-led interventions may have the potential to promote intergroup contact. More broadly, it highlights the importance of exploring both why micro-ecological patterns of segregation are so persistent and how they might be reduced as an imperative for future work.

4. Concluding remarks

This chapter has sought to provide the theoretical framework of Study 2, i.e. the observational study focused on examining if different groups use the public places of the neighbourhood and if they interact at an intragroup or intergroup level. It has reviewed relevant literature and research on Social and Environmental Psychology on people's uses of public places and its connection to the development of located citizenship (Stevenson et al., 2015a; Di Masso, 2015). Moreover, it has provided a systematic literature review on the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (Dixon et al., 2008).

The literature shows how public socio-spatial behaviour and citizenship are interrelated (Di Masso, 2015). The sense of belonging, recognition and acceptance of others in public places may shape how different social groups will behave in place (Stevenson et al., 2015a). Being considered a legitimate citizen encompasses knowing how, when and why individuals and groups may have access to public place, can use it in particular ways, and are entitled to appropriate it as they will (Di Masso, 2015). This is particularly relevant for regenerated urban environments, where distinct identities and lifestyles may clash with each other (Menezes, 2012; Davison et al., 2012). Public places take the risk of not becoming truly shared areas, and the social mixing strategy adopted by specific policy models may have contradicting effects (Lees, 2008). Long-time residents and newcomers may retreat themselves from the public life of their neighbourhood, if this offers no conditions for them to feel accepted and as belonging to it, transforming public places into segregated or abandoned places (Lees, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010). Understanding these patterns of local segregation implies examining groups' actual spatial behaviour (Spitz, 2015), what can be achieved by analysing the routines and encounters of daily life, through the analysis of the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Dixon et al., 2008).

Spatial segregation at micro-ecological level may deeply mark social relations across various contexts, often ostensibly integrated (Mckeown et al., 2016). For instance, regenerated multicultural neighbourhoods may involve the emergence of new informal boundaries in public places, especially when different meanings, images, and representations of the old and new neighbourhood are brought about by long-time and new residents. However, research on the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation has not focused on multicultural and regenerated urban communities, a gap the present thesis proposes to contribute.

If how people give meaning to place is interrelated to their uses of public places and how they claim and negotiate the coexistence of different sociocultural groups (Gray & Manning, 2014; Di Masso, 2015), it should be remarked that to understand people's uses of place, one

should also seek to examine people's interpretations and social representations of place, and their place-based identities' construction, through discursive analyses. In fact, the discursive constructions of a place are intertwined with material and social practices in place (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Di Masso & Dixon, 2015; Spitz, 2015). This means looking at memories, personal stories, and social representations of place and the others, that is, looking at shared meaning systems (Moscovici, 1976; Castro, 2012; 2015; Sammut, Andreouli, Gaskell, & Valsiner, 2015) of particular social groups connected to place, without discarding "wider discursive and political practices of representation" (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; p.175). For a better knowledge of how people make sense of social change in specific places, the following chapter will explicitly draw upon the Theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1976; 1988), and its potential as a powerful contribution to study how urban regenerated landscapes can be received, interpreted and resisted by their residents.

CHAPTER IV

SOCIAL REPRESENTATIONS: HOW PEOPLE MAKE SENSE OF SOCIAL CHANGE

Chapter Presentation

This chapter expatiates on the Theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1976; 1988). It aims to provide the theoretical framework sustaining the thesis in general, and particularly Study 3, which has focused on understanding which ‘official’ social representations about Mouraria residents use to justify their positions and social representations about the self, the others and place, through the analysis of interviews. The first part of the chapter reviews the concept of social representations, its meaning and origin, highlighting the relevance of drawing on the Theory of Social Representations to better understand how people make sense of social change (Castro & Batel, 2008; Castro, 2015). It also addresses how a multiplicity of social representations may emerge in different social groups (Jodelet, 1989) and within the same place (Howarth, 2002). The second part outlines how social representations comprise a temporal dimension, and how their production and evolution over time is guided by communication (Sammut, Tsirogianni, & Wagoner, 2012; Castro, 2012; 2015). The third part explores how the analysis of how social representations are reproduced, negotiated or transformed in discourse and communication enables a further understanding of the processes of acceptance or resistance regarding social change (Castro & Batel, 2008). The fourth part argues how the social representations’ paradigm has the potential to contribute to the study on residents’ acceptance or resistance to urban transformations of regenerated neighbourhoods, a field of research sparsely developed in Social Psychology.

1. Introduction

“Social representations, as I have already mentioned, concern the contents of everyday thinking and the stock of ideas that gives coherence to our religious beliefs, political ideas and the connections we create as spontaneously as we breathe.” (Moscovici, 1988; p.214)

Social Psychology has brought forward a theoretical paradigm aiming to frame the research about what processes are involved on how people make sense of the world and act towards it designated as Theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1976; 1988). Social representations are conceptually formulated to make the link between “social and cognitive phenomena, communication and thought” (Moscovici, 1988; p.211), when understanding how people give and produce meaning within a particular social context. It means analyzing both the cognitive and the sociocultural contextual dimensions of the process of meaning-making (Jodelet, 1991; Chrysochoou, 2000; Valsiner, 2003).

The process of meaning-making or re-presenting relies on the relational dynamic within the self-other-object triangle, allowing the emergence, construction and transformation of representations (Moscovici, 1972; Marková, 2003). In this relation, it is important to identify who is the other, which may be a more proximal, immediate interlocutor, or a more distal and institutional one (Marková, 2003). Therefore, the interlocutor may be the other one with which we maintain a face-to-face conversation in the street, or from the State or legal sphere (e.g., Elcheroth, Doise, & Reicher, 2011; Staerklé, Clémence, & Spini, 2011; Andreouli & Howarth, 2013), regulating the sociocultural context where that interaction occurs (Castro & Batel, 2008), and turning specific representations as holding the power to define what is socially wrong and right (Castro, 2012).

Considering the abovementioned premises, one can easily acknowledge the adequacy of studying social and cultural change following the perspective of social representations (Moscovici, 1976). Even more in a context undergoing profound transformations, where multiple views, understandings and meanings of a plurality of groups co-exist, demanding an analysis of the relations between change and stability (Moscovici, 1976; 1988), or acceptance, resistance and ambivalence (Castro, 2012; Mouro & Castro, 2016). Particularly, in the case of regenerated inner-city neighbourhoods where long-time and new residents are called to elaborate new meanings and actions due to sociocultural changes stemming from specific urban interventions, within a context of everyday interactions with others and uses of place, where a multiplicity of representations may arise (Jodelet, 1989; Howarth, 2002). However, studies on

transformed urban contexts following the Theory of Social Representations are scarce (e.g., Hubbard, 1996).

The chapter further follows with the conceptualization of social representations and its role on comprehending how individuals and groups make sense of social change (Castro & Batel, 2008; Castro, 2015), exploring the multiplicity of social representations that may emerge (Jodelet, 1989; Howarth, 2002; Sibley & Liu, 2013).

2. Social representations: meaning and multiplicity

People construct meanings about distinct objects embedded in their surrounding environment. Such meanings are not a given of the objects themselves, but rather a representation of social objects (Sammur et al., 2015), i.e., shared systems of meaning, knowledge and action that people draw upon in order to make sense of the world and to act towards it (Moscovici, 1976; Sammur et al., 2015; Andreouli & Chrysochoou, 2015). This conceptualization of social representations introduced by Moscovici (1976) has served as the theoretical basis of several studies in Social Psychology focused on understanding people's adjustment and positioning to social and cultural change (e.g., Jodelet, 1989; Bauer & Gaskell, 2002; Howarth, 2006; Jovchelovitch, 2007; Castro & Batel, 2008; Sammur et al., 2015; Mouro & Castro, 2016). Following this paradigm, a common evidence emerges throughout studies on social representations, namely that even when individuals share the same references it does not necessarily mean that they position themselves identically with each other (Chrysochoou, 2000; Sammur et al., 2015). Knowledge is produced, diffused and transformed through communication and social influence (Moscovici, 1988) and a multiplicity of representations may arise in different individuals and social groups (Jodelet, 1989), and within the same place (Howarth, 2002; Sibley & Liu, 2013).

If social groups produce a diversity of understandings about certain aspects of reality, which in turn inform the various perspectives of the members of those groups (Sammur et al., 2015), and following Moscovici's (1976) argument that it is more pertinent to talk about social rather than collective representations, there is indeed a plurality of social representations in contemporary public spheres (Jovchelovitch, 2001; 2007; Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernández, 2015). These may circulate in the same public sphere and can be distinguished according to the degree they are more static and shared or more open to debate and (re)negotiation and the kind of relationship established between members of the same group (Moscovici, 1988). Hegemonic representations are shared by all members of a highly structured group, being the most consensual or even unquestionable, and objectified at institutional level; emancipated

representations result from the discussion of ideas within groups who create their own versions of reality, being shared by different groups; and finally polemical representations are characterized by controversy, stemming from conflicting views of opposing groups (Moscovici, 1988).

The diversity of social representations present in a particular context also means different ways of dealing with novelty and change, and consequentially of leaving old habits protected by past collective memories (Jodelet, 1989). Such adjustment of new ideas to new actions occurs at different rhythms and may lead to an actual representational change, or to resistance and ambivalence (Mouro & Castro, 2016), and stems from how individuals interact and communicate with the Other, discussing and enacting several views, some convergent and some divergent (Howarth, 2006), and learning Other's views (Devine-Wright, 2009). Therefore, the process of meaning-making or re-presenting pertains to people in relation and communication with the Other – individuals, social groups, culture – who produce meanings (Elcherath et al., 2011). Studying the emergence, construction and transformation of representations comprises understanding the relational dynamic within the self-other-object triangle (Moscovici, 1972; Marková, 2003). Social representations are then a multidimensional phenomenon (cultural, contextual and individual; Valsiner, 2003; Castro & Batel, 2008), stemming from collective experiences, the culture where people grow and socialize, the institutional sphere, and the social and historical contexts (Vala & Castro, 2013). The production of meaning only occurs within a specific interactional and cultural context (Castro, 2015), implying social representations to be produced and transformed through communication and time (Sammur et al., 2012), as discussed in the next section.

3. Changing representations through communication and time within diversity

Social representations entail a temporal dimension, and communication guides their production and evolution over time (Sammur et al., 2012; Castro, 2012; 2015). Such communication has different dimensions, namely intrapersonal (the internal dialogue), interpersonal (set with the Other) and societal (mediated communication; Castro & Batel, 2008). In this sense, different social groups will produce distinct social representations about the same social object according to the contents and forms of communication they engage into (Moscovici, 1976; Howarth, 2002). It seems thus important to analyse social representations' contents and forms of communication (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999). This is particularly important within communities facing social and cultural change. People adopt new symbolic strategies to make sense of the transformations and the diversity of realities they face in their community

(Jovchelovitch, 2001; Howarth, 2002). The unfamiliar and strangeness introduced by the transformations undergoing in a certain context, place or community lead to the production of new social representations in order to make sense of these new realities that enter into people's everyday life, i.e. to make the unfamiliar familiar (Jovchelovitch, 2001; Castro, 2002; Sammut et al., 2015; Andreouli & Chrysochoou, 2015). This can be made through two psychological processes, namely *anchoring* and *objectification* (Moscovici, 1976; 1984; 1988). *Anchoring* regards the process through which people place a new and unfamiliar meaning within a familiar frame of reference and symbols, so the meaning of a new object is anchored to an existing social representation. In turn, *objectification* concerns the projection of an object in the world through images and propositions, facilitating meaning-making. Both processes are based on the communication of ideas (Castro, 2002) at diverse public spheres (Jovchelovitch, 2007).

The form this communication assumes – propagation, propaganda, and diffusion (Moscovici, 1976) – leads to different representational fields within and across different cultures and contexts (Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernández, 2015). However, this diversity of social representations does not mean that all groups have the same power to impose their interests, meanings and projects inherent to their social representations within the same public sphere (Howarth, 2001). Those groups with higher material and symbolic resources are more able to enforce their systems of knowledge. The “more legitimized a form of knowledge is, the more likely it is to be institutionalized and, by this means, the less likely to be challenged” (Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernández, 2015; p.167). When people talk about a certain social object, different rationalities emerge, with different contextual functions, determined by the level of engagement with the social object and the communicative goals (Moscovici, 1976). In environments undergoing major cultural and social transformations, individuals and groups may present simultaneous social representations about those transformations, causing tension and conflict between different representations (e.g., Friling, 2012; Jodelet, 1991). Then the literature acknowledges that it should not be the change per se the focus of study, but rather the relationship between change and stability (Castro, 2015), this means, to examine the appropriation of new knowledge accordingly to how it relates to the old knowledge, which cannot be forgotten and erased from personal and social thoughts (Castro, 2015).

In sum, multiple contradictory representations about the same social object may coexist within the same individual, group or community (Howarth, 2002; Voelklein & Howarth, 2005; Castro, 2006), through different forms of communication (Moscovici, 1976), which enables individuals and groups to make sense and cope with the plurality of realities offered by the changing environment. The social and cultural changes happening in the environment may be

received in different manners, leading individuals and groups to position themselves in contradictory or ambivalent ways (Mouro & Castro, 2012), accepting or rejecting social change (Batel, Devine-Wright, & Tangeland, 2013), as argued in the following section.

4. Reception and interpretation of social change

The Theory of Social Representations has been used to study several phenomena, such as the implementation of new laws on public participation (Castro & Batel, 2008; Batel & Castro, 2009) or on environmental protection (Mouro & Castro, 2012; Buijs et al., 2012; Mouro & Castro, 2016; Castro, Seixas, Neca, & Bettencourt, 2018), public understanding of science (Bauer & Gaskell, 2002), press analysis about protected areas (Castro, Mouro, & Gouveia, 2012), national identity (Andreouli & Chrysochoou, 2015), intercultural relations and communities (Jovchelovitch, 2007; Howarth, Wagner, Magnusson, & Sammut, 2014), among others. The primary focus of such research relies on examining how individuals and groups receive and interpret change, for instance new policies (e.g., Castro, 2012; 2015; Mouro & Castro, 2016), the reified representations about particular ethnic groups (Howarth, 2004), or facing and interacting with new sociocultural and/or ethnic groups (e.g., Jovchelovitch, 2007; Howarth et al., 2014), among others. How people make sense of change expresses how they position themselves regarding a specific reality, namely if they accept, reject/contest or are ambivalent towards social change (Batel et al., 2013; Castro et al., 2018; Batel & Castro, 2018), and under which strategies they express these, such as “Yes, but...” formats (Billig, 1988; Castro & Batel, 2008; Batel & Castro, 2018). This is especially relevant for conciliating contradictory ideas and representations (Castro & Batel, 2008; Batel & Castro, 2018).

In view of the above, it is important to understand how different representations coexist and relate in representational fields, particularly the communicative processes underlying and supporting these representations together. For this to be understood we need to look to different dimensions of representations, such as contents, processes and emotions (Moscovici, 1988; Jodelet, 2008). The first relates to the semantic aspect of representations, where an individual or a group present opposing views, ideas and meanings about the same social object – plural representations about what something means. There may be coexisting contradictory processes, i.e. differences in how distinct rationales emerge when thinking about a social object. Finally, contradictory affects may coexist in representational fields, expressing what people feel about a social object. So contradictory contents, processes and emotions may coexist, and how this happens depends on the communicative dynamics established. Such contradictory contents, processes and emotions towards a particular social object may reflect ambivalence, which can

entail distinct positions, namely support and acceptance (Batel et al., 2013). Even though both convey favorable positions, support pertains to people's agreement and approval, and acceptance pertains to a passive reception, and may not imply agreement but rather tolerance. Hence, when facing novelty and change, individuals and groups can express mix feelings and produce contradictory representations (Castro & Batel, 2008), positioning themselves in an ambivalent way (Mouro & Castro, 2016), by accepting without supporting change (Batel et al., 2013). This is particularly evident in sociocultural diversified communities (e.g., Howarth, 2002). People from the same community mobilize different social representations, in order to protect identities, positions and to differentiate specific social groups (Jodelet, 1991; Howarth, 2002).

There are different ways in which a community can be defined, claimed, projected and rejected (Howarth, Cornish, & Gillespie, 2015). For instance, an ethnically diverse urban community can be simultaneously represented by some of its residents as having a cosmopolitan identity and a place where people have the opportunity to develop inter-ethnic relationships, thus a successful example of diversity. At the same time, other residents may represent this diversity as something that will lead to more division, distrust and hostility within the community (Howarth, 2002). Through these representations, people are able to locate themselves, by considering themselves as members of the community or by distancing from it (Howarth, 2002; Howarth et al., 2015). The participation of people in multiple contradictory social representations enables them to move through the heterogeneity of communities and to function in different realities (Wagner et al., 2000), for instance those emerging in an inner-city neighbourhood undergoing an urban regeneration process (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). Below, the chapter expands on how the Theory of Social Representations may contribute to the study of residents' acceptance or resistance to urban transformations of regenerated neighbourhoods, a field of research sparsely developed in Social Psychology.

5. How to link the Theory of Social Representations to urban regeneration

There is a body of work, although scarce, focused on understanding how people construct social representations about a changing urban place. For instance, Dias and Ramadier (2015) analysed how social mobility in a neighbourhood of Strasbourg, France, affects cognitive configurations of the city, linking socio-spatial cognition to the paradigm of social representations. Another study developed in the city of Zaragoza, Spain, has studied how urban social representations regarding city's culture, history, politics and social factors influence urban identity (Belanche, Casaló, & Flavián, 2017). Hubbard (1996) has shed some light on

how the public internalise and negotiate the meanings of the new entrepreneurial landscape of Birmingham promoted by politicians and developers, according to their own positionality. Even though Hubbard's (1996) study offers a small glimpse about how new urban landscapes can be socially represented, this means how they can be received, interpreted and resisted by city's residents, there is no research on Social Psychology that specifically links the Theory of Social Representations to processes of acceptance or resistance/contestation regarding the transformations stemming from urban regeneration programs.

Understanding the psychosocial processes involved on the acceptance or resistance/contestation regarding the transformations stemming from the implementation of urban regeneration programs, particularly those with a mixed/bottom-up regeneration plan, can be achieved through the analysis of how people represent place and its transformations. The paradigm of social representations may play an important role here. Individuals position themselves in a certain way in relation to others (e.g., Moscovici, 1988; Castro, 2012; 2015; Jovchelovitch, 2007; Howarth, 2006; Sammut et al., 2015). Following the idea that different social representations may coexist within the same community (Jovchelovitch, 2001; Howarth, 2002), specially within social and culturally heterogeneous ones (Howarth, 2002), analysing the social representations that different groups of residents construct about the neighbourhood, the others and their relations in place, allows the understanding of how the regeneration process and the inherent transformations of the neighbourhood (e.g., influxes of new residents, new uses of public place, new commercial landscape) have been locally received and interpreted by residents. Moreover, this means understanding how the macro sphere of the implementation of the regeneration program shapes individuals' experiences *in* and *of* place (Di Masso, Dixon, & Hernández, 2017; Castro et al., 2018).

The social representations of the neighbourhood and their transformations may differ amongst its residents, raising some questions. Is this difference dependent of residents' group of belonging – long-time and new residents? Are there different social representations within the same group? Which social representations are shared between groups? In sum, it is important to understand which representational profiles (Jovchelovitch, 2001; Howarth, 2002; Sibley & Liu, 2013) emerge within the neighbourhood. Each representational profile regards a specific meaning system concerning a social object, which can be shared among certain social groups. However, the latter are not associated in their entirety to one profile only, instead there can exist intragroup variability (Sibley & Liu, 2013). Each group tends to be allocated to one profile, but that does not mean that it cannot be find elements of the group in another profile (Sibley & Liu, 2013). The representational profiles emerging within the same community may

not significantly differentiate specific social groups, i.e. all elements of a group do not correspond to one profile only (Sibley & Liu, 2013). The way people distribute themselves in terms of how they represent the neighbourhood as a traditional inner-city neighbourhood or as multicultural and cosmopolitan along different profiles may explain their attitudes regarding the transformations by which the neighbourhood is undergoing, how they relate to the neighbourhood (e.g., identification, attachment), and how they view the other and their relations in place.

6. Concluding remarks

This chapter has provided an overview of the Theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1976; 1988), presenting the theoretical framework sustaining Study 3, focused on understanding which ‘official’ social representations about Mouraria residents use to justify their positions and social representations about the self, the others and place, through the analysis of interviews.

The concept of social representations was introduced by Moscovici (1976), and has served as the theoretical basis of several studies in Social Psychology focused on understanding people’s adjustment and positioning to social and cultural change (e.g., Jodelet, 1989; Bauer & Gaskell, 2002; Howarth, 2006; Jovchelovitch, 2007; Castro & Batel, 2008; Sammut et al., 2015; Mouro & Castro, 2016). Studying social representations entails analyzing both the cognitive and the sociocultural contextual dimensions of the process of meaning-making (Jodelet, 1991; Chrysochoou, 2000; Valsiner, 2003). Specifically, implies examining shared systems of meaning, knowledge and action that people draw upon in order to make sense of the world and to act towards it (Moscovici, 1976; Sammut et al., 2015; Andreouli & Chrysochoou, 2015). This process of meaning-making or re-presenting relies on the relational dynamic within the self-other-object triangle, allowing the emergence, construction and transformation of representations (Moscovici, 1972; Marková, 2003).

A multiplicity of representations may arise in different individuals and social groups (Jodelet, 1989), and within the same place (Howarth, 2002; Sibley & Liu, 2013). Particularly within communities facing social and cultural change, it seems important to analyse social representations’ contents and forms of communication (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999), in order to understand how the unfamiliar introduced by the transformations undergoing in a certain context, place or community are interpreted and enter into people’s everyday life, i.e. how they make the unfamiliar familiar (Moscovici, 1988; Jovchelovitch, 2001; Castro, 2002; Sammut et al., 2015; Andreouli & Chrysochoou, 2015).

The social and cultural changes happening in the environment may be received in different manners, leading individuals and groups to position themselves in contradictory or ambivalent ways (Mouro & Castro, 2012), accepting or rejecting/contesting social change (Batel et al., 2013), under different discursive strategies, for instance “Yes, but...” formats (Billig, 1988; Castro & Batel, 2008; Batel & Castro, 2018), especially relevant for conciliating contradictory ideas and representations (Castro & Batel, 2008; Batel & Castro, 2018).

Understanding which and how different representational profiles arise is particularly relevant in social and culturally diversified contexts like regenerated inner-city and historical neighbourhoods, which are ‘officially’ brought to the public sphere through specific images (e.g., Mendes, 2012; Menezes, 2012; Tulumello, 2015; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). How simultaneous social representations about those transformations may cause tension and conflict between representations (Friling, 2012; Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernández, 2015) of a multicultural and traditional neighbourhood and how residents locate themselves within the community, identifying or not with it (Wagner, Duveen, Temel, & Verma, 1999; Howarth, 2002; Howarth et al., 2015) are central questions of this thesis. Nevertheless, before trying to answer them, it is imperative to choose the respective object of study, and to offer a brief overview of it. Therefore, it is time to present the neighbourhood of Mouraria, subject of the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

PRESENTING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF MOURARIA

Chapter Presentation

The present chapter provides a description of the object of study of the thesis, the neighbourhood of Mouraria, in Lisbon. It begins by presenting a brief overview about its origins and how it has been developing as a simultaneously traditional and multicultural neighbourhood over the years. It follows with its sociodemographic characterization, and a description of the program of urban regeneration implemented in Mouraria, comprising the Community Development Plan of Mouraria. Finally, some concluding remarks are provided.

1. The story of a historical, traditional and cosmopolitan inner-city neighbourhood: a brief overview

Lisbon, once called al-Usbuna in the VIII century, was conquered by King D. Afonso Henriques (1139-1185) in 1147 (Crespo, 1990). The historical neighbourhoods have defined its urbanity over the years (Cordeiro, 2003). After four centuries of Islamic occupation, with the Christian conquest the Muslims and the Jews were forced to leave the city and to settle along a hill climbing up from the centre town towards the *Castle of São Jorge* (Mendes, 2012; Menezes, 2012). In 1170, the charter for the gated Moorish Commune was provided, marking the official beginning of the neighbourhood of Mouraria (Crespo, 1990; Cordeiro, 2003), together with its stigmatized image of the valley of the defeated where the segregated remained living (Barros, 1998). With unclear territorial boundaries, some authors suggest that the neighbourhood was walled with two doors in *Rua dos Cavaleiros*, limiting the interreligious contact and restraining the everyday life of its residents to their own sociocultural space (Barros, 1998). Overall, after this, there are three main moments within the historical and urban development of the neighbourhood, namely: (1) the edict of the Muslim expulsion in the XV century; (2) the high population increase due to the rural exodus; and (3) the various urban planning projects during the XX and XXI centuries.

In the XVIII and XIX centuries, the neighbourhood received people from other regions of the country and from Galiza, in Northern Spain. More recently, in the 1970s, Mouraria started to receive citizens from the Portuguese former colonies and, in the 1990s, Asian immigrants (from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Nepal and China) began to arrive (Malheiros et al., 2012).

The neighbourhood is one of the birthplaces of the traditional Portuguese music, *Fado* (Malheiros et al., 2012; Mendes, 2012; Menezes, 2012). Its irregular urban plan, with multiple corners, alleys, and narrow streets (Mendes, 2012) have shaped the everyday life of the community by promoting tight social relations and giving Mouraria a unique character (Mendes, 2012; Menezes, 2012). The lively sociability in its public places is one of its most striking features, framing the familiar environment publicly lived (Mendes, 2012). Simultaneously, the image of a stigmatized neighbourhood remained, with the successive and unpopular revitalization interventions undertaken between the 1950s and the 1990s (Menezes, 2012). Only in 2010 it was transformed from a place described by the degradation of its buildings, streets and squares, the ageing of the population, poverty, the abandonment of the younger population, drug trafficking and prostitution, to a trendy and touristic place undergoing particular processes of gentrification, and central within the cultural agenda of Lisbon (Moya, 2019). Its traditional environment and close neighbourly relations, together with the stories,

memories and place identities of the long-time residents constitute the ‘official’ social representation of the neighbourhood as a *traditional and historical neighbourhood* a representation that ‘lives’ side by side with a representation of a successful *multicultural neighbourhood* (e.g., Tulumello, 2015; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017), simultaneously brought about to the public sphere by the Press and the City Council of Lisbon (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015).

Since 2010, Mouraria has been experiencing two main processes of socio-urban transformation (Malheiros et al. 2012; Tulumello, 2015), namely a slow growing gentrification and the re-enforcement of the established Asian immigrant population. As pointed out in Chapter I, the pioneers of the gentrification process – new gentrifiers – prefer to live in central areas of the city due to their liberal and cosmopolitan lifestyle and the socially and ethnically tolerant environment that these offer (Rodrigues, 2010), simultaneously seeking for the traditional tenor characteristic of the historical neighbourhoods (Malheiros et al., 2012). In Mouraria, most of them have a university degree and work in liberal professions related to cultural, artistic, or local social economy activities (Malheiros et al., 2012). Although rental costs have increased, this group of residents were still able to afford them. Moreover, long-time residents were also able to remain in the neighbourhood (Rodrigues, 2010). Therefore, changes to the physical space by these newcomers were minimal at the beginning of the urban regeneration program implemented in 2010 (Malheiros et al., 2012). In addition, the high sociocultural diversity of Mouraria has been strengthened, presenting immigrants from 51 different nationalities (Fonseca & McGarrigle, 2013; Moya, 2019). The reinforcement of the Asian immigrants together with the settlement of Eastern European and Brazilian populations have made the cultural and ethnic diversity of the neighbourhood more visible (Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). Thus, the diversity which characterizes Mouraria stems from its social and ethnic composition. Another factor that has been contributed to such diversity regards the fast-growing tourism undergoing in the neighbourhood (Moya, 2019). It is even “officially” presented in the Press as a central piece of Lisbon’s identity, and one of the places that contributes to make the city a top global tourist destination (Mendes, 2012; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). All these factors together give rise to the ‘official’ social representation of the neighbourhood as a multicultural and cosmopolitan neighbourhood (e.g., Tulumello, 2015; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017).

The neighbourhood is also known by its community associations who have played an important role in preserving the identity, culture values, traditions and memories of the neighbourhood (Moya, 2019). Some of these have been in place for many years, such as the *Grupo Desportivo da Mouraria* (1936), the *Centro Escolar Republicano Almirante Reis* (1911), and the Regional Associations (*Gouveia, Minho, Covilhã, Lafões*). Others established since

2010, namely *Associação Renovar a Mouraria* (2008) and *Cozinha Popular da Mouraria* (2012). A relevant source of information to follow more closely the activities of the local groups is the local newspaper *Rosa Maria, Jornal da Mouraria*, founded in 2010 by the *Associação Renovar a Mouraria* (Tulumello, 2015). The activities of these new associations have counted with the joint work of the residents and the population living in other areas of the city, aiming at supporting the development of Mouraria and promoting social and intercultural dynamics (Moya, 2019). This has also contributed to the attraction of more visitors and new residents, altering the sociocultural landscape of the neighbourhood (Moya, 2019).

In sum, today Mouraria undergoes simultaneous processes of social and cultural change (Moya, 2019): (a) a small-scale gentrification (Mendes, 2012), presenting features of the second stage of gentrification (Moya, 2019), centralized in specific places; and (b) a residential ethnicization with the reinforcement of the immigrants, mostly from Asia (Malheiros et al., 2012; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). Additionally, nowadays the neighbourhood comprises three main groups of residents – long-time residents, new gentrifiers and immigrants – that seem to live apart, rarely interacting (Menezes, 2012; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). Importantly, the neighbourhood is ‘officially’ presented by the Press and the City Council of Lisbon under two representations – as a *traditional neighbourhood* and as a successful *multicultural neighbourhood* (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). The sociocultural landscape of Mouraria has changed, and continues to change.

In the next section, the chapter presents a more detailed description of the neighbourhood, providing a brief sociodemographic characterization.

2. Sociodemographic characterization of the neighbourhood

The following sociodemographic data regards the official data collected by the National Statistical Institute of Portugal for Census 2011 (INE, 2012). Mouraria is part of the parish council of Santa Maria Maior. It has a population of 4406 inhabitants, 53% of which of the Portuguese residents are aged 65 or over. The immigrants represent 23,4% of the residents, of which only 8% are 65 years or older, and 19% are 25 years or younger. Regarding their nationality: (a) 61,8% are from Asia, specifically from China, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Nepal; (b) 14,2% are from Africa; (c) 14,6% are from Europe; and (d) 9,4% are from America. In 2011, over 22% of the residents were newcomers, being one of the neighbourhoods of Lisbon with a higher rate of such residents. Mouraria is the neighbourhood of the parish council of Santa Maria Maior with more residents without any academic level (18,8%), presenting the highest unemployment rate (17,3%).

Next, it will be presented the main features of the program of urban regeneration implemented in Mouraria.

3. PDCM – QREN Mouraria: program of urban regeneration and community development of Mouraria

An ongoing urban regeneration program started in Mouraria in 2010, comprising the Community Development Plan of Mouraria (*Plano de Desenvolvimento Comunitário da Mouraria – PDCM*), after the Action Program of Mouraria (PA) has been approved by the QREN (*Quadro de Referência Estratégico Nacional*; CML, 2010). The regeneration program aimed at solving multiple social problems (e.g., unemployment, sense of insecurity, social exclusion of vulnerable groups), renewing it at the physical level (e.g., public squares and buildings) and motivating new people to visit and live in Mouraria (CML, 2010). It has focused on the valorization of both the material and the immaterial patrimony of the neighbourhood, involving the regeneration of the public places and the support of social and cultural initiatives of the community to strengthening the neighbourhood identity and its multiculturalism (CML, 2010; Moya, 2019).

The urban regeneration policies followed the slogan “requalify the past to build the future”, and were financed with funds from the European Union for the public works of the neighbourhood, through QREN (Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). In addition, the City Council of Lisbon funded ten actions through the Priority Intervention Neighbourhoods and Areas Program (BIP/ZIP), and the PDCM through a proposal of sixteen local community associations to the municipal participatory budget, working in partnership and carrying out the 23 projects of the plan (CML, 2010). In sum, the urban interventions undertaken in Mouraria sought to follow a mixed/bottom-up strategy, focusing on solving both the social and the physical challenges of the public places of the neighbourhood.

4. Concluding remarks

This chapter has sought to briefly present the neighbourhood of Mouraria, framing the context of study of the thesis. It has clearly revealed how the neighbourhood has been marked by a growing process of social and cultural diversification, through two main processes of socio-urban transformation: (a) gentrification; and (b) residential ethnicisation (Malheiros et al., 2012; Tulumello, 2015). Moreover, studies identify the long-time residents, the new gentrifiers and the immigrants as the main three groups of residents today living in the

neighbourhood (Malheiros et al., 2012), indicating little or no interaction between them (Menezes, 2012; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015).

Given the diversified and multicultural environment, and the historical background of Mouraria as a traditional neighbourhood of Lisbon with narrow streets and close relationships among neighbours, today there are two ‘official’ social representations brought to the public sphere by the Press and the City Council of Lisbon: (1) a representation of a traditional and historical neighbourhood; and (2) a representation of a multicultural and cosmopolitan neighbourhood (Tulumello, 2015). The urban regeneration program implemented, in 2010, in the neighbourhood aimed at preserving both images, through an intervention based on a mixed/bottom-up strategy with the joint work of the City Council of Lisbon and local community associations (CML, 2010; Moya, 2019). In conclusion, the material and immaterial patrimony of Mouraria is a crucial social, cultural and economic asset of its residents and the city. It helps to produce and maintain the identity of its community and its historical legacies (Moya, 2019). It is important to question and to further understand how the profound sociocultural and spatial transformations stemming from the urban regeneration plan implemented impact the social sustainability of the neighbourhood, regarding the coexistence of the multiple identities of its residents – new and old –, its public everyday life, and the psychosocial processes involved. To answer such challenge, the thesis will follow with its first study, presenting it in the next chapter.

SECTION II
EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

CHAPTER VI

STUDY 1 - PSYCHO-SOCIAL PROCESSES PREDICTING PUBLIC PLACE SOCIABILITY²

² The Study A presented in this chapter regards the following submitted article:

Bettencourt, L., Castro, P., & Dixon, J. (under review). Can regenerated inner-city areas remain sites of public-place sociability? Psycho-social processes predicting public sociability in a changing neighbourhood. *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology*

1. Introduction

The current chapter presents the first study of the thesis, conducted in order to answer the first aim proposed in this work, namely to analyse what social psychological processes may contribute to the maintenance of public place sociability, i.e., predict residents' reported use of public places to socialize with others in regenerated historical inner-city areas. From a psycho-social and socio-political perspective, it is important to understand how the macro-level transformations under different policy models are affecting the micro-level of social relations *in place* and relations *to place* (Di Masso, 2015). It is especially relevant to understand whether in historical inner-city areas being regenerated the use of public places for everyday sociability is being maintained, and what may favour its preservation. In many such areas, an intense public place sociability was a prominent feature, especially in southern European cities, where the habit of meeting friends, relatives and neighbours in streets and squares has helped to sustain close-knit communities and inter-generational attachment to place (Mendes, 2012; Di Masso, 2015; Tulumello, 2015). It is thus important to understand how the uses of public places are evolving, and perhaps changing, in the context of specific regeneration models – top-down or bottom-up (Pissourios, 2014) – implemented and which social psychological aspects are involved, taking the neighbourhood of Mouraria, in Lisbon, as a case study.

As reported in Chapter V, Mouraria is a traditionally working-class area where a lively public place sociability has long been a striking characteristic, and where a regeneration program of bottom-up/mixed-strategy started in 2010 (CML, 2010), in which authorities offer subsidies and/or fiscal incentives to owners assuring renewal of decaying properties, and implement community consultation for supporting the creation of local jobs, helping fight poverty and stigmatization (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015; Pissourios, 2014; Tulumello, 2015; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). Subsequently the neighbourhood has been increasingly attracting new small-scale gentrifiers (Oliveira & Padilla, 2017) and new immigrants, mostly from Asia (Malheiros et al., 2012). Building on a questionnaire survey, this study investigates if public place sociability is maintained by the three main groups of residents of Mouraria – traditional, new gentrifiers and immigrants – and explores the role played in this maintenance by different social psychological processes. The study follows the literature reviewed in Chapter II on people-place relations and on social psychological processes that may contribute to the involvement of residents in the everyday public life of the neighbourhood and the use of its public places, namely perceived cultural continuity (Sani et al., 2007; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014), i.e., the sense that the neighbourhood has retained collective cultural continuity in the face of the transformations; place identification (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010), i.e. the feeling

of belonging to, fitting in and being attached to the neighbourhood; place knowledge (Naess, 2013), i.e. the extent to which residents feel they know the place and its history; and the representation of intergroup interaction (Castro, 2015), i.e. the extent to which residents view different groups interacting in public place.

To clarify further the context of the study, the chapter first outlines previous research on regeneration in inner-city areas, and how social-psychological literature has not focused on the relational level, nor has compared the role of people-place bonds for long-time and new residents, living under distinct types of regeneration models. It follows with a review on how residents' uses of public places for socializing may be affected by different social psychological processes. Then it presents Studies A and B separately, each organized as follows: (1) the research questions and specific aims; (2) the statistical analysis proposed; (3) the methodology, describing the procedure and participants, and the variables operationalized in the questionnaire; (4) the data analysis, beginning with a descriptive overview (means and standard-deviations) and the inferential statistics (MANOVA, t-student test, and Pearson correlations), and ending with a proposed model to test to what extent specific social psychological processes can predict public place sociability and whether they work differently for different types of residents; and (5) the results. Finally, the chapter presents a discussion and some concluding remarks regarding both studies and their contributions for a deeper understanding about the predictive role of specific social psychological processes on people's uses of public places to socialize with others, within the specific context of a regenerated inner-city neighbourhood, under a bottom-up/mixed model regeneration policy.

2. Changing inner-cities and relations through urban regeneration

In the inner-city neighbourhoods of many European cities, particularly southern cities, public places are central to the daily lives and relationships of their residents – as illustrated, for example, by research conducted in Barcelona (Di Masso, 2015), Granada (Padilla et al., 2014), Cagliari (Zoppi & Mereu, 2015), or Lisbon (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015; Malheiros et al., 2012; Tulumello, 2015). As places of sociability and identity, the streets and squares of these areas traditionally served as extensions of the dwelling, acting as transitional or secondary spaces where borders between private and public are porous (Korosec-Serfaty, 1990; Rapoport, 1985). The lively street life - fostered by architectural features that include small dwellings, inner squares and narrow streets (Tulumello, 2015) – helped to construct close-knit communities and shore up inter-generational social support networks, crucial for compensating

for the needs (e.g., grand-parent support in after-school hours) associated with the hardship also characterizing working-class tenants' lives (Di Masso, 2015; Mendes, 2012).

At the same time, many such neighbourhoods endured the stigma of poverty, urban decay and marginalization (Blanco, Bonet, & Walliser, 2011), and many have lately been targeted for programs of urban regeneration (Lees, 2008). Research on the sociological (Blanco et al., 2011; Lees, 2008), geographical (Tulumello, 2015) and urban planning (Davison et al., 2012; Freeman et al., 2016) dimensions and consequences of these inner-cities transformations and the models they follow – top-down or bottom-up – is now abundant. The social-psychological literature is, however, scarce. Nevertheless, some pioneer studies show that the type of regeneration model followed indeed matters: bottom-up strategies were shown to lead to higher levels of community identification, which in turn predicts individual well-being (Heath et al., 2017). Other studies showed how attachment to more socially diverse neighbourhoods was mediated by the emotion of excitement (Toruńczyk-Ruiz & Lewicka, 2016); and how the convergence of identity goals between long-time residents and newcomers was important for more positive intergroup perceptions (Stevenson et al., 2018).

However, these pioneer analyses have so far focused on individual-level psychological aspects (self-esteem, self-efficacy, emotions), and/or on identification with the *community* (Heath et al., 2017; Toruńczyk-Ruiz & Lewicka, 2016; Stevenson et al., 2018), and do not study people-place bonds as such: they do not examine how place identification (e.g., viewing the place as part of the self; Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010) or place knowledge (e.g., knowing the history and features of the place; Benages-Albert, Di Masso, Porcel, Pol, & Vall-Casas, 2015) may impact social uses of the place – e.g., public sociability. They do not, moreover, compare the role of such people-place bonds for long-time residents *and* new dwellers, living under one or more types of regeneration models. In sum, no studies have thus far explored the relational level, i.e., whether people's bonds (identification, knowledge) to urban places that were regenerated and became different and more socially diverse can help predict public place sociability and whether there are different predictive patterns for different types of residents.

There is also a body of work, although scarce, focused on understanding how people construct social representations about a changing urban place, and it affects the cognitive configurations of the city (Dias & Ramadier, 2015), or urban identity (Belanche et al., 2017). Nevertheless, research has not been studying the potential role of social representations about others' interactional behaviour in urban place – at an intergroup level – on people's willingness to socialize in public places, within the context of a regenerated inner-city neighbourhood. It

has not also examined if the predictive role of viewing different groups interacting in place may work differently for long-time residents and new immigrants.

It is thus important to focus, on the one hand, on the relational level, under a particular regeneration model, exploring if older residents feel that the neighbourhood - architecturally changed and more diverse – no longer reflects their values and history, i.e., is now seen as discontinuous with the past (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014), and whether these transformations, in turn, may lead to their de-identification and retreat into more private routines, with the costs of solitude this may entail. It is important to know, too, more about the experiences of more recent residents: Do they see the areas as retaining continuity with past characteristics, how does this affect their bonds to place, and their social uses of place? On the other hand, it is important to understand if a convergence between residents' representation about the environment of the neighbourhood and the 'official' representation of the neighbourhood as a multicultural and cosmopolitan place (Oliveira et al., 2014; Tulumello, 2015), due to intergroup interactions occurring in place, predicts residents' use of public places to socialize with others. For long-time residents, because seeing people interacting in place may lead them to feel the long known place sociability of the neighbourhood still exists, and to continue to identify with the neighbourhood. For immigrants, because seeing a social diversified environment in public places, may make them feel more comfortable and identified with the neighbourhood (Main & Sandoval, 2015), fostering their willingness to socialize in public places.

Following this, the present research focuses on understanding the social psychological dynamics of a particular mixed/bottom-up regeneration program, exploring them for three different groups – long-time residents, new gentrifiers and immigrants – and with relational-level variables that previous studies have not analyzed. Specifically, whereas previous research offers important insights on predictors of place attachment under diversity (Toruńczyk-Ruiz & Lewicka, 2016), and well-being in regenerated areas (Heath et al., 2017), or on the influence of social representations of changing urban places on socio-spatial configurations (Dias & Ramadier, 2015) and urban identity (Belanche et al., 2017), the present research attempts to clarify how social psychological processes may affect the maintenance of relational engagement in regenerated public places, under a specific mixed/bottom-up program.

3. Social-psychological processes associated to residents' uses of public places

3.1. Perceiving continuity in changed places

The urban and social transformations brought by regeneration programs make it relevant to ask to what extent the *collective* cultural continuity of the neighbourhood –, i.e., the

continuity its core values, norms and traditions transmitted over generations (Sani et al., 2007; 2008; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014) - is perceived by residents as threatened, and whether this matters for their use of public places for meeting friends, relatives and neighbours. In this regard, the literature suggests that perceiving a community as retaining cultural continuity with the past (Sani et al., 2008) fosters both emotional connectivity and identification with place (Main & Sandoval, 2015) and knowledge about the place (Benages-Albert et al., 2015). Thus, it is also reasonable to expect this to lead people to also preserve public “*place encounters*” (Viola, 2012; p.143). Research also suggests that, in contexts undergoing change or social diversification, if a sense of collective continuity of the community’s core elements is assured, then changes may be constructed as non-threatening (Obradović & Howarth, 2018), lessening the rejection of those seen as different (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014).

It is nevertheless important to acknowledge that perceiving a neighbourhood as maintaining (*collective*) continuity with the past may affect long-time residents’ and new gentrifiers’ uses of public places for somewhat different reasons. Regarding long-time residents, the literature suggests that the arrival of newcomers with new lifestyles may make them feel that their own past values, traditions and lifestyles are threatened (Stevenson et al., 2018). This may lead to retreat from public conviviality (Buchecker, 2009; Rapoport, 1985). In *Mouraria*, for example, a recent interview study showed that some long-time residents express some loss of continuity (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015) – so it is now important not just to understand if this feeling is generalized in this group, but also if it predicts public place encounters.

With respect to new residents, the literature shows that when moving to new places they often seek out neighbourhoods that are continuous with those of their past and with values they favoured (Rishbeth & Powell, 2012), or they may remake new places to better reflect past significant ones (Dixon & Durrheim, 2004; Manzo, 2005) and better fit in their new locale (Stevenson et al., 2018). These strategies facilitate the rapid development of identification to the new places (Buchecker, 2009; Main & Sandoval, 2015; Manzo, 2005; Rishbeth & Powell, 2012). However, some studies also suggest that the desire that some express for living in ‘authentic’ traditional environments does not necessarily lead them to actually engage with the lifestyle of the neighbourhood when there (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015; Malheiros et al., 2012). It is thus important to ascertain the extent to which a sense of continuity might lead new gentrifiers to actually adopt the habits of using public places for engaging with the community.

In sum, the literature suggests that perceiving the neighbourhood as retaining cultural continuity with the past may affect differently different groups’ use of public places as sites of

social interaction. The present research will thus seek to ascertain whether this is the case for long-time residents and new gentrifiers. We will now consider the relationship between continuity and place identification, linking it to urban regeneration and diversification.

3.2. People-place bonds: place and identity

The role of place identity relations in shaping behaviour in public urban environments has been evidenced by environmental psychological research (e.g., Di Masso, 2015; Gustafson, 2001; Rollero & De Piccoli, 2010). The current research draws from psycho-social and environmental psychological literature that theorizes place identity, highlighting the bonds between people and place. In this literature, Identity Process Theory (Breakwell, 2014) theorizes the link between continuity and identity at the individual level, suggesting that identity processes are guided by four principles – distinctiveness, self-esteem, efficacy and continuity and Droseltis and Vignoles (2010) show how these principles help explain place identification, but in particular, how the principle of (self) continuity is a direct predictor of place identification (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010). Other studies also corroborate that individual continuity may predict place identification (Main & Sandoval, 2015; Rishbeth & Powell, 2012). For instance, in the context of regenerated neighbourhoods, some studies show that identification with the community - which includes feelings of connection with co-residents - fosters positive psychological outcomes, such as resilience and well-being, as well as higher levels of willingness to pay back to the community (Heath et al., 2017). Other studies demonstrate that perceiving higher diversity in neighbourhoods may strengthen attachment to place, particularly if diversity does not interfere with previous social norms of coexistence (Toruńczyk-Ruiz & Lewicka, 2016), i.e., with collective continuity.

In sum, research shows how place identification is predicted by individual continuity (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010), and how a sense of community contributes to individual well-being (Heath et al., 2017), and how diversity does not necessarily weaken people-place bonds (Toruńczyk-Ruiz & Lewicka, 2016). However, this research has remained focused on the individual level, and has not yet clarified whether a sense of continuity at a *collective* level – i.e. perceived cultural continuity, or the sense that the core shared elements of a community are maintained (Smeeke & Verkuyten, 2014) – plays a role in predicting more place related bonds – such as place identification. Neither has it explored whether place identification can predict self-reported public place behaviour, and more specifically the public forms of social interaction that have for long defined relations in inner-city neighbourhoods in many (Southern) European cities, or even whether identification is a stronger predictor of these uses of place in

a changing neighbourhood than the perception that changes have not erased its continuity with the past.

Extending this previous research, we propose that – in a context where the regeneration process did not force gentrification but allowed newcomers to seek the area because they identified with its values and attempts to retain some continuity were made (Oliveira & Padilla, 2017; Tulumello, 2015) – place identification will be central to residents' self-reported use of public spaces as sites to socialize, even in the face of transformations. In this sense, we expect the effect of cultural continuity on public place sociability to be partially mediated by place identification.

Mouraria is known as a historical neighbourhood – thus, knowledge of its histories and shared memories are a crucial feature for its residents. We will hence now consider the literature on place knowledge and how it connects to people-place relations.

3.3. People-place bonds: the importance of knowing the neighbourhood

One expression of people-place bonds still neglected in the literature is place knowledge. Some authors conceptualize it as a sub-dimension of place identity and/or attachment (e.g., Lewicka, 2008), constructed through (individual) everyday experiences and familiarity, bringing a sense of efficacy in place (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010). Others accentuate how it is linked to shared memories and historical, collective, knowledge (Berkes, 2004; Castro & Mouro, 2016; Naess, 2013). Place knowledge thus seems potentially central for people-place relations. To date, however, no studies have treated such knowledge as a variable that may predict how people use public places in urban contexts. Yet socializing in place is also a way of hearing and sharing stories, memories, knowledge of past events, helping develop bonds to place over time (Benages-Albert et al., 2015). In Mouraria, with its close social relationships and public place sociability (Malheiros et al., 2012), knowledge about the memories and history of the neighbourhood has, for generations, been a central feature for residents. We thus explore the potential role of this type of (historical) place knowledge in predicting residents' use of public places for social interaction, expecting it to be positively associated with engagement in public place sociability independent of, and in addition to, the effects of place identification. We also expect the type of resident (long-time residents and new gentrifiers) to moderate the predictive capacity of place knowledge on public place sociability.

3.4. Representation of intergroup interaction: finding familiarity in public places

Finding familiar elements in the neighbourhood facilitates immigrants' place attachment and identification with it (Trąbka, 2019), which may make them more prone to use its public places (Main & Sandoval, 2015). This use can be materialised through material and social practices in place (Ehrkamp, 2005; Main & Sandoval, 2015). Research suggests that immigrants seek to integrate in the neighbourhood through the remaking of previous places of residence, for instance, by placing cultural anchors and commercial businesses, establishing mostly commercial relations with other residents (Ehrkamp, 2005; Kaplan & Recoquillon, 2014; Main & Sandoval, 2015). Thus, it is important to understand if viewing the neighbourhood as a multicultural and cosmopolitan place, i.e., by representing other groups as interacting at an intergroup level in the public places of the neighbourhood, would enable immigrants to feel familiarized with their new place of residence. Seeing the social environment of the latest as a receptive ambience for different cultural and social groups, who use and interact freely in place, may lead immigrants feel like using public places to socialize. It may also turn the new neighbourhood into a place of personal growth and development with which immigrants identify with (Trąbka, 2019), what ultimately would be an important factor for immigrants behaviour in public place.

Regarding long-time residents, a previous interviews' study (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015) suggests this group of residents referring that the traditional sociability of Mouraria has been diminishing. Now, it reveals important to understand if these residents report seeing different groups interacting in public place, and important to ask if this social representation about the social environment of the neighbourhood fosters their willingness to socialize with others in place. Perhaps, viewing that the public places of the neighbourhood are still used for sociability enables long-time residents to continue to feel identified with the neighbourhood, even though this sociability comprises a new way of relating in place, a more social and cultural diversified one, convergent to one of the 'official' social representations of the neighbourhood – a multicultural and cosmopolitan place (Tulumello, 2015).

Importantly, this research contributes to the literature on social representations. Indeed, research has not been studying the potential role of social representations about others' intergroup interactional behaviour in urban place on residents' willingness to socialize in public places, within the context of a regenerated inner-city neighbourhood. It has not also examined if the predictive role of viewing different groups interacting in place may work differently for long-time residents and new immigrants. The literature has been focusing on understanding how social mobility in a neighbourhood affects cognitive configurations of the city (Dias &

Ramadier, 2015), or how urban social representations regarding city's culture, history, politics and social factors influence urban identity (Belanche et al., 2017). The present research thus explores the potential role of representation of intergroup interaction in predicting residents' use of public places for social interaction, and the potential effect of place identification in mediating this relationship. We also expect the type of resident (long-time residents and immigrants) to moderate the predictive capacity of these variables.

3.5. A brief summary

In sum, the literature suggests that feeling identified with the neighbourhood is a central bond to place for all groups of residents – traditional, new gentrifiers and immigrants – since it fosters a stronger connection with the neighbourhood and sense of belonging (Di Masso, 2015; Trąbka, 2019). Therefore, it is important to understand if place identification also has a predictive role on residents' willingness to use the public places of the neighbourhood to socialize with others, as proposed in both Studies A and B.

Regarding the extent to which one perceives the neighbourhood has been able to maintain its cultural values and traditions, i.e. the perceived cultural continuity of the neighbourhood (Sani et al., 2007; 2008; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014), the literature suggests how it is important for long-time residents and new gentrifiers to perceive that the neighbourhood still comprises the traditional environment and lifestyle they cherish, and which the latter seek for when choosing the neighbourhood as a place of residence. Moreover, studies also point out for how this can be connected to the extent to which residents are able to feel they still know their neighbourhood, i.e. place knowledge (Benages-Albert et al., 2015). Thus, Study A analyses the predictive role of perceived cultural continuity and place knowledge on both long-time residents and new gentrifiers' willingness to socialize in the public places of Mouraria.

In relation to the immigrants, the literature shows they tend to establish a different kind of relationship with the neighbourhood, compared with new gentrifiers. Studies suggest that the immigrants tend to look for neighbourhoods where they can remake previous place of residence, and establish and find cultural anchors, finding familiarity in their neighbourhood. This familiarity can be translated into a multicultural environment, expressed by the intergroup relationships occurring in place. For immigrants, it is important to ask if representing the public places as places where intergroup relationships happen fosters their willingness to use these to socialize. The same can be asked concerning long-time residents, if they represent the public places of the neighbourhood as still be used for socializing. Hence, Study B analyses the

predictive role of representation of intergroup interaction on public sociability for long-time residents and immigrants.

4. Study A – Continuity and knowledge in a changing neighbourhood: comparing long-time residents and new gentrifiers

4.1. Research questions and specific aims

The main questions that guided Study A were formulated as follows. In the context of a bottom-up/mixed urban regeneration process that sought to attract rather than impose new residents:

- (1) Do long-time residents and new gentrifiers maintain the public sociability that is traditional in Mouraria?
- (2) Do both groups do so to a similar extent?
- (3) Do both groups perceive cultural continuity in the neighbourhood, express place identification and place knowledge to similar extents?
- (4) Do these psychosocial processes help predict public place sociability?

Regarding the first question, we tested if participants report using the public places of the neighbourhood for socializing with others. To answer questions 2 and 3 we tested, through a MANOVA followed by t-test analyses, whether both groups socialize in place, perceive neighbourhood's cultural continuity, identify with it and know it to a similar extent by comparing their mean scores concerning the following variables: (a) public place sociability; (b) perceived cultural continuity; (c) place identification; and (d) place knowledge. Finally, to answer question 4 a moderated parallel mediation model was tested that examined if: (a) perceived cultural continuity predicts directly public place sociability; (b) this relationship is mediated by both place identification and place knowledge; (c) the latter two variables offer independent contributions to the prediction of place sociability; and (d) type of resident moderated these relationships (see Figure 6). As long-time residents live for a longer time in the neighbourhood, it is expected that they report a higher sense of identification with the neighbourhood and higher levels of knowledge about its history and people than new gentrifiers. Consequently, we expect this difference between both types of residents to have an effect on the predictive capacity of place identification and place knowledge on public place sociability, with this effect being stronger for long-time residents.

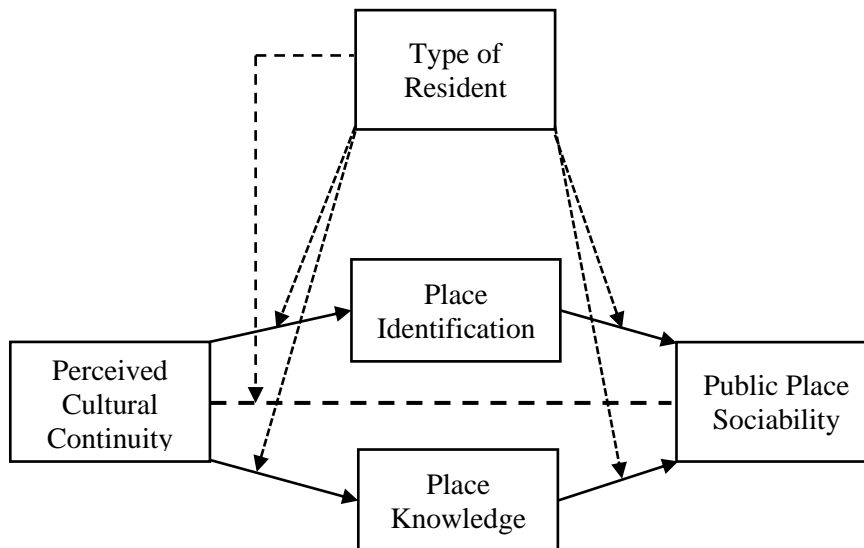


Figure 6. Moderated parallel-mediation model of the relationship between perceived cultural continuity and public place sociability, with type of resident as moderator – long-time residents and new gentrifiers –, and place identification and place knowledge as mediators.

Given that research on person-place relations highlights the connection between use of place and the construction of collective memories (Benages-Albert et al., 2015), suggesting a strong link - that could be bi-directional - between place identification and people's behaviour in place (Di Masso, 2015), there were also tested two *reverse* mediation models that examined: 1) if public place sociability predicts perceived cultural continuity and this relationship is mediated by place identification and place knowledge; and 2) if place identification predicts public place sociability and this relationship is mediated by perceived cultural continuity and place knowledge.

4.2. Methodology

4.2.1. Procedure and participants

Data collection occurred between April 2015 and October 2016. A sample (N=277) of three types of residents - long-time residents, new gentrifiers, and immigrants - completed a questionnaire in the neighbourhood (see Appendix B). Based on the methodology previously used in the neighbourhood (see Malheiros et al., 2012), respondents were considered long-time residents if they declared Portuguese nationality and more than ten years of residence in the neighbourhood. They were included as new gentrifiers if they had Portuguese or other European nationalities and had lived in the neighbourhood for a maximum of nine years. At last, participants were considered immigrants if they had a foreign nationality, other than Central, North or South European ones, without limit of years living in the neighbourhood. Residents

were approached in four different places in the neighbourhood - two central inner squares and two transition places (long streets interspersed with small squares that serve as entry and exit points for the neighbourhood). The choice of these places – two located in the interior of the area and two located at its two main borders – assured access to a diversity of residents and residents' trajectories in the neighbourhood, since most residents have to pass by them in order to reach their homes.

Regarding the long-time residents (N=137), their mean age was M=59.8 years; (SD=16.4); 74 were female (54%) and 63 were male (46%); the majority had the primary or high school educational level (87.6%) and were employed (46.3%) or retired (40.4%). Regarding new gentrifiers (N=64), their mean age was M=31 years (SD=8.9), 34 were female (53.1%) and 30 were male (46.9%); 59 were Portuguese and 5 were from other European countries (see Appendix C); the majority had undergraduate or masters level education (50%) or a high school educational level (39.1%) and were employed (83.9%). Finally, with respect to the immigrants (N=76), their mean age was M=35.1 years (SD=9.5), 19 were female (25%) and 57 were male (75%); the majority were from Asia (53.9%), followed by Africa (34.3%), Brazil (9.2%) and Romania (2.6%) [see Appendix C]; most of the participants had the primary or high school educational level (88.2%) or an undergraduate or masters level education (11.9%), and were employed (82.9%).

Importantly, the average time of residence of long-time residents was 45.3 years (SD=19.8) whereas the average time of residence of new gentrifiers was 4.1 years (SD=4.7), and of immigrants was 6.3 years (SD=7.5), both in stark contrast with the first group. Also in contrast with the first group, the qualifications of new gentrifiers were higher, and they were younger.

4.2.2. Variables

This section provides a detailed description of the scales and the respective variables operationalized in the questionnaire. Exploratory Factor Analyses were undertaken, whenever relevant, following Principal Components Analyses (PCA), and the reliability of each composite variable was estimated using the Cronbach's Alpha (α). All variables were assessed on a 7-point Likert scale, ranging from 1 (Do Not Agree at All) to 7 (Totally Agree). The statistical software package SPSS 20.0 was used to develop all the statistical analyses.

Perceived cultural continuity. Sani and colleagues' study (2007) suggests that people's sense of collective continuity is grounded on two perceptions: (a) perceived cultural continuity

(PCC); and (b) perceived narrative continuity (PNC), both dimensions and subscales of *Perceived Collective Continuity Scale* (12-item). Drawing on these, Smeekes and Verkuyten (2014) created a 10-item scale, with two 5-item subscales (PCC and PNC). For the purpose of the present study, only the dimension *perceived cultural continuity* was assessed, with an adaptation of the PCC subscale of Smeekes and Verkuyten (2014). It tapped residents' evaluations of two statements ($r = .49$): (1) 'Mouraria has maintained its own customs and traditions over time'; and (2) 'The neighbourhood has been able to preserve its identity over time, even with the arrival of new residents'.

Place identification. This variable was assessed with an adaptation of the 6-item *Place Identification Scale* developed by Droseltis and Vignoles (2010). The authors propose a three-dimensional concept of place identification: (a) self-extension/attachment – places are cognitively experienced as part of the self (e.g., Proshansky et al., 1983; Belk, 2000), with whom people can develop emotional bonds (e.g., Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996); (b) environmental fit – the self are integrated in or belongs to place; and (c) place-self congruity – there is a convergence between the image the individual has about the place and his values and personality (e.g., Sirgy & Su, 2000). However, in this study the concept of place identification was treated as unidimensional. An exploratory factor analysis (EFA) was undertaken, following the extraction method of Principal Components (PCA), using Varimax rotation with Kaiser normalization. An initial assessment to verify the adequacy of the data for EFA was performed for the set of 6 items. The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy and the Bartlett's test of sphericity yielded significant values, assuring method's validity (KMO=.884; $X^2(15)=738,45$; $p<0.000$), and a strong correlation between items (Pestana & Gageiro, 2008). For each factor, items' extraction was based on factor loadings $\geq .45$. The analysis revealed an eigenvalue of 3.723, identifying a single factor that explained 62.05% of total variance (see Table 2). This factor was labelled as *Place Identification*, and was composed by the following 6 items ($\alpha = .88$): (1) 'I feel Mouraria is part of who I am'; (2) 'I feel a sense of emotional attachment to this neighbourhood'; (3) If Mouraria no longer existed, I would feel I had lost a part of myself; (4) I feel this is the neighbourhood where I fit; (5) This neighbourhood reflects the type of person I am; and (6) This neighbourhood reflects my personal values.

Table 2.

Exploratory factor analysis of place identification itens: Component Matrix

Place identification - Itens	Place Identification	
I feel Mouraria is part of who I am	.777	
This neighbourhood reflects the type of person I am	.793	
I feel a sense of emotional attachment to this neighbourhood	.823	$\alpha = .88$
If Mouraria no longer existed, I would feel I had lost a part of myself	.716	$X = 5.11$
I feel this is the neighbourhood where I fit	.833	$SD = 1.393$
This neighbourhood reflects my personal values	.778	
	<i>Eigenvalues</i>	3.723
	Explained Variance	62.05%

Extraction method: Principal Components. 1 component extracted

Place knowledge. In communities undergoing profound spatial and sociocultural transformations, knowing community's history and people may be essential for a better adaptation to the changing environment (Benages-Albert et al., 2015; Naess, 2013). However, as reported in Chapter II, this subject has been scarcely studied, and there is no specific scale measuring local knowledge. In this sense, the 4 items ($\alpha = .79$) used to assess the variable *place knowledge* was based on previous interviews with the residents of Mouraria (see Bettencourt & Castro, 2015), and were the following: (1) 'I know many stories about this neighbourhood'; (2) 'I know what are the main historical places in the neighbourhood'; (3) 'I know the past of this neighbourhood'; and (4) 'I know people from all groups living in the neighbourhood'.

Public place sociability. This variable was assessed with 3 items ($\alpha = .72$) drew on findings from previous interviews undertaken in the neighbourhood, in which residents provided responses on their views on the uses of public places of Mouraria (see Bettencourt & Castro, 2015): (1) 'I use this place for socializing (with neighbours, other residents, friends, family)'; (2) 'I use this place as a meeting point with other people'; and (3) 'I usually stop and stay in here to talk to my neighbours'.

4.3. Results

The descriptive (means and standard-deviation) and inferential statistics (MANOVA, t-student test, and Pearson correlations), together with the analysis of the mediation model

introduced below, were performed through the statistical software package SPSS 20.0. Effects were considered statistically significant for a p-value ≤ 0.05 .

First, this section provides the descriptive statistics (means and standard-deviation) of: (1) *perceived cultural continuity*, (2) *place identification*, (3) *place knowledge*, and (4) *public place sociability*. It follows with the inferential statistics regarding the analysis of means comparison of these variables (MANOVA, and t-student test), between both groups – long-time residents and new gentrifiers. Second, it presents the pattern of correlations between the same variables. Finally, it exposes the mediation model tested to analyse to what extent specific social psychological processes can predict public place sociability and whether they work differently for long-time residents and new gentrifiers.

4.3.1. Results from descriptive analysis and inferential analyses of group differences - perceived cultural continuity, people-place bonds and public place sociability: comparing long-time residents and new gentrifiers

Results indicated that the pattern of people-place relations within the neighbourhood differed between both types of residents (see Tables 3 and 4). As Table 3 shows, there is a significant multivariate effect of the type of residents on the group of dependent variables ($\lambda = .889$, $F(4, 163) = 5.089$, $p = .001$). Thus, type of residents has a significant impact on the results obtained for the variables analysed. Further analysis shows that long-time residents showed stronger place bonds, and they also reported using more the public places to socialize with other residents, family and friends, than new gentrifiers.

In sum, long-time residents perceived more that the neighbourhood has been able to maintain its traditions and identity ($t(198) = 2.13$; $p = 0.035$, $d = 0.37$), identified more with the neighbourhood ($t(183) = 5.08$; $p = 0.000$, $d = 0.92$), displayed more knowledge about its history, memories and people ($t(184) = 2.68$; $p = 0.009$, $d = 0.46$) and reported using more frequently its public places to socialize ($t(182) = 3.68$, $p = 0.000$, $d = 0.64$), when compared to new gentrifiers (see Table 4). However, it should also be pointed out that new gentrifiers also showed significant high levels of people-place bonds and public place use, despite living in the neighbourhood for a shorter time than long-time residents (see Table 4).

Table 3.

Long-time residents and new gentrifiers: Multivariate tests

	Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Type of Residents	Pillai's Trace	.111	5.089 ^b	4.000	163.000	.001
	Wilks' Lambda	.889	5.089 ^b	4.000	163.000	.001
	Hotelling's Trace	.125	5.089 ^b	4.000	163.000	.001
	Roy's Largest Root	.125	5.089 ^b	4.000	163.000	.001

*b. Exact statistic***Table 4.**

Long-time residents and new gentrifiers: Descriptive statistics and t tests for main variables

Outcome	Type of Residents								
	Long-time residents			New Gentrifiers			95% CI for Mean Difference	<i>t</i> -test	df
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n			
Perceived									
Cultural	5.28	1.367	136	4.85	1.246	64	.03; .80	2.13*	198
Continuity									
Place									
Identification	5.63	1.345	131	4.58	1.197	54	.63; 1.43	5.08***	183
Place									
Knowledge	5.54	1.218	133	4.93	1.418	53	.15; 1.03	2.68**	184
Public Place									
Sociability	5.46	1.322	126	4.63	1.445	58	.38; 1.27	3.68***	182

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

4.3.2. *Correlations between perceived cultural continuity, place identification, place knowledge and public place sociability: comparing long-time residents and new gentrifiers*

The pattern of correlations presented in Table 5 shows that public place sociability was positively and significantly associated with perceived cultural continuity, place identification and local knowledge, for both types of residents. Regarding long-time residents, the variable most strongly associated with public place sociability is place identification, and for new gentrifiers it was local knowledge.

Table 5.

Pearson correlations between public place sociability and its predictors included in the parallel moderated mediation model

	Perceived Cultural Continuity	Place Identification	Place Knowledge	Public Place Sociability
Long-time residents				
Perceived Cultural Continuity	-	.47**	.24**	.33**
Place Identification		-	.49**	.64**
Place Knowledge			-	.61**
Public Place Sociability				-
New Gentrifiers				
Perceived Cultural Continuity	-	.58**	.46**	.41**
Place Identification		-	.37**	.51**
Place Knowledge			-	.64**
Public Place Sociability				-

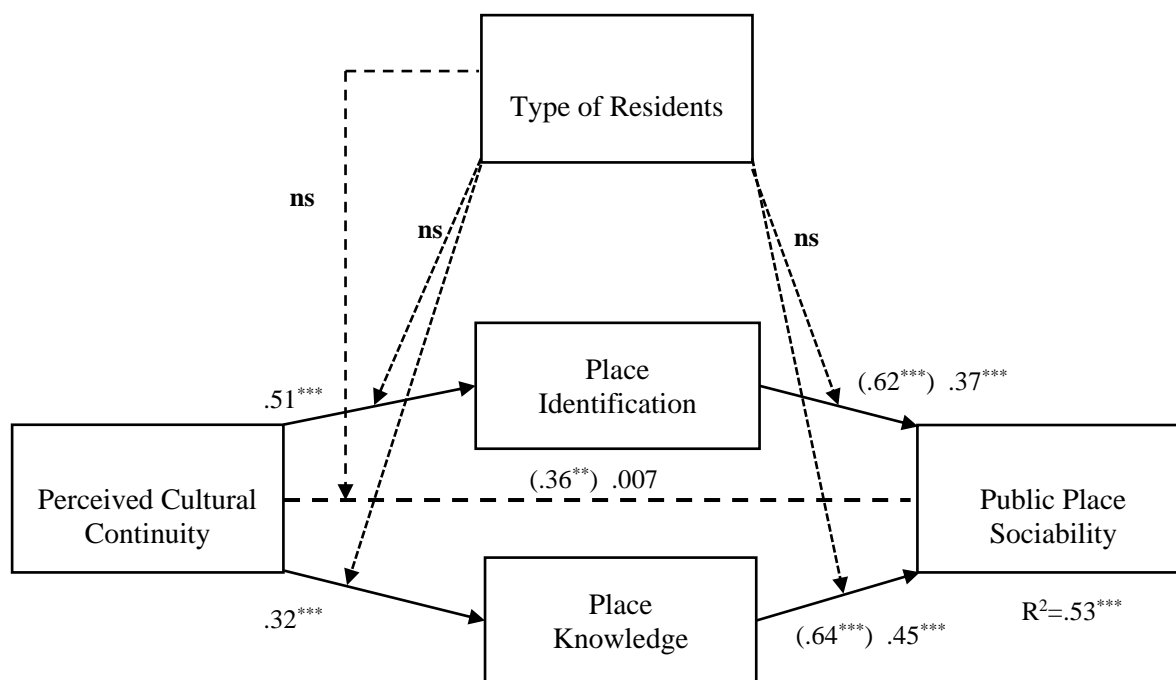
** $p < .01$

4.3.3. *Predicting public place sociability: predictive role of perceived cultural continuity, place identification and place knowledge*

The aforementioned analysis of Study A suggests that perceived cultural continuity, place identification and place knowledge are positively correlated with residents' self-reported use of public places to socialize with others. To develop this analysis, we initially tested the mediation model presented in Figure 7, using PROCESS – a path analysis tool for mediation, moderation and conditional process for statistical software package SPSS 20.0 and SAS (Hayes, 2017). In

this model – Model 4 of PROCESS – both place identification and local knowledge were entered as parallel mediators of the relationship between perceived cultural continuity and public place sociability (see Figure 7 and Table 6). A bootstrapping approach was used to test the indirect effects from a 5000 estimate and 95% bias corrected confidence intervals, using the cut-offs for the 2.5% highest and lowest scores of the empirical distribution. The indirect effects were considered significant when the confidence interval did not include zero. The overall mediating effect in models with two mediators is significant if two conditions are met (Hayes, 2013): 1) the effect of the independent variable on both mediators is significant; and 2) the effect of each mediator on the dependent variable is significant when the independent variable is controlled for.

As both Figure 7 and Table 6 show, our analysis met both conditions for both types of residents. Specifically, place identification ($b = .51, t(166) = 7.52, p < .001$) and place knowledge ($b = .32, t(166) = 4.83, p < .001$) were predicted by perceived cultural continuity; and public place sociability was predicted by place identification ($b = .62, t(167) = 10.21, p < .001$) and place knowledge ($b = .64, t(169) = 10.43, p < .001$). The analysis provided evidence that the effects of perceived cultural continuity on public space sociability is mediated by both place identification and local knowledge, as shown by the decrease in the unstandardized regression coefficients and the loss of significance of the direct effect of perceived cultural continuity on public place sociability ($b = .36, p < .01$ to $b = .007, p = .906$; see Figure 7). The indirect effects of perceived cultural continuity on public place sociability through place identification ($b = .365, SE = .063, 95\% CI = .241, .489$) and place knowledge ($b = .446, SE = .064, 95\% CI = .319, .573$) are statistically different from zero, as revealed by the 95% bias corrected confidence intervals that are entirely above zero (see Table 6). The analysis also suggested that place identification and local knowledge make independent contributions to explaining public place sociability. Even though mediators may be correlated, no mediator formally and causally influences the other mediator in the model.



Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; ns – non-significant. Unstandardised regression coefficients for the relationship between perceived cultural continuity and public place sociability as mediated by identifying and knowing the neighbourhood. The unstandardised regression coefficient controlling for the two mediators is in parentheses. Type of residents as moderator – long-time residents and new gentrifiers (non-significant).

Figure 7. Effect of perceived cultural continuity on public place sociability, through place identification and place knowledge for long-time residents and new gentrifiers.

Table 6.

Mediation model for the effect of perceived cultural continuity on public place sociability, with place identification and place knowledge as mediators for long-time residents and new gentrifiers

Outcome (O)	Predictor (P)	Mediators (M)	Effect of P on M (a)	Effect of M on O (b)	Direct Effect (c')	Indirect Effect ab 95%CI	Total Effects (c)
Public place sociability	Perceived cultural continuity	Place Identification	$.514^{***}$	$.619^{***}$	$.007$ ns	.365 $.241; .489$	$.360$
		Place Knowledge	$.324^{***}$	$.638^{***}$.446 $.319; .573$	
					$R^2 = .53^{***}$		$R^2 = .13^{***}$

Note. ns – non-significant; figures in bold are significant indirect effects (mediators)

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

In order to analyse if being a long-time resident or a new gentrifier moderates the explaining capacity of perceived cultural continuity, place identification and place knowledge regarding public place sociability, we conducted in PROCESS (Hayes, 2017) three moderated mediation models: i) Model 5; ii) Model 7; and iii) Model 14. For each both place identification and local knowledge were entered as mediators of the relationship between perceived cultural continuity on public place sociability and type of residents (long-time resident or new gentrifier) entered as a moderator, following Hayes's (2017) recommendations. All three models revealed that belonging to one specific type of residents does not moderate the capacity of perceived cultural continuity, place identification and place knowledge for predicting public place sociability (Model 5: $b = -.060$, $SE = .116$, ns.; Model 7: $b = .051$, $SE = .147$, ns. | $b = .255$, $SE = .149$, ns.; Model 14: $b = -.110$, $SE = .136$, ns. | $b = .013$, $SE = .132$, ns.; see Figure 7).

Finally, in order to validate our initial model by excluding other potential relationships between the main variables, we conducted in PROCESS (Hayes, 2017) two reverse mediation models. These tested: 1) if public place sociability predicts perceived cultural continuity and if this relationship is mediated by place identification and place knowledge; and 2) if place identification predicts public place sociability and this relationship is mediated by perceived cultural continuity and place knowledge. Both models suggested that neither the relationship between public place sociability and perceived cultural continuity, nor between place identification and public place sociability are mediated by the remaining variables³.

4.3.4. Summary of the results of Study A

Results show that the pattern of people-place relations within the neighbourhood differed between both types of residents (see Tables 3 and 4). Long-time residents perceived more that the neighbourhood has been able to maintain its traditions and identity, identified more with the neighbourhood, displayed more knowledge about its history, memories and people, and reported using more frequently its public places to socialize when compared to new gentrifiers (see Table 4). This study also evidences that seeing the neighbourhood has being able to maintain its cultural continuity – perceived cultural continuity – is positively associated to the maintenance of public place sociability. However, it is less important than identification with

³ Regarding the first model, only the indirect effect via place identification is significant ($b = .427$, $SE = .085$, 95% CI = .2584, .5947), thus the results do not support the parallel mediational hypothesis (indirect effect via place knowledge: $b = .142$, $SE = .097$, ns.). Regarding the second model, only the indirect effect via place knowledge is significant ($b = .449$, $SE = .065$, 95% CI = .3208, .5777), thus the results do not support the parallel mediational hypothesis (indirect effect via perceived cultural continuity: $b = .008$, $SE = .060$, ns.).

the neighbourhood and the knowledge about it, since this relationship is totally mediated by place identification and place knowledge. Importantly, the type of resident does not moderate the capacity of perceived cultural continuity, place identification and place knowledge for predicting public place sociability (see Figure 7 and Table 6).

5. Study B – Representing intergroup interactions in a multicultural and changing neighbourhood: comparing long-time residents and immigrants

5.1. Research questions and specific aims

The main questions that guided Study B were formulated as follows:

- (1) Do long-time residents and immigrants maintain the public sociability that is traditional in Mouraria?
- (2) Do both groups do so to a similar extent?
- (3) Do both groups view different groups as interacting in place at an intergroup level, i.e. representation of intergroup interaction, and express place identification to similar extents?
- (4) Do these psychosocial processes help predict public place sociability?

Regarding the first question, we tested if participants report using the public places of the neighbourhood for socializing with others. To answer questions 2 and 3 we tested, through a MANOVA followed by t-test analyses, whether both groups socialize in place, view different groups as interacting in place at an intergroup level, and identify with the neighbourhood to a similar extent by comparing their mean scores concerning the following variables: (a) public place sociability; (b) representation of intergroup interaction; and (c) place identification. Finally, to answer question 4 a moderated mediation model was tested that examined if: (a) representation of intergroup relations in place predicts directly public place sociability; (b) this relationship is mediated by place identification; and (c) type of resident moderated these relationships (see Figure 8).

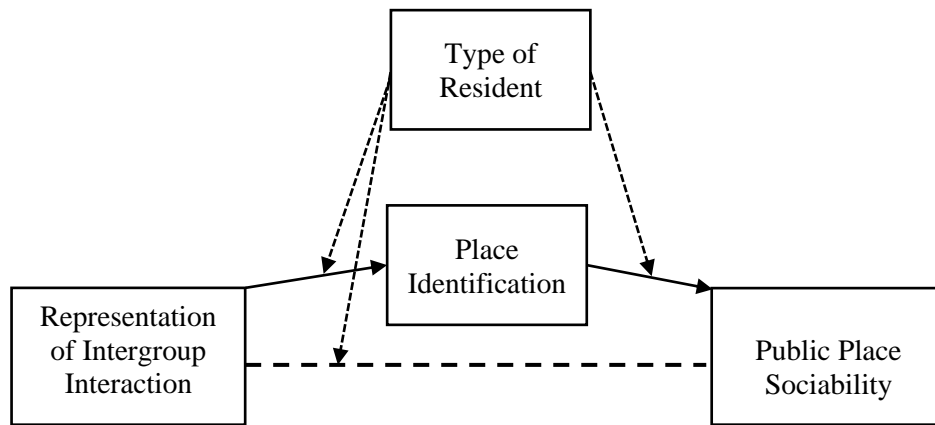


Figure 8. Moderated mediation model of the relationship between representation of intergroup interaction and public place sociability, with type of resident as moderator – long-time residents and immigrants –, and place identification as mediator.

Drawing on a previous interviews' study (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015), which suggests that long-time residents tend to view immigrants as interacting mostly among them, and referring that the traditional sociability of Mouraria has been diminishing, it is expected that they will have a low tendency to report viewing different groups as interacting in place at an intergroup level. The same is expected on the part of immigrants, since previous research indicates that they tend to isolate themselves and to interact mostly among them (e.g., Ehrkamp, 2005). Additionally, and similar to Study A, as long-time residents live for a longer time in the neighbourhood, it is expected that they report a higher sense of identification with the neighbourhood than immigrants. Consequently, it is expected these differences between these types of residents to have an effect on the predictive capacity of *representation of intergroup interaction* and *place identification* on public place sociability, with this effect being stronger for long-time residents.

5.2. Methodology

5.2.1. Procedure and participants

Data collection and sample selection and sociodemographic characterization are described in Study A (see section 4.2.1. *Procedure and participants* of Study A).

5.2.2. Variables

Representation of intergroup interaction. This variable was assessed with 2 items ($r = .57$) drew on findings from previous interviews undertaken in the neighbourhood, in which residents provided responses on their views on how different groups interact in the public places of Mouraria (see Bettencourt & Castro, 2015): (1) 'Residents from different groups greet each

other on the street’, and (2) ‘Residents from different groups socialize and talk with each other in the street, squares and cafes’.

The variables *place identification* and *public place sociability* used in this study were the same used in Study A (see section 4.2.2. *Variables of Study A*).

5.3. Results

The descriptive (means and standard-deviation) and inferential statistics (MANOVA, t-student test, and Pearson correlations), together with the analysis of the mediation model introduced below, were performed through the statistical software package SPSS 20.0. Effects were considered statistically significant for a p-value ≤ 0.05 .

First, this section provides the descriptive statistics (means and standard-deviation) of: (1) *representation of intergroup interaction*, (2) *place identification*, and (4) *public place sociability*. It follows with the inferential statistics regarding the analysis of means comparison of these variables (MANOVA, and t-student test), between both groups – long-time residents and immigrants. Second, it presents the pattern of correlations between the same variables. Finally, it exposes the mediation model tested to analyse to what extent specific social psychological processes can predict public place sociability and whether they work differently for long-time residents and immigrants.

5.3.1. Results from descriptive analysis and inferential analyses of group differences - representation of intergroup interaction, place identification and public place sociability: comparing long-time residents and immigrants

Results indicated that the pattern of people-place relations within the neighbourhood differed between both types of residents (see Tables 7 and 8). As Table 7 shows, there is a significant multivariate effect of the type of residents on the group of dependent variables ($\lambda = .834$, $F(3, 156) = 10.343$, $p = .000$). Thus, type of residents has a significant impact on the results obtained for the variables analysed. However, further analysis shows no significant difference regarding the variable representation of intergroup interaction ($t(190) = 0.72$; $p = 0.471$, $d = 0.37$). Thus, both groups view different groups interacting between them in public place.

In sum, both view groups’ interaction in public places occurring at an intergroup level, but long-time residents identified more with the neighbourhood ($t(184) = 5.86$; $p = 0.000$, $d = 0.92$) and reported using more frequently its public places to socialize with others ($t(198) = 4.12$;

p=0.000, d= 0.64), when compared to immigrants (see Table 8). Nevertheless, it should be highlighted that immigrants also tend to identify with the neighbourhood, and also report using its public places to socialize (see Table 8)

Table 7.
Long-time residents and immigrants: Multivariate tests

	Effect	Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Type of Residents	Pillai's Trace	.166	10.343 ^b	3.000	156.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.834	10.343 ^b	3.000	156.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	.199	10.343 ^b	3.000	156.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	.199	10.343 ^b	3.000	156.000	.000

b. Exact statistic

Table 8.
Long-time residents and immigrants: Descriptive statistics and t tests for main variables

Outcome	Type of Residents						95% CI for Mean Difference	t-test	df
	Long-time residents			Immigrants					
	M	SD	n	M	SD	n			
Representation of Intergroup Interaction	4.98	1.487	122	4.84	1.178	70	-.24; .53	.723	190
Place Identification	5.63	1.345	131	4.47	1.131	55	.76; 1.53	5.86 ^{***}	184
Public Place Sociability	5.46	1.322	126	4.60	1.460	74	.44; 1.26	4.12 ^{***}	198

*** $p < .001$

5.3.2. *Correlations between representation of intergroup interaction, place identification and public place sociability: comparing long-time residents and immigrants*

The pattern of correlations presented in Table 9 shows that public place sociability was positively and significantly associated with representation of intergroup interaction and place identification, and the last was the variable most strongly associated with public place sociability, for both types of residents.

Table 9.

Pearson correlations between public place sociability and its predictors included in the moderated mediation model

	Representation of Intergroup Interaction	Place Identification	Public Place Sociability
Long-time residents			
Representation of Intergroup Interaction	-	.32**	.28**
Place Identification		-	.64**
Public Place Sociability			-
Immigrants			
Representation of Intergroup Interaction	-	.33*	.44**
Place Identification		-	.85**
Public Place Sociability			-

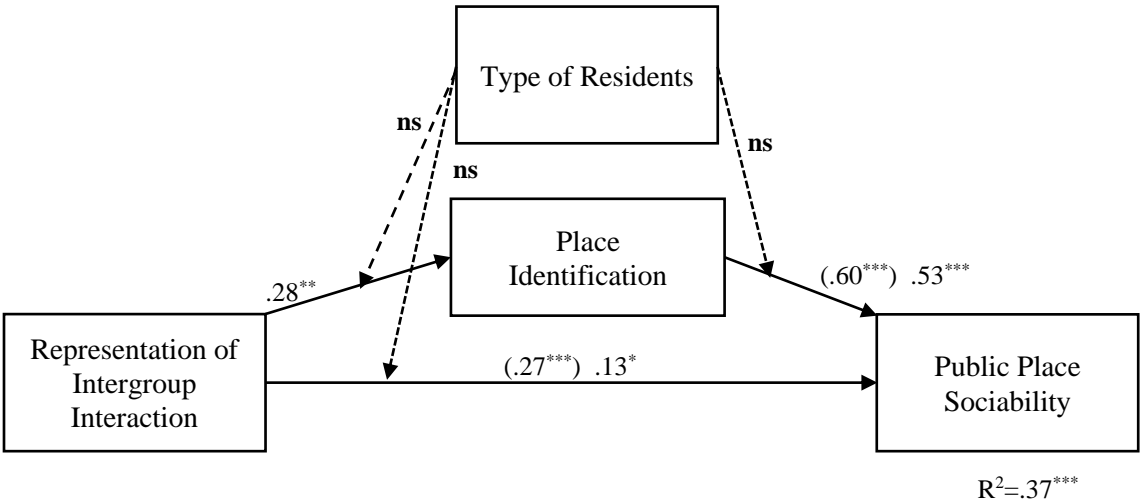
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

5.3.3. *Predicting public place sociability: predictive role of representation of intergroup interaction and place identification*

The aforementioned analysis of Study B suggests that representation of intergroup interaction and place identification are positively correlated with residents' self-reported use of public places to socialize with others. To develop this analysis, we tested the mediation model presented in Figure 9, using PROCESS (SPSS 20.0 and SAS; Hayes, 2017). In this model – Model 4 of PROCESS – place identification was entered as a mediator of the relationship between representation of intergroup interaction and public place sociability (see Figure 9 and Table 10). A bootstrapping approach was used to test the indirect effect from a 5000 estimate and 95% bias corrected confidence intervals, using the cut-offs for the 2.5% highest and lowest scores of the empirical distribution. The indirect effect was considered significant when the

confidence interval did not include zero. The mediating effect in mediation analysis with a single mediator is significant if two conditions are met (Hayes, 2013): 1) the independent variable has a significant effect on the mediator; and 2) the effect of the mediator on the dependent variable is significant when the independent variable is controlled for.

As both Figure 9 and Table 10 show, our analysis met both conditions for both types of residents. Specifically, place identification ($b= .28, t(158)= 3.61, p<.001$) was predicted by representation of intergroup interaction; and public place sociability was predicted by place identification ($b= .53, t(157)= 8.52, p<.001$). The analysis provided evidence that the effects of representation of intergroup interaction on public space sociability is partially mediated by place identification, as shown by the decrease in the unstandardized regression coefficient of the direct effect of representation of intergroup interaction on public place sociability ($b= .28, p<.01$ to $b=.13, p<.05$; see Figure 9). The indirect effect of representation of intergroup interaction on public place sociability through place identification ($b= .155, SE= .049, 95\% CI= .058, .252$) is statistically different from zero, as revealed by the 95% bias corrected confidence interval that is entirely above zero (see Table 10).



Note. * $p<.05$; ** $p<.01$; *** $p<.001$; ns – non-significant. Unstandardised regression coefficients for the relationship between representation of intergroup interaction and public place sociability as mediated by identifying with the neighbourhood. The unstandardised regression coefficient controlling for the mediator is in parentheses. Type of residents as moderator – long-time residents and immigrants (non-significant).

Figure 9. Effect of representation of intergroup interaction on public place sociability, through place identification for long-time residents and immigrants.

Table 10.

Mediation model for the effect of representation of intergroup interaction on public place sociability, with place identification as mediator, for long-time residents and immigrants

Outcome (O)	Predictor (P)	Mediators (M)	Effect of P on M (a)	Effect of M on O (b)	Direct Effect (c')	Indirect Effect ab 95%CI	Total Effects (c)
Public place sociability	Representation of intergroup interaction	Place Identification	.276***	.597***	.13*	.155 .058; .252	.271
					R ² =.37***		R ² =.10***

Note. ns – non-significant; figures in bold are significant indirect effects (mediators)

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

In order to analyse if being a long-time resident or an immigrant moderates the explaining capacity of representation of intergroup interaction and place identification regarding public place sociability, we conducted in PROCESS (Hayes, 2017) three moderated mediation models: i) Model 5; ii) Model 7; and iii) Model 14. For each, both place identification was entered as a mediator of the relationship between representation of intergroup interaction on public place sociability and type of residents (long-time resident or immigrant) entered as a moderator, following Hayes's (2017) recommendations. All three models revealed that belonging to one specific type of residents does not moderate the capacity of representation of intergroup interaction and place identification for predicting public place sociability (Model 5: $b = .056$, $SE = .089$, ns.; Model 7: $b = .026$, $SE = .084$, ns. | Model 14: $b = -.009$, $SE = .074$, ns.; see Figure 9).

5.3.4. A final hypothesis regarding the immigrants: choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood

As suggested by a previous interviews' study (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015), having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood is mentioned by immigrants as one of the reasons for their choice of Mouraria as their place of residence. Research also shows that finding elements in the neighbourhood related to their culture of origin and the remaking of previous places of residence in the public places of their current neighbourhood may foster immigrants' uses of public places and their identification with the neighbourhood (e.g., Main & Sandoval, 2015). In this sense, it was also hypothesized that having family, friends or acquaintances living in the neighbourhood enables immigrants to find familiar elements in the public places of the neighbourhood, what may help predict their willingness to socialize with others in place, and

that place identification may have an effect on this relation. Thus, the present analysis aimed at answer the following questions:

- (1) Did immigrants choose to live in the neighbourhood due to settled family or acquaintances already living there?
- (2) Does immigrants’ choice to live in the neighbourhood, due to settled family or acquaintances in Mouraria help predict public place sociability?

To answer these questions a mediation model was tested that examined if: (a) choice to live in the neighbourhood, due to settled family or acquaintances predicts directly public place sociability; and (b) this relationship is mediated by place identification (see Figure 10).

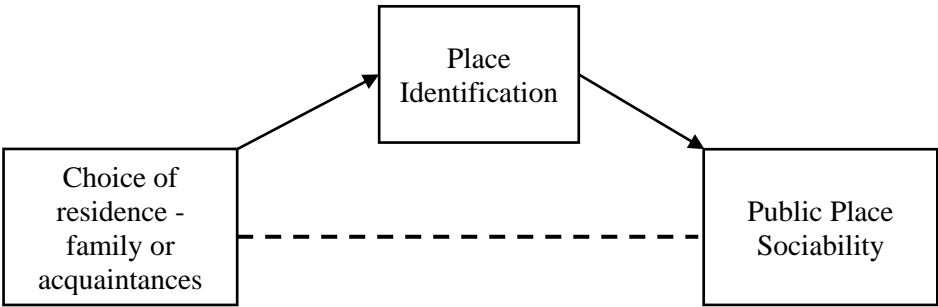


Figure 10. Moderated mediation model of the relationship between choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood and public place sociability, with place identification as mediator, for immigrants.

5.3.5. Results from descriptive analysis for immigrants: choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood

Immigrants were asked about why they have chosen the neighbourhood of Mouraria as their place of residence. A single item was defined, based on Rishbeth and Powell (2012) and Bettencourt and Castro (2015) studies: ‘I have chosen this neighbourhood to live, because I already had family or acquaintances living here’. Results show that immigrants have reported choosing the neighbourhood as their place of residence because they already knew some people living there, such as family or acquaintances (X=4.85; DP= 2.48; N=55).

5.3.6. Correlations between choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood, place identification and public place sociability: immigrants

The pattern of correlations presented in Table 11 shows that public place sociability was positively and significantly associated with place identification, and negatively and

significantly associated with choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances. The last is also positively and significantly associated with place identification.

Table 11.

Pearson correlations between public place sociability and its predictors included in the mediation model

	Representation of Intergroup Interaction	Place Identification	Public Place Sociability
Immigrants			
Choice of residence – family and acquaintances	-	.42*	-.22*
Place Identification		-	.85**
Public Place Sociability			-

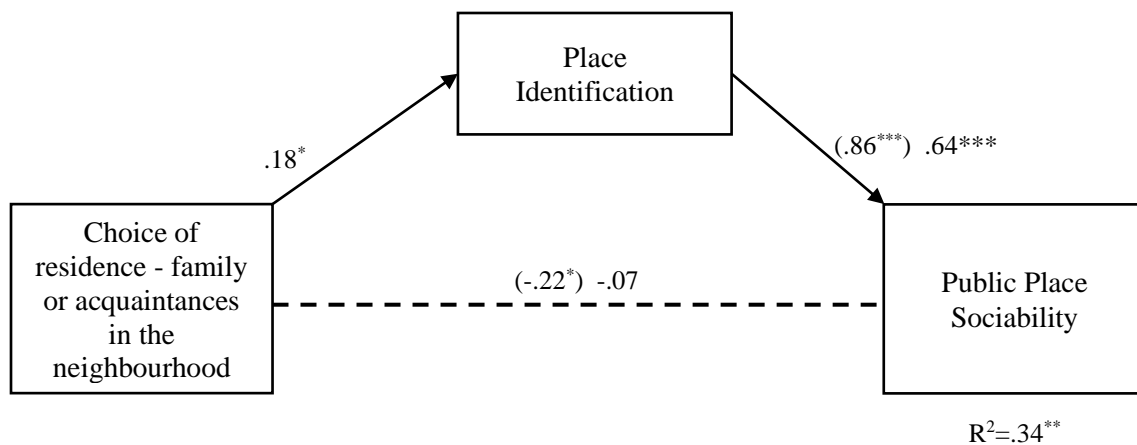
* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$

5.3.7. Predictive role of choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood and place identification: immigrants

On the one hand, the aforementioned analysis suggests that choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood is negatively correlated with residents' self-reported use of public places to socialize with others. On the other hand, it suggests that place identification is positively correlated with public place sociability. To develop this analysis, we tested the mediation model presented in Figure 11, using PROCESS (SPSS 20.0 and SAS; Hayes, 2017). In this model – Model 4 of PROCESS – place identification was entered as a mediator of the relationship choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood and public place sociability (see Figure 11 and Table 12). A bootstrapping approach was used to test the indirect effect from a 5000 estimate and 95% bias corrected confidence intervals, using the cut-offs for the 2.5% highest and lowest scores of the empirical distribution. The indirect effect was considered significant when the confidence interval did not include zero. The mediating effect in mediation analysis with a single mediator is significant if two conditions are met (Hayes, 2013): 1) the independent variable has a significant effect on the mediator; and 2) the effect of the mediator on the dependent variable is significant when the independent variable is controlled for.

As both Figure 11 and Table 12 show, our analysis met both conditions. Specifically, place identification ($b = .18$, $t(31) = 2.88$, $p < .05$) was predicted by choice of residence due to

having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood; and public place sociability was predicted by place identification ($b = .86$, $t(30) = 3.86$, $p < .001$). The analysis provided evidence that the effects of choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood on public space sociability is mediated by place identification, as shown by the increase in the unstandardized regression coefficient and the loss of significance of the direct effect of choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood on public place sociability ($b = -.22$, $p < .05$ to $b = -.07$, $p = .493$; see Figure 11). The indirect effect of choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood on public place sociability through place identification ($b = .296$, $SE = .137$, $95\% \text{ CI} = .075, .618$) is statistically different from zero, as revealed by the 95% bias corrected confidence interval that is entirely above zero (see Table 12).



Note. * $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$; ns – non-significant. Unstandardised regression coefficients for the relationship between choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood and public place sociability as mediated by identifying with the neighbourhood. The unstandardised regression coefficient controlling for the mediator is in parentheses.

Figure 11. Effect of choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood on public place sociability, through place identification, for immigrants.

Table 12.

Mediation model for the effect of choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood on public place sociability, with place identification as mediator, for immigrants

Outcome (O)	Predictor (P)	Mediators (M)	Effect of P on M (a)	Effect of M on O (b)	Direct Effect (c')	Indirect Effect ab 95%CI	Total Effects (c)
Public place sociability	Choice of residence - family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood	Place Identification	.183*	.855***	-.065 ns	.296 .075; .618	-.22*
					R ² =.34**		R ² =.02 ns

Note. ns – non-significant; figures in bold are significant indirect effects (mediators)

* $p < .05$; ** $p < .01$; *** $p < .001$

5.3.8. Summary of the results of Study B

Results indicated that both long-time residents and immigrants view groups' interaction in public places occurring at an intergroup level, but long-time residents identified more with the neighbourhood and reported using more frequently its public places to socialize with others (see Tables 7 and 8). The mediation model tested revealed that viewing different groups as interacting in place - representation of intergroup interaction – is positively associated to residents' willingness to socialize in public place, but this relationship is totally mediated by residents' identification with the neighbourhood. The type of resident does not moderate this relationship (see Figure 9 and Table 10).

Regarding our final hypothesis for the immigrants, results have shown that they report having chosen the neighbourhood as their place of residence due to having family or acquaintances already living there. The mediation model tested shows the more immigrants' choice of residence was related to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood, the less they use public places to socialize. However, this relationship is totally mediated by immigrants' identification with the neighbourhood (see Figure 11 and Table 12).

6. Discussion

This chapter has sought to investigate the levels and the predictive capacity of some psychosocial factors that may affect residents' readiness to maintain the vibrant public space sociability of a traditional 'inner city' neighbourhood in a southern European city in the face of considerable social and environmental change, including urban regeneration and the influx of

new residents bringing increased social diversity. Two studies (A and B) were conducted, which have explored specific social psychological processes and how they helped predict public-place sociability in the context of a neighbourhood changed by a bottom-up/mixed model of regeneration. Study A has explored the predictive role of the perceived cultural continuity of the place, place identification and place knowledge for long-time residents and new gentrifiers. Study B has examined: (1) the predictive role of the representation of intergroup interaction and place identification for long-time residents and immigrants; and (2) the predictive role of choice of residence due to having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood and place identification for immigrants.

These studies thus extend the analysis of the consequences of urban regeneration to the relational level, exploring associated place-related social-psychological processes. The overall aim has been to clarify the nature of residents' responses to the dynamics of urban regeneration today transforming so many neighbourhoods of European cities. These are dramatically impacting on the everyday lives of their residents (Heath et al., 2017), displacing some of them (Davison et al., 2012; Lees, 2008), increasing local diversity and potentially eroding historically valued forms of a sociability shared in public - a sociability that both safeguards the city's public places as arenas of encounter amongst citizens (Viola, 2012) and serves as an antidote to loneliness (Buchecker, 2009) for many residents. More specifically, we sought to explore these responses in the context of a program conducted with a mixed/bottom-up regeneration policy, which sought to attract rather than impose diversity and gentrification, as the literature shows that the model used impacts psycho-social aspects (Heath et al., 2017). It is important now to reflect on the main conclusions brought about by each study's findings.

Regarding **Study A**, findings show that the pattern of people-place relations within the neighbourhood differs between the two types of residents compared, i.e. traditional and new gentrifiers: two groups of contrasting residence length (an average of 45 years *versus* 4 years). Even though both types of residents identified with the neighbourhood, know its history, and perceive some level of continuity of the neighbourhood's culture and traditions, the long-term residents show stronger place bonds and a higher perception of cultural continuity than new gentrifiers. Both types of residents also report using the public places to socialize, but once again the long-time residents report doing it more frequently.

These differences corroborate previous literature showing that living for a longer time in a neighbourhood leads to stronger people-place bonds (e.g., Lewicka, 2008; 2011). However, it should be highlighted that new gentrifiers also show significant levels of people-place bonds (place identification and knowledge), although living in the neighbourhood for a shorter time:

as mentioned, an average of four years. These new dwellers seem to have a clear connection with the neighbourhood: and this connection from new gentrifiers and its reasons are a less studied issue in the literature. Given that the regeneration program of Mouraria has followed a mixed/bottom-up strategy that allowed social diversification through gentrification to happen in a gradual way (Malheiros et al., 2012; Tulumello, 2015), the presence of identification corroborates previous interview studies suggesting that these residents were attracted to the traditional lifestyle of the neighbourhood (Blanco et al., 2011; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). They had the opportunity to hear about, and/or know and appreciate the area even before living there: as is the privilege and hall-mark of city life, where no impermeable borders prevent the citizen - dedicated *flaneur* or just casual passer-by -, to discover and explore different city areas of different reputations. This acquaintance with the area might have led them to assume that it reflected the type of person they were and that its public life expressed values and aspirations they shared.

Importantly, it has to be remarked that there were no moderation effects of type of resident on the parallel mediation model proposed and tested. The type of resident did not moderate the capacity of perceived cultural continuity, place identification and place knowledge regarding the prediction of public place sociability. The same predictive pattern was valid for both long-time residents and new gentrifiers, showing that the same psychosocial processes are similarly important for the two groups in explaining the decision to use the public places of the neighbourhood to socialize, and we view this as suggesting that these are strong processes. Even though the two groups differed regarding the self-reported strength of people-place bonds, new gentrifiers nevertheless reported a clear connection with the neighbourhood. Their acquaintance with the neighbourhood might have led them to perceive that it reflected the type of person they were and that its public life expressed values and aspirations they shared. In other words, feeling connected with the neighbourhood proved to be important for all residents, traditional and new gentrifiers, and, arguably for this reason, was predictive of both groups of residents' decision to socialize in public places. Reinforcing this conclusion, our regression model explained a substantive amount of variance in participants' self-reported place sociability behaviours.

Second, our findings provide some insights into the psychosocial processes that predict residents' use of public places to socialize. Perceiving the neighbourhood as retaining cultural continuity with the past predicts public place sociability, but this relationship is mediated by place identification and place knowledge. This shows how, although perceiving continuity may help *per se* to maintain old habits and encourage residents to perceive change as less threatening

(Obradović & Howarth, 2018), residents may also actively create and sustain bonds to place through the appropriation and use of places and of their shared stories and memories, developing place identification and knowledge (Benages-Albert et al., 2015). These findings thus contribute to current understanding of the relationship between continuity and place identification. Extending previous research showing that (individual) sense of continuity predicts place identification (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010), our study demonstrates that a sense of collective continuity (i.e. perceiving a cultural continuity with the past of the community) fosters place identification, and this in turn mediates the relationship between continuity and reports of behaviour in place (e.g., use of public spaces for social interaction): it therefore suggests that collective continuity matters for the maintenance of previous traditional ways of socializing in changed places, but if people-place bonds are assured, this matters more.

This study also contributes to research on place knowledge. Our findings show that place knowledge plays an important role in residents' use of public places to socialize, as a factor independent of place identity. They also reveal how the perception of collective continuity is associated with a better knowledge of the history and residents of a neighbourhood, which in turn help predict sociability in its public places. In sum, it highlights how familiarity with place developed by connecting with it through action and *relation* (Benages-Albert et al., 2015) leads to increasing appropriation and, by implication, may help to maintain the vibrant sociability of public places where this was already a tradition.

Study B has begun by showing that both long-time residents and immigrants have the same representation about how groups interact in place, specifically both view different groups interacting at an intergroup level in the public places of the neighbourhood. This finding contradicts what was initially expected, that both would tend to represent different groups as interacting at an intragroup level in place. On the one hand, a previous interviews' study suggests that long-time residents tend to view immigrants as interacting mostly among them in Mouraria (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). On the other hand, research also shows that immigrants tend to interact mostly at an intragroup level, when arriving to a new neighbourhood (e.g., Kalan & Recoquillon, 2014). When remaking previous places of residence in their new neighbourhood, for instance by placing cultural anchors in public places, immigrants tend to close in on themselves, leading to intragroup ways of interacting in place (Kalan & Recoquillon, 2014; Main & Sandoval, 2015). It seems that Study B suggests that the 'official' representation of Mouraria as a multicultural and cosmopolitan neighbourhood (e.g., Tulumello, 2015) is being reproduced by both groups, viewing this representation of a sociocultural diversified neighbourhood translated in place, through people's intergroup interaction.

Findings have also revealed that both groups identify with the neighbourhood, but long-time residents present a higher sense of identification. This result is in line with Study A's findings, corroborating once again previous literature evidencing that long-term residents tend to develop stronger people-place bonds (e.g., Lewicka, 2008). However, the development of place bonds on the part of the immigrants also corroborates previous research evidencing that the remaking of significant past places and the opportunity to express in place elements of their culture of origin, as it happens in the case of Mouraria (e.g., Oliveira & Padilla, 2017), enables immigrants to continue to feel identified with the neighbourhood (Main & Sandoval, 2015). In addition, both groups report using the public places of Mouraria to socialize with other people, even though long-time residents report doing it to a greater extent.

Another relevant finding concerns the lack of moderation effects of type of resident on the mediation model proposed and tested. The type of resident – traditional or immigrant – did not moderate the predictive capacity of representation of intergroup interaction and place identification on public place sociability. The same psychosocial processes are similarly important for the two groups in explaining the decision to use the public places of the neighbourhood to socialize. Following the same reasoning of Study A's findings, the predictive pattern found for both long-time residents and immigrants suggests that representing groups as interacting at an intergroup level and feeling identified with the neighbourhood seem to be strong processes. Once again feeling connected with the neighbourhood has shown to be important for all residents, independently of the group they belong to. Therefore, feeling identified with the place of residence was predictive of long-time residents and immigrants' decision to socialize in public places. Reinforcing this conclusion, the regression model explained a relative amount of variance in participants' self-reported place sociability behaviours.

Importantly, this study has contributed to an understanding of the relationship between how residents construct their social representations about their neighbourhood and the development of a sense of identification with it. Findings suggest that viewing public places of the neighbourhood as social and culturally diversified, through people's intergroup interaction, fosters stronger people-place bonds. In the case of long-time residents, viewing different groups interacting in place means that the traditionally known public place sociability of Mouraria remains. Being able to find this important element in the neighbourhood seems to maintain long-time residents identified with the neighbourhood. For immigrants, viewing that public places provide a real opportunity for an intergroup interaction, where different cultural elements are reproduced and mixed in place, enables them to feel more welcomed and identified with

their current neighbourhood. Ultimately, the representation of intergroup interaction matters for the maintenance of public place sociability, for both long-time residents and immigrants, but feeling identified with the neighbourhood seems to be even more important.

With respect to the second part of **Study B**, results show that immigrants reported they have chosen the neighbourhood as their place of residence due to having family or acquaintances living there, which corroborates previous research (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). Also relevant and in line with the literature (e.g., Main & Sandoval, 2015), regards the relationship between this and place identification. It seems that knowing some people already living in the neighbourhood fosters a strong sense of identification with the neighbourhood. However, this study also evidences that finding familiar elements in the public places of the neighbourhood decreases immigrants' willingness to socialize with others in place, contrary to what was expected. These findings may suggest that when the familiarity of the neighbourhood relies on having people that immigrants know, and that was the reason for having chosen the neighbourhood to live in, it can lead them to close in with those people and retreat from public places. Nevertheless, this relationship is totally mediated by immigrants' identification with the neighbourhood. Even when choosing the neighbourhood to live in results from having family or acquaintances already living there, feeling identified with the neighbourhood is more important, and helps to maintain a shared and sociocultural diversified use of public places and a lively sociability in place.

7. Concluding remarks

Taken together, then, what do these findings suggest for understanding the maintenance of public-place sociability in inner-city neighbourhoods regenerated through mixed-bottom-up policy models? They reveal the centrality of place identification, suggesting that urban places can accommodate some transformation without losing their vibrant social life if protective mechanisms are assured for maintaining place identification.

It should also be highlighted the added relevance of place knowledge, which when guaranteed, together with place identification, make the role of perceived continuity less central for long-time residents and new gentrifiers. The effect of place identification is also clear on the predictive role of the representation of intergroup interaction in place for long-time residents and immigrants. Furthermore, place identification overlaps the effect of choosing the neighbourhood as place of residence due to having family or acquaintances already living there, in the case of the immigrants. This leads to three main observations.

The first observation is that one such protective mechanism seems to be the capacity for regeneration models to attract (relatively slow) influxes of newcomers, rather than force their entry, also allowing a slowly growing gentrification and residential ethnicization. One limitation of the present research, in this regard, is the fact that we did not use a comparative design, testing the model here used also in a neighbourhood that – unlike Mouraria – had undergone a top-down regeneration process with imposed gentrification, and comparing the results. In Lisbon the pure top-down model is not being implemented in historical areas, and so in Chapter V is offered a careful analysis and characterization of the context in which the present research was conducted, helpful in contextualizing the results. These suggests, as mentioned, that the regeneration model used in Mouraria might have favoured identification from new gentrifiers, and even relatively high levels of perceived continuity. In addition, it might have enabled immigrants to feel identified with the neighbourhood, finding familiar cultural elements and a social diversified environment in public places. This moreover, extends previous analyses (Heath et al., 2017) that compared the effects of the two types of regeneration models, but did not compare different types of residents that regeneration brings. However, it would now be important to now directly compare different regeneration models *and* residents, assessing whether under top-down, forced conditions of gentrification and residential ethnicization and “superdiversity” (Oliveira & Padilla, 2017), new gentrifiers and immigrants’ place identification is less clear, older residents’ identification is diminished, and all engage less in public place sociability, and/or whether there are moderations effects per type of resident, unlike what was found here.

The second observation is that these findings demonstrate how, in the city, processes of place identification are not self-contained. Urban frontiers are porous, and the reputation of neighbourhoods attracts visitors who may later become residents: if they do, some level of bonding to the new place might already be established. This reveals how the open movements, relations and conversations through which people construct the meanings and images of the cities over time can help form bonds to places where they do not live, and this is a heritage of attachment that public authorities should not ignore when developing regeneration policies, if they wish to assure that the neighbourhood will not be transformed in an “empty” place. In this regard, it should be acknowledged that a further limitation of the present research is the fact that we did not directly investigate the reasons new gentrifiers gave for living in Mouraria. Even though the literature highlights the importance of “elective belonging” (Davison et al., 2012; see also Blanco et al., 2011) and a previous interview study in Mouraria indicates that they choose it not just for still favourable rent prices, but also from a willingness to live in a

more familiar and traditional environment (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015), it would have been relevant to examine whether their answers regarding the reasons for this choice were direct predictors of their place identification and knowledge, and social behaviour in place.

The third observation is that this research has only revealed that viewing public places of the neighbourhood as social and culturally diversified, through people's intergroup interaction, fosters place identification. However, it fails on grasping in more detail what elements and what kind of relationship with other residents and groups immigrants prioritize in the neighbourhood, which predicts stronger sense of identification with their current place of residence and uses of public places (Ehrkamp, 2005; Main & Sandoval, 2015). Previous literature argues immigrants' main relationships with other residents are established through their commercial businesses (e.g., Kaplan & Recoquillon, 2014). In further studies, it would be important to explore whether these kinds of relationships are important predictors of immigrants' bonds to place and uses of place, or if they prioritize other kind of relationships.

To summarize, we have sought to understand how the macro-level of urban policies is linked with the micro-level context of everyday sociability in public places where people connect, relate and bring neighbourhoods to life. We explored whether or not – and why – the well-intended macro-level changes of urban regeneration might disrupt this traditional feature of inner-city neighbourhoods, so characteristic of southern European cities. Our findings suggest that urban regeneration programs following a mixed/bottom-up strategy need not lead to a reduction in public space sociability. Even in a context of rapid urban regeneration, public places may continue to be shared by all, old and new residents, and in this sense may benefit the city and all citizens. It therefore seems that when neighbourhoods are perceived as retaining cultural continuity with the past, they may still be simultaneously changed and retain past social characteristics, if people continue to feel identified to them, and feel that they still know them. It also seems that when the environment of the public places of the neighbourhood are viewed accordingly to the 'official' social representation of the neighbourhood as a multicultural and cosmopolitan place, open to receive different cultural and ethnic groups and where social diversity seems to be promoted, neighbourhoods may be changed if people remain identified to them. Future research could now focus on the next question: understanding to what extent the sociability in public places includes the interaction between the three groups of traditional, new gentrifiers and immigrants.

CHAPTER VII

STUDY 2 - THE MICRO-ECOLOGY OF INTERGROUP RELATIONS IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF MOURARIA

1. Introduction

This chapter presents the second study of the thesis, the observational study. As described in Chapter VI, through Study 1, the main groups of residents of Mouraria report using the public places of the neighbourhood to socialize with neighbours, other residents, friends and/or family, being place identification a central predictor of such public sociability. However, these results only evidence residents' self-reported behaviour in place, and do not illuminate how public sociability actually materializes in the concrete spaces of public places. Specifically, they do not explain if this sociability occurs at an intragroup or intergroup level. In order to understand the nature of interactions in the neighbourhood among different groups, it is necessary to look at groups' real behaviour through its observation in naturalistic settings, as proposed by research on Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (Dixon et al., 2008). Following a bottom-up approach focused on directly observe people's uses of place and intergroup interactions (e.g., Schrieff et al., 2010; Priest et al., 2014), this field of research has refocused on Social Psychology a subject increasingly neglected, namely the observational study of the people's behaviour (Doliński, 2018). Nevertheless, this body of work on the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation has not yet developed studies on multicultural and regenerated urban communities, a lacuna this thesis aims to address in Study 2.

As suggested by the systematic literature review presented in Chapter III, studying how people behave at a micro-ecological level goes beyond knowing how they position themselves in place and/or understanding the boundaries their positions may entail, fostering the prevalence of intragroup forms of contact. Hence, studying the micro-ecology of segregation helps understand how different social groups are allowed be present and to use the concrete places of everyday life on a daily basis, as real citizens (Di Masso, 2015). This is especially relevant in contexts undergoing profound transformations regarding their social and cultural landscapes, marked by large influxes of different groups, such as regenerated neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods may become areas which 'contain' groups and individuals of different social categories, presenting several challenges to occupants' spatial behaviours, uses and interactions in public place.

Even though many regeneration interventions follow the premise of fostering social mixing in place, such mixing does not always happen (Lees, 2008). Indeed, as referred in Chapter III, both long-time and new residents may feel uncomfortable and 'out of place', no longer wanting to use the public places of the neighbourhood, avoiding some places, and creating informal boundaries between groups. Public places that are no longer shared may turn into segregated or abandoned places (Lees, 2008; Davidson & Lees, 2010), undermining the

extent to which specific groups view themselves as full citizens of their community (Painter & Philo, 1995). Understanding how residents behave and interact with others in public place is also a way of clarifying how citizenship is construed (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Vidal et al., 2013; Stevenson et al., 2015a) and consequently understanding if distinct groups are equally able to access and use the same places (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Di Masso, 2015).

In a neighbourhood traditionally known by its vivid public sociability, like Mouraria, and apparently offering the conditions to come into contact with different social groups (e.g., Spitz, 2015) in a multicultural environment, it is important to examine the real behaviour of both long-time residents and newcomers in public places, in order to understand if the specific urban regeneration program implemented in the neighbourhood – mixed/bottom-up – has led to inequalities in the everyday social life of residents, through self-segregating behaviours and solely intragroup interactions. This means, following the theoretical and methodological premises of the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation approach (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon, 2005; Dixon et al., 2008), which has framed the present study. This will contribute to respond to a lacuna in this research field, namely the absence of studies on multicultural and regenerated urban communities.

In sum, this study aims to understand how different individuals' and groups' use the public places of the neighbourhood of Mouraria and interact among them in place, answering some issues raised by Study 1, presented in Chapter VI. This has shown that all the three main groups of residents of Mouraria – long-time, new gentrifiers and immigrants – report using the public places of the neighbourhood to socialize with others, and also that feeling identified with the neighbourhood predicts such public sociability. It is now important to understand if this sociability occurs at an intragroup or intergroup level, the types of uses of public places, and which groups are present in place, through the analysis of people's behaviour directly observed.

The chapter will follow with the research questions and aims of Study 2, its methodology, its results, and a final discussion about what the micro-ecological patterns of spatial behaviour observed in the neighbourhood unveil regarding the everyday life and the access to public places of distinct groups.

2. Research questions and aims

The public sociability and the marked use of public places of Mouraria have been prominent features of the neighbourhood for years (Mendes, 2012; Malheiros et al., 2012). Simultaneously, the neighbourhood has been 'officially' presented as a successful multicultural community (Tulumello, 2015; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). It is important to analyse the impact

of the mixed/bottom-up regeneration program undergoing in the neighbourhood on such vivid public everyday life and if it reflects a multicultural environment, in order to understand what spatial patterns emerge among groups at a micro-ecological level. Specifically, the research questions that guided this study were the following:

- (1) Taking into account the social and cultural transformations happening in the neighbourhood, what local spatial patterns of people's distribution/position, type of uses and interaction emerge in the neighbourhood?
- (2) Are these local spatial patterns reproducing segregated or integrated public places?
- (3) Are these local spatial patterns different in inner and transition public places (as defined below)?
- (4) Are these public places predominantly used by specific groups?

Similarly to Study 1 (Chapter VI), the four public places observed were chosen in order to assure: (1) that two inner and two transition places were represented; and (2) the access to a diversity of residents and residents' trajectories in the neighbourhood, since most residents have to pass by these places in order to reach their homes. Specifically, the two inner places are two central inner squares located in the interior of the neighbourhood, traditionally important meeting points for residents to socialize, i.e. traditionally known by their lively public conviviality (Gésero, 2014). The two transition places, in turn, are a long street and a square serving as entry and exit points for the neighbourhood and fulfilling different functions (Gésero, 2014). Taking into account these features of the four public places and previous research (e.g., Malheiros et al., 2012; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015), three central results are expected, as explained below.

First, inner places are expected to be predominantly used to socialize with others, and transition places are expected to be used more as throughfare places. Second, because Study 1 has shown that residents report using the public places of the neighbourhood to socialize with others, the observations are expected to reveal this type of use by the three groups of residents. Finally, following previous studies on the neighbourhood (e.g., Bettencourt & Castro, 2015) indicating the existence of "sub-neighbourhoods" in Mouraria associated to different groups, inner places are also expected to gather more long-time residents, and transition places to be predominantly used by new gentrifiers and immigrants.

3. Methodology

The observations were conducted between February and March 2019, over a four week period. In order to address the methodological issues presented by preliminary studies regarding the correct identification and classification of the observed residents and given the increased tourism undergoing in the neighbourhood (Tulumello, 2015; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017), the present study has focused not only on observing residents' behaviour in place, but also other groups present in the neighbourhood, namely tourists. All groups identified were classified as apparently belonging to the following categories: (a) apparently a resident of the neighbourhood; and (b) apparently a tourist. Hence, this study attempted to investigate the nature and extent of informal segregation by mapping the distribution of members of different social categories in different public places of Mouraria and their uses/activities, during distinct periods over the week.

The identification of the different groups of residents relied on the researcher's deep knowledge about the neighbourhood. Mouraria is a small neighbourhood geographically well bounded, what has facilitated the researcher to get to know very well. This contextual knowledge was reinforced by the regular visits to Mouraria, since 2013, many of which followed by members of local community associations of the neighbourhood who helped to get to know various residents. Additionally, through the interviews conducted in the neighbourhood for previous studies and the Study 3 of the thesis, the researcher was able to contact and to meet residents from all groups. In this sense, even though the social categorization of the residents observed in place includes necessarily some individuals that may not belong to the category attributed, the margins of error are contextualized with the researcher's extensive knowledge about the neighbourhood obtained over the last seven years. Together with this knowledge, the identification of all groups – residents and tourists – followed particular visual clues, as explained next.

People were identified as long-time residents through: (a) their conversations in place with others and their way of talking; (b) their paths to specific buildings, such as their residence; and (c) their deep familiarity with places. Regarding new gentrifiers, their identification stemmed from the following characteristics: (a) young adults; (b) tendentially adopting a trendy clothing style; (c) showing some familiarity with the public places; (d) not using a camera; and (e) not stopping to observe places. Regarding the immigrants, their identification as residents and as belonging to particular ethnicities/nationalities was based on: (a) the language spoken; (b) specific physical traits (e.g., skin colour); and (c) the clothing style revealing elements of the culture of origin or religion (e.g., turban; headscarf; hijab).

In addition to the different groups of residents, there were also identified the tourists present in the public places, considering the following visual clues: (a) using a camera and taking pictures or filming; (b) using a guidebook or a map; (c) stopping to observe the place; and (d) being in guided tours.

As detailed below, it adapted the methodological approach used by research on the Microecology of Intergroup Segregation (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Tredoux & Dixon, 2009; Mckeown et al., 2016), in order to map individuals' position in each public place. It also used the method of the instrument EXOdES (Pérez-Tejera, Valera, & Anguera, 2011), in order to register individuals' composition (alone or in group), their sociodemographic characterization, and their type of use or activity.

3.1. Procedure

Individuals' micro-ecological patterns of spatial behaviour data were recorded during four weeks, in four days (Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday). They were recorded in two inner public places – *Largo da Severa* (inner place 1) and *Largo dos Trigueiros* (inner place 2) – and in two transition public places – *Largo de São Cristóvão* (transition place 1) and *Rua do Benfornoso* (transition place 2) – of the neighbourhood (see Figure 12). A total of 128 observations of 10 minutes were recorded, adopting the following steps:

(1) There were defined 4 periods of the day of one hour: (i) 10.30am-11.30am; (ii) 11.30am-12.30am; (iii) 14pm-15pm; and (iv) 15pm-16pm. The existence of 2 periods of the morning and 2 of the afternoon was established in order to deal with constraints intervening with the observations (e.g., weather conditions, construction works, people blocking the observation point or the filming), which sometimes made it impossible to record the observations correctly. Thus, even though each observation was recorded during solely one period of the morning and one of the afternoon, there were two alternative periods available to choose for each time of the day.

(2) For each day - Monday, Wednesday, Friday and Saturday - during each period of the day of one hour, one observer recorded 4 times of 10 minutes of observation (with an interval of 5 minutes between them), registering on paper the observation unit (a single individual or a group), individuals' spatial location, sociodemographic characterization, group of belonging, and type of use/activity, from a determined observation point in each of the public places.

(3) In order to increase reliability of observational coding, all observations were recorded in video, using the camera device *Rollei Actioncam 350*. This method assures the real number, spatial location and type of use of individuals is correctly recorded and mapped. The single register on paper may miss out some of these.

(4) After recording the observations on paper and video, a database in Excel's spreadsheets was created, following the method of the instrument EXOdES (Pérez-Tejera et al., 2011), registering (see Table 13):

(a) Spatial location of each observation unit (zones 1 and 2 of each place) and its composition (alone or in group).

(b) Sociodemographic characterization of each observation unit:

- gender and age (young, adult or elder)
- nationality / ethnicity - Similarly to the identification of the group of belonging, the nationality/ethnicity of each individual relied on particular visual clues, namely: (a) language spoken; and (b) specific physical traits (e.g., skin colour).

(c) Group of belonging:

- apparently a resident of the neighbourhood (long-time, new gentrifier, immigrant)
- apparently a tourist

(d) Type of use or activity:

- passing by
- staying in place
- sociability / talking
- services
- other activity

(5) Schematic maps depicting each public place layout - following Dixon and Durrheim (2003), Tredoux and Dixon (2009), and Mckeown et al. (2016) - were used to produce a 'map' (see Figures 13, 14 , 15 and 16) of individuals' spatial location, composition,

sociodemographic characterization, group of belonging, and type of use/activity, for each time of 10 minutes of observation.

(6) Finally, in order to analyse if there were differences regarding the spatial distribution of groups across the four public places, the Entropy Index⁴ (h ; see Massey & Denton, 1988; Kramer & Kramer, 2018) – a geographic index of segregation – was measured.



Note. 3 – inner public place 1 - Largo da Severa; 4 – inner public place 2 - Largo dos Trigueiros; 5 - transition public place 1 - Largo de São Cristóvão; 6 – transition public place 2 - Rua do Benfornoso
Figure 12. Map of the neighbourhood of Mouraria identifying the four public places observed. Source: ArcGIS



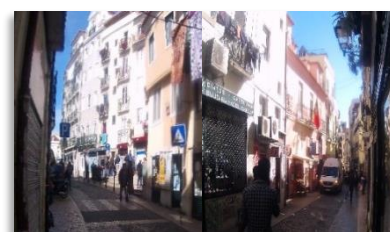
(A)



(B)



(C)



(D)

Figure 13. Photos of each of the four public places observed: (A) inner place 1 - Largo da Severa; (B) inner place 2 - Largo dos Trigueiros; (C) transition place 1 - Largo de São Cristóvão; (D) transition place 2 - Rua do Benfornoso. Source: Researcher

⁴ The Entropy Index – h – measures the spatial distribution of multiple groups simultaneously (Theil, 1972). The spatial areas with higher values of h are more diverse, and with lower values of h have more uniform distributions of the different groups analysed (Massey & Denton, 1988; Kramer & Kramer, 2018).

Table 13.

Codification table to register the observations (following Pérez-Tejera et al., 2011)

Variable	Code	Meaning
1. Period of the Day (P)	1.1	10h30-11h30
	1.2	11h30-12h30
	1.3	14h-15h
	1.4	15h-16h
2. 10 Minute Time (T)	2.1	1° 10
	2.2	2° 10
	2.3	3° 10
	2.4	4° 10
3. Place (L)	3.1	Largo da Severa
	3.2	Largo dos Trigueiros
	3.3	Largo de São Cristóvão
	3.4	Rua do Benfornoso
4. Zone (Z) (in each place)	4.1	Zone 1
	4.2	Zone 2
5. Observation Unit (UO)	5.1	Alone
	5.2	Group
6. Age (I)	6.1	Adult
	6.2	Elder
	6.3	Young
	6.4	Mixed Age
7. Sex (S)	7.1	Female
	7.2	Male

	7.3	Mixed Sex (groups with female and male individuals)
8. Group Composition (CG)	8.1	Adult Female Group
	8.2	Adult Male Group
	8.3	Adult Mixed Sex Group
	8.4	Elder Female Group
	8.5	Elder Male Group
	8.6	Elder Mixed Sex Group
	8.7	Young Female Group
	8.8	Young Male Group
	8.9	Young Mixed Sex Group
	8.10	Mixed Ages Female Group
	8.11	Mixed Ages Male Group
	8.12	Mixed Ages Mixed Sex Group
9. Number of People (NP)	9	Ordinal
10. Group of Belonging (OP)	10.1	Apparently Long-time resident
	10.2	Apparently Immigrant Resident
	10.3	Apparently New Gentrifier Resident
	10.4	Apparently Tourist
11. Mixed Belonging Group (MOP)	11	Descriptive / ordinal
12. Ethnicity/Nationality (EN)	12.1	Portuguese
	12.2	Apparently Indian/Pakistani/Bengali/Nepalese
	12.3	Apparently Chinese
	12.4	Apparently European
	12.5	Apparently African

13. Type of Use (U)**13.1** Passing by**13.2** Staying in Place**13.3** Sociability / Talking**13.4** Services**13.5** Other Activity

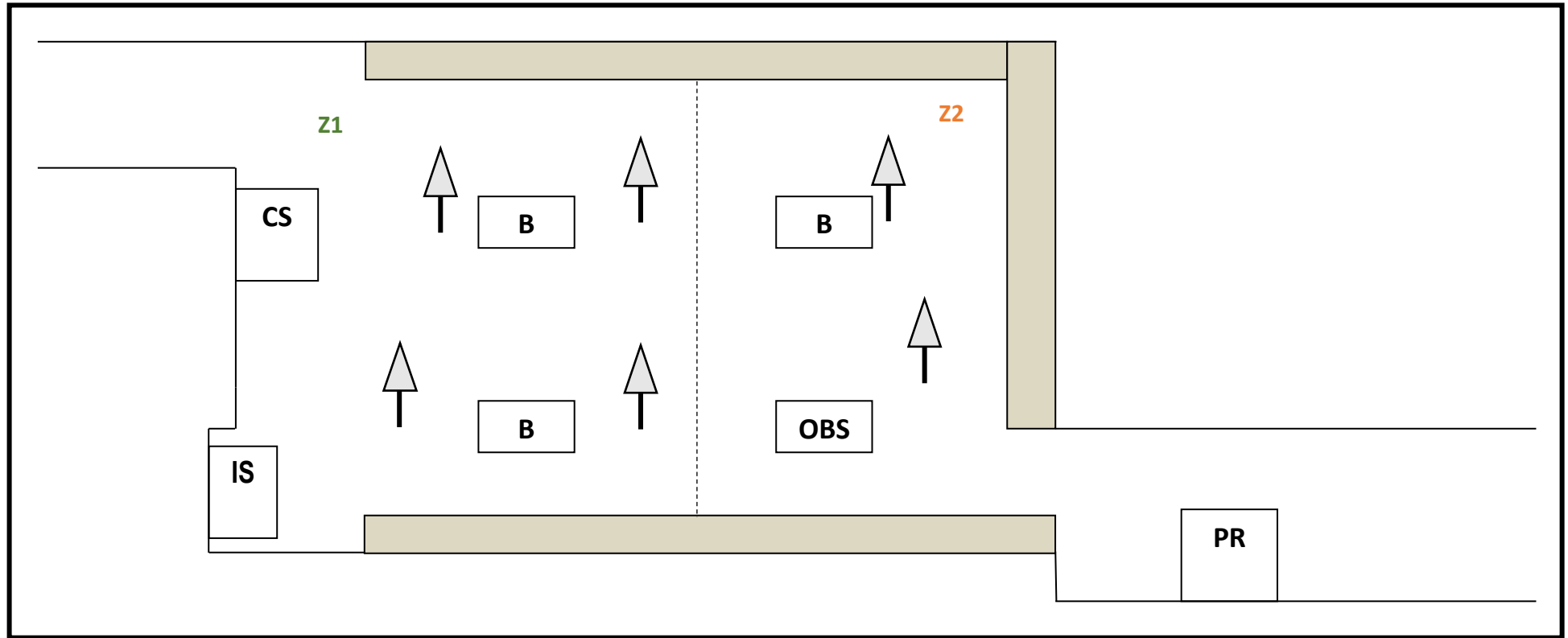


Figure 14. Schematic map of the inner place 1 - Largo da Severa.

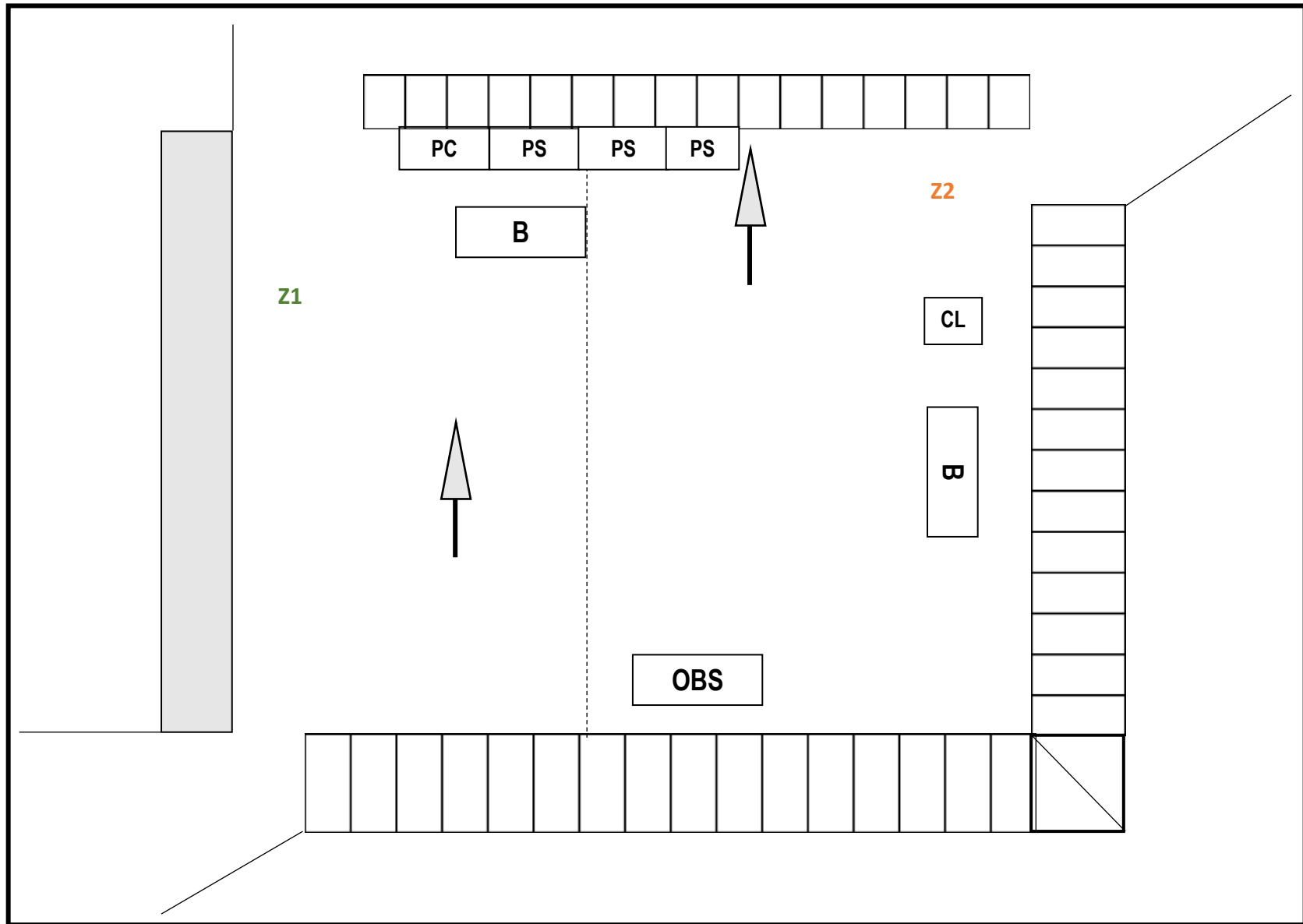


Figure 15. Schematic map of the inner place 2 - Largo dos Trigueiros.

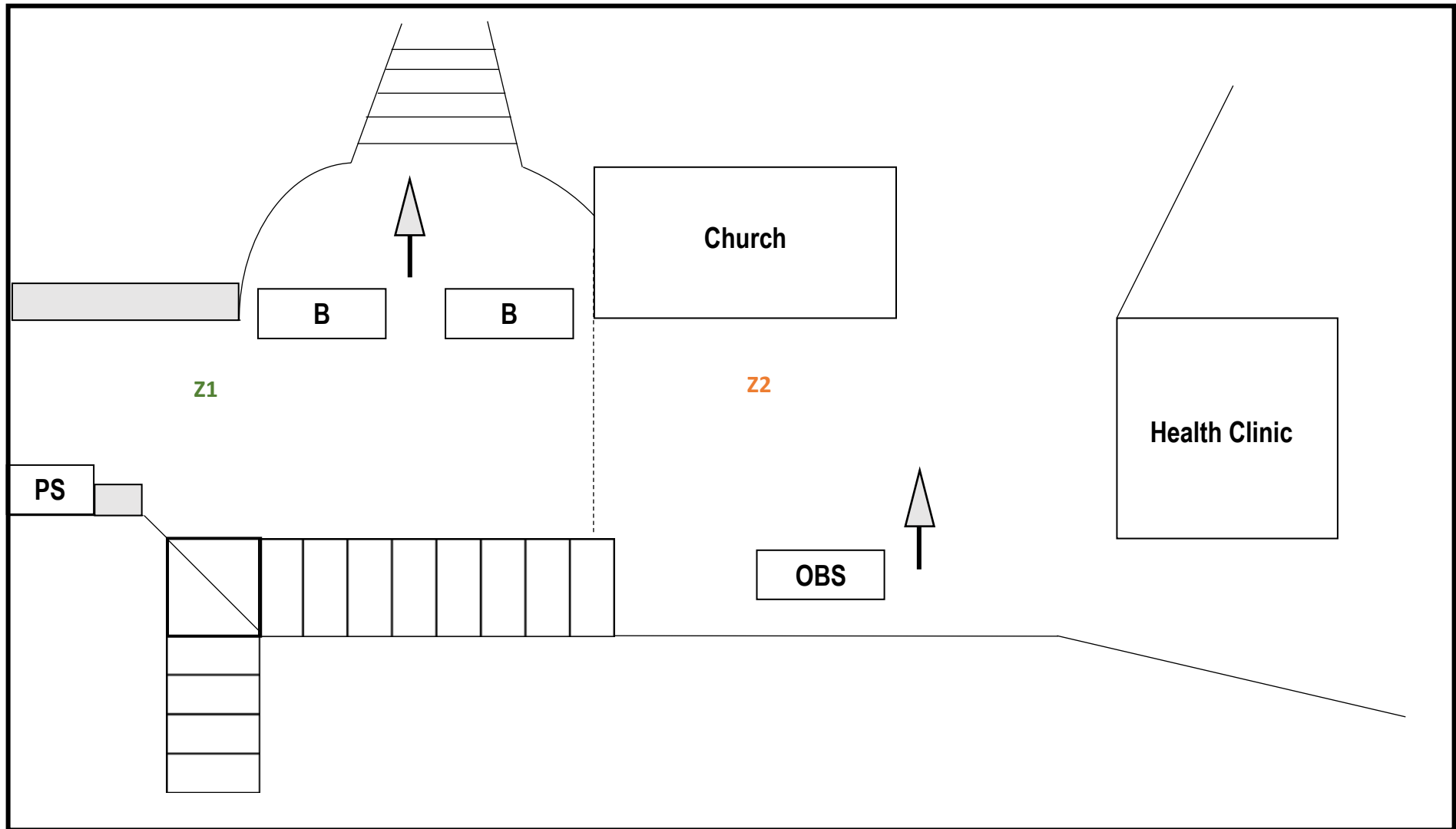


Figure 16. Schematic map of the transition place 1 - Largo de São Cristóvão.

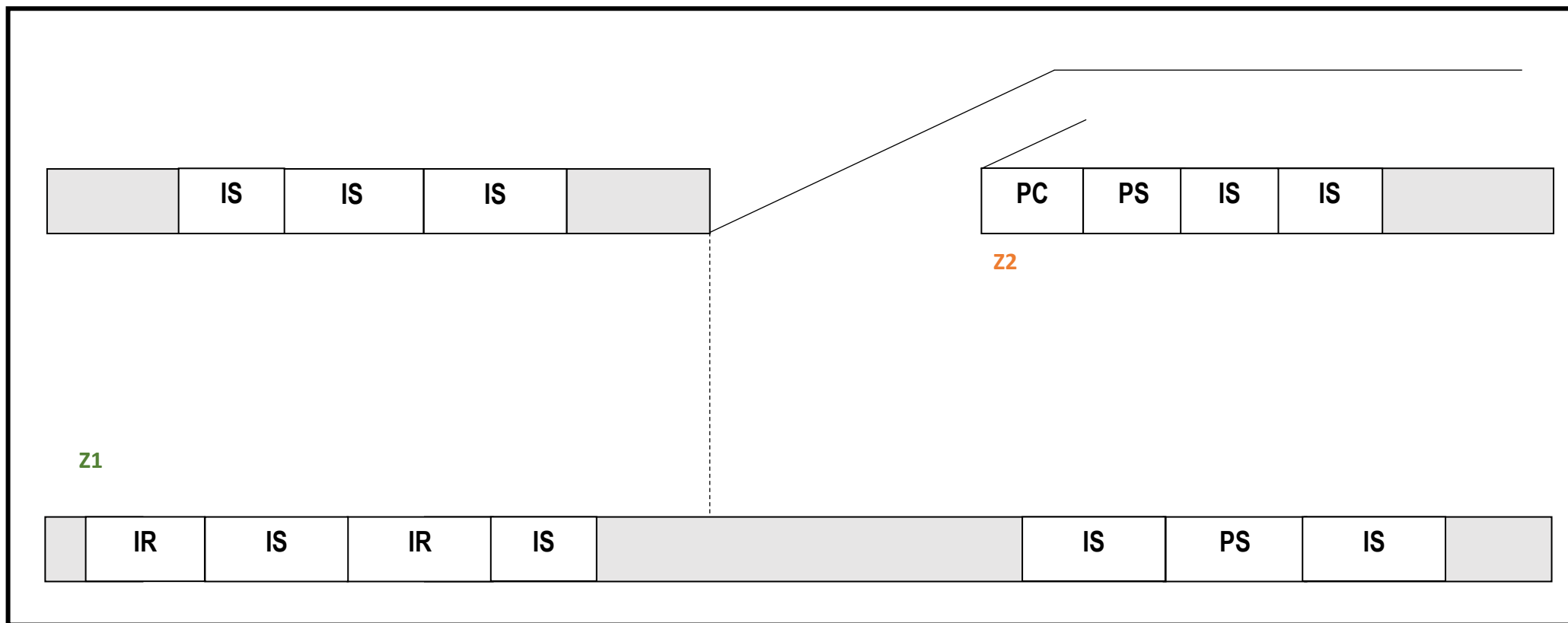

















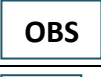







Figure 17. Schematic map of the transition place 2 - Rua do Benfornoso.

4. Results

For each of the four public places, two schematic maps will be presented, corresponding each to one time of 10 minutes of observation of one period of the day of 1 hour (morning and afternoon). First, there will be provided the two schematic maps of each inner place – *Largo da Severa* and *Largo dos Trigueiros* – and the respective analysis. Second, there will be provided the two schematic maps of each transition place – *Largo de São Cristóvão* and *Rua do Benfornoso* – and the respective analysis. Each period of the day was selected as the most representative of the predominant behaviour of individuals in place, i.e. there were selected the periods in which a higher movement and frequency of people were observed (see Tables 15, 16, 17 and 18). Table 14 provides the schematic maps legend. Third, there will be provided an analysis of the Entropy Index (h ; see Massey & Denton, 1988; Kramer & Kramer, 2018) in order to assess the distribution of groups across the four places (see Table 19).

Table 14.
Schematic maps legend

 Long-time resident / adult / woman	 Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese Immigrant resident / adult / woman	 Portuguese New Gentrifier / adult / woman
 Long-time resident / adult / man	 Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese Immigrant resident / adult / man	 Portuguese New Gentrifier / adult / woman
 Long-time resident / elder / woman	 Chinese Immigrant resident / adult / woman	 European Tourist / adult / woman
 Long-time resident / elder / man	 Chinese Immigrant resident / adult / man	 European Tourist / adult / man
 Group of Long-time residents / mixed age	 African Immigrant resident / adult / woman  African Immigrant resident / adult / man	 Community Library
 Passing by	 Bench	 Observation Point
 <i>Casa da Severa</i>	 Immigrant Store	 Immigrant Restaurant
 Portuguese Restaurant	 Portuguese Cafe	 Portuguese Store

4.1. Mapping the inner place 1 - Largo da Severa

4.1.1. Observations in Largo da Severa

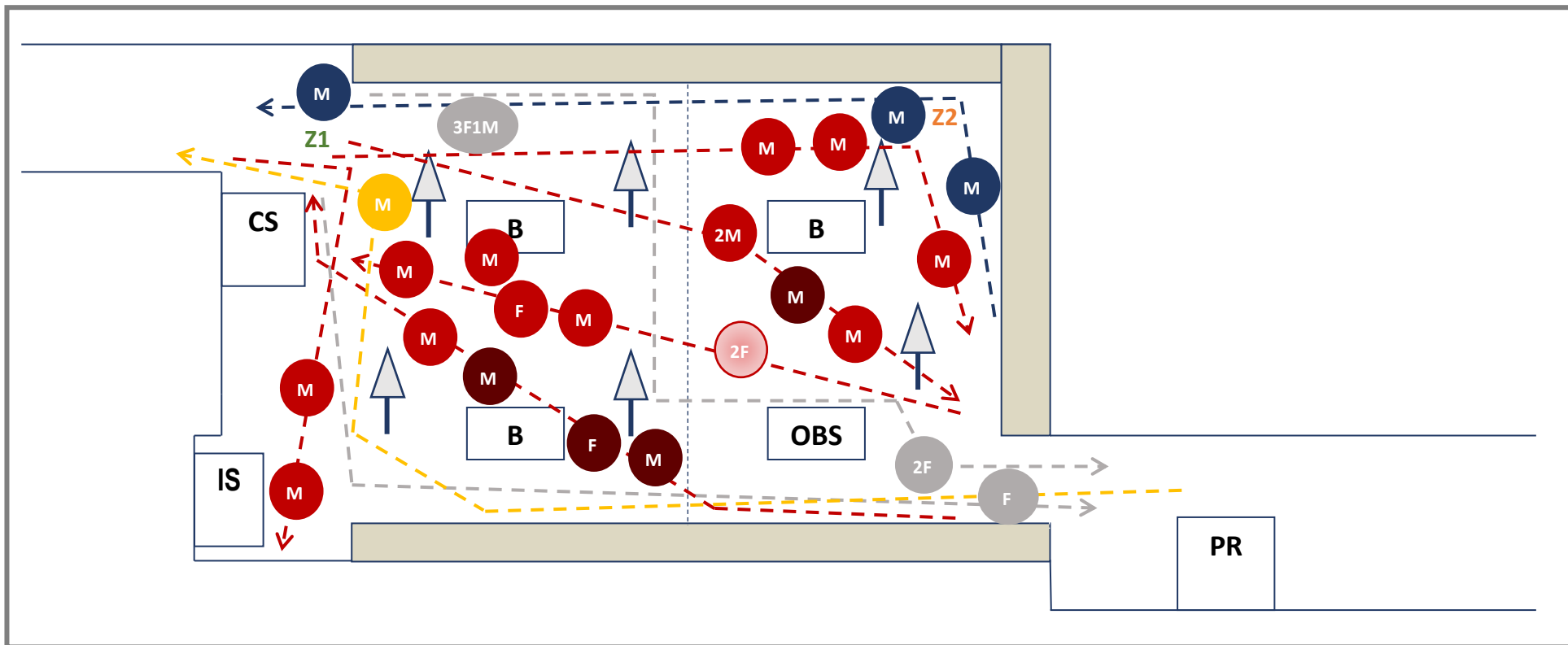


Figure 18. Schematic map of the inner place 1 - Largo da Severa - 04/02/2019: 11h30-12h30 – 1st 10mn time (Monday).

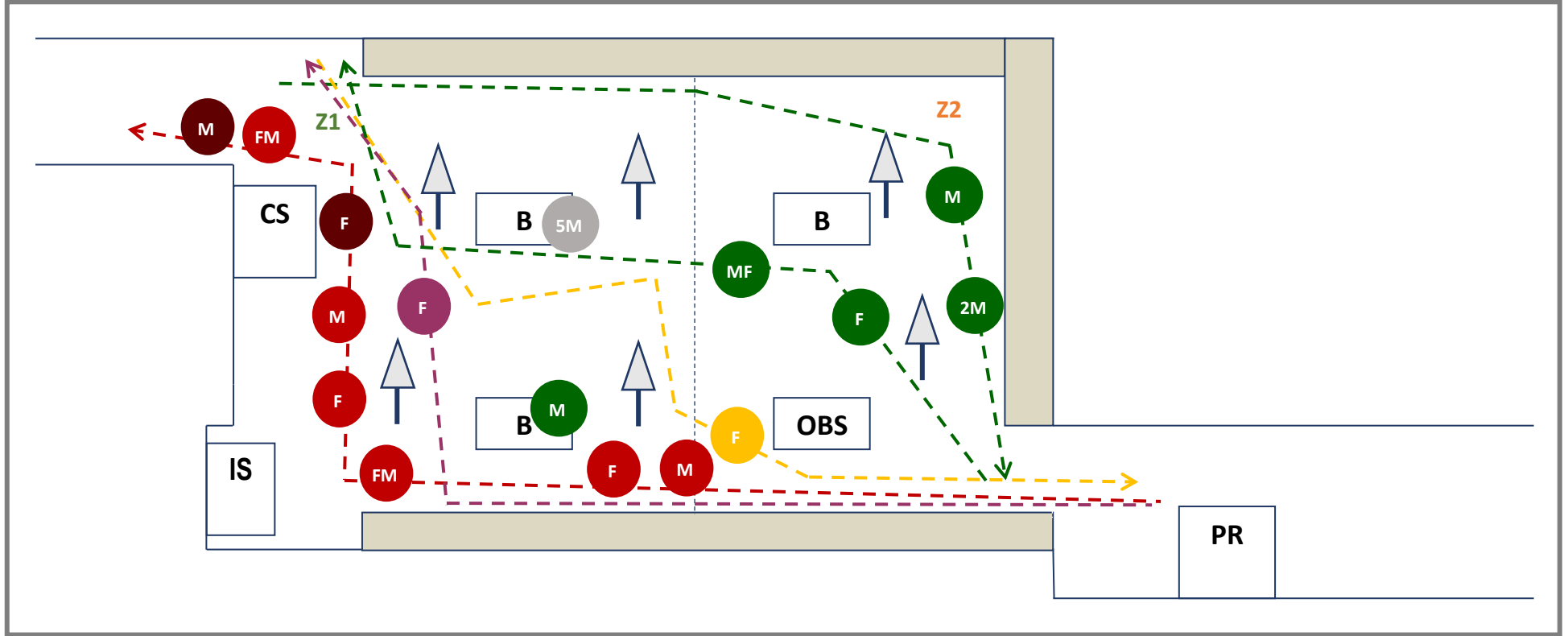


Figure 19. Schematic map of the inner place 1 - Largo da Severa - 09/03/2019: 10h30-11h30 – 1st 10mn time (Saturday).

Table 15.Sociodemographic description of individuals and groups and type of uses observed in the inner place 1 - *Largo da Severa*

Public place	Day of observation	Period of the day	Group of belonging	Composition of groups	Gender	Age	Nationality/ Ethnicity	Type of use
INNER PLACE 1 LARGO DA SEVERA	Monday 04/02/2019	Morning 11h30-12h30	LG= 51	Intragroup=4 Intergroup=1 (2 LG+1NG)	F= 9 M=42	Adult=32 Elder=21	Portuguese=51	Passing by= 46 Staying in place= 2 Sociability/ talking= 3
			IMI= 29	Intragroup=9	F= 6 M=23	Adult=29	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 22 Chinese= 1 African= 6	Passing by= 24 Staying in place= 1 Sociability/ talking= 4
	NG= 12		Intragroup=2 Intergroup=1 (2 LG+1NG)	F= 3 M=9	Adult=12	Portuguese=12	Passing by= 10 Staying in place= 1 Sociability/ talking= 1	
	TOU=10		Intragroup=3	F= 7 M=3	Adult=10	European=10	Passing by= 6 Staying in place= 4	
TOTAL								
			N / %	102 / 100%	Intra=18 / 94,7%	Inter=1 / 5,3%	F= 25 / 24,5% M= 77 / 75,5%	Passing= 86 / 84,3% Staying= 8 / 7,85% Sociability= 8 / 7,85%
Afternoon 15h-16h			LG = 44	Intragroup=5	F= 13 M=31	Adult=34 Elder=10	Portuguese=44	Passing by= 36 Staying in place= 4 Sociability/ talking= 4
			IMI= 34	Intragroup=10	F= 8	Adult=34	Passing by= 29	

			M=26		Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 31 Chinese= 1 African= 2	Staying in place= 5	
	NG= 16	Intragroup=2	F= 6 M=10	Adult=16	Portuguese=16	Passing by= 15 Staying in place= 1	
	TOU=6	Intragroup=1	F= 6	Adult=6	European=6	Staying in place= 6	
TOTAL							
	N / %	100 / 100%	Intra=18 / 100%	F= 33 / 67% M= 67 / 33%		Passing= 80 / 80% Staying= 16 / 16% Sociability= 4 / 4%	
<i>INNER PLACE 1 LARGO DA SEVERA</i>	Wednesday 20/02/2019	LG= 48	Intragroup=3	F= 13 M=35	Adult=30 Elder=18	Portuguese=48	Passing by= 40 Staying in place= 3 Sociability/ talking= 5
	Morning 10h30-11h30	IMI= 21	Intragroup=6	F= 2 M=19	Adult=21	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 20 Chinese= 1	Passing by= 19 Sociability/ talking= 2
		NG= 7	Intragroup=1	F= 2 M=5	Adult=7	Portuguese=7	Passing by= 7
		TOU=8	Intragroup=2	F= 7 M=1	Adult=8	European=8	Passing by= 8
TOTAL							

N / % 84 / 100% Intra=12 / 100% F= 24 / 28,6% M= 60 / 71,4% Passing= 74 / 88,1% Staying= 3 / 3,6% Sociability= 7 / 8,3%						
Afternoon 15h-16h	LG= 17	Intragroup=3	F= 8 M=9	Adult=8 Elder=9	Portuguese=17	Passing by= 13 Sociability/ talking= 4
	IMI= 20	Intragroup=4	F= 8 M=12	Adult=18 Elder=2	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 17 African= 3	Passing by= 17 Staying in place= 3
	NG= 5	Intragroup=2	M=5	Adult=5	Portuguese=5	Passing by= 5
	TOU=6	Intragroup=2	F= 4 M=2	Adult=5 Elder=1	European=6	Passing by= 3 Staying in place= 3
TOTAL						
N / % 48 / 100% Intra=11 / 100% F= 20 / 41,7% M= 28 / 58,3% Passing= 38 / 79,2% Staying= 6 / 12,5% Sociability= 4 / 8,3%						

**INNER
PLACE 1**

**LARGO DA
SEVERA**

Friday 22/02/2019 Morning 11h30-12h30	LG= 36	Intragroup=6	F= 12 M=24	Adult=23 Elder=13	Portuguese=36	Passing by= 32 Staying in place= 1 Sociability/ talking= 3
	IMI= 22	Intragroup=5	F= 5 M=17	Adult=21 Elder=1	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 18 Chinese= 1 African= 3	Passing by= 22
	NG= 9	Intragroup=1	F= 2 M=7	Adult=9	Portuguese=9	Passing by= 7 Sociability/ talking= 2
	TOU=15	Intragroup=6	F= 10 M=5	Adult=15	European=15	Passing by= 15
TOTAL						
N / %	82 / 100%	Intra=18 / 100%	F= 29 / 35,4% M= 53 / 64,6%			Passing= 76 / 92,7% Staying= 1 / 1,2% Sociability= 5 / 6,1%
Afternoon 14h-15h	LG= 25	Intragroup=3	F= 11 M=14	Adult=13 Elder=12	Portuguese=25	Passing by= 21 Staying in place= 1 Sociability/ talking= 3
	IMI= 28	Intragroup=4	F= 2 M=26	Adult=28	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 24 Chinese= 1 African= 3	Passing by= 25 Staying in place= 3

		NG= 13	Intragroup=4	F=5 M=8	Adult=13	Portuguese=13	Passing by= 13
		TOU=2		F= 2	Adult=1 Elder=1	European=2	Passing by= 2
TOTAL							
	N / %	68 / 100%	Intra=11 / 100%	F= 20 / 29,4% M= 48 / 70,6%			Passing= 61 / 89,7% Staying= 4 / 5,9% Sociability= 3 / 4,4%
INNER PLACE 1 LARGO DA SEVERA	Saturday	LG= 29	Intragroup=6	F= 12 M=17	Adult=23 Elder=6	Portuguese=29	Passing by= 27 Staying in place= 2
	09/03/2019	IMI= 36	Intragroup=6	F= 11 M=25	Adult=35 Elder=1	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 18 Chinese= 6 African= 10	Passing by= 31 Staying in place= 3 Sociability/ talking= 2
	Morning	NG= 5	Intragroup=1	F= 2 M=3	Adult=5	Portuguese=4 European=1	Passing by= 5
	10h30-11h30	TOU=18	Intragroup=5	F= 4 M=14	Adult=18	European=15	Passing by= 6 Staying in place= 1 Sociability/ talking= 11
TOTAL							
	N / %	88 / 100%	Intra=18 / 100%	F= 20 / 29,4% M= 48 / 45,5%			Passing= 69 / 78,4% Staying= 6 / 6,8% Sociability= 13 / 14,8%

Afternoon 14h-15h	LG= 15	Intragroup=3	F= 2 M=13	Adult=12 Elder=3	Portuguese=15	Passing by= 8 Staying in place= 2 Sociability/ talking= 5
	IMI= 17	Intragroup=2	F= 1 M=16	Adult=17	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 15 African= 2	Passing by= 13 Sociability/ talking= 4
	NG= 3		M=3	Adult=3	Portuguese=3	Passing by= 3
	TOU=11		F= 2 M=9	Adult=11	European=11	Passing by= 11
TOTAL						
N / %	46 / 100%	Intra=5 / 100%	F= 5 / 10,9% M= 41 / 89,1%			Passing= 35 / 76,1% Staying= 2 / 4,3% Sociability= 9 / 19,6%

Note. LG – long-time residents | IMI – immigrants | NG – new gentrifiers | TOU – tourists. *Composition of groups* refers to the cases which the observation unit was a group, recording if this was composed by members of one single group of belonging (intragroup) or by members of different groups of belonging (intergroup).

4.1.2. Interpretation of the observations in inner place 1 - *Largo da Severa*

The observations have shown there is a higher movement and frequency of people in *Largo da Severa* during the morning periods, over the four days of observation. Even though all three groups of residents use this public place, results show there is a predominance of long-time residents and Asian immigrants (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh; see Table 15). The analysis of different residents' positions in place suggests the existence of an informal segregation among the three groups of residents, consistent over the four days of observation.

This inner place is predominantly used to pass to other areas of the neighbourhood or the city, by all groups. Nevertheless, the observations have shown that some individuals and groups do use it as a place to stay, for instance, sitting in a bench, or to socialize with others (see Table 15, and Figures 17 and 18). This happens mostly among long-time residents and Asian immigrants (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) at an ingroup level. Only one situation of intergroup interaction was observed along the entire time of observation of this place. Specifically, a group of two long-time residents and one Portuguese new gentrifier stood near a bench talking with each other during the morning period of Monday (see Table 15).

Regarding the tourists, the observations suggested that they use this inner public place mostly in group (groups of 2 or more individuals) and as a place to stay or pass by to other areas (see Table 15). Friday and Saturday morning are the periods where there is a higher frequency of tourists in *Largo da Severa* (N=15 and N=18, respectively). However, in general, results show a higher tendency of residents using this public place, in comparison with the tourists.

In sum, inner place 1 - *Largo da Severa* - is mainly used as a place to pass to other areas. However, long-time residents and Asian immigrants (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) also use it to stay or socialize with others and there is little presence of new gentrifiers. The observations also reveal that all individuals that socialize there tend to interact at an intragroup level. These results seem to indicate that the Asian immigrants (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) living in the neighbourhood tend to adopt more the familiar public life, which has been characterizing Mouraria for years, than new gentrifiers. The observations suggest the manifestation of an informal segregation among the different groups of residents, evidenced by their spatial positioning and organisation.

4.2. Mapping the inner place 2 - Largo dos Trigueiros

4.2.1. Observations in Largo dos Trigueiros

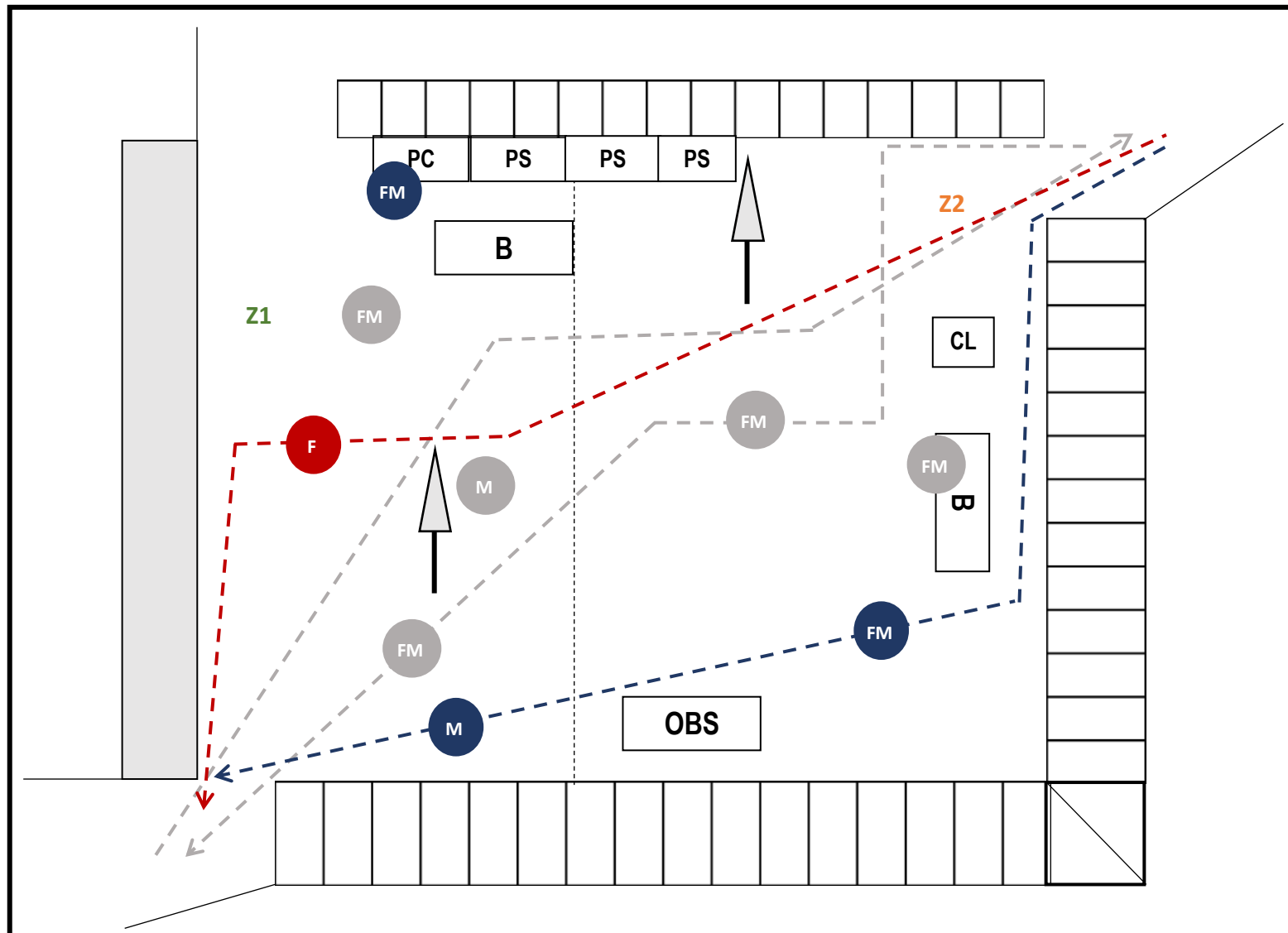


Figure 20. Schematic map of the inner place 2 - Largo dos Trigueiros- 08/02/2019: 14h-15h – 1st 10mn time (Friday).

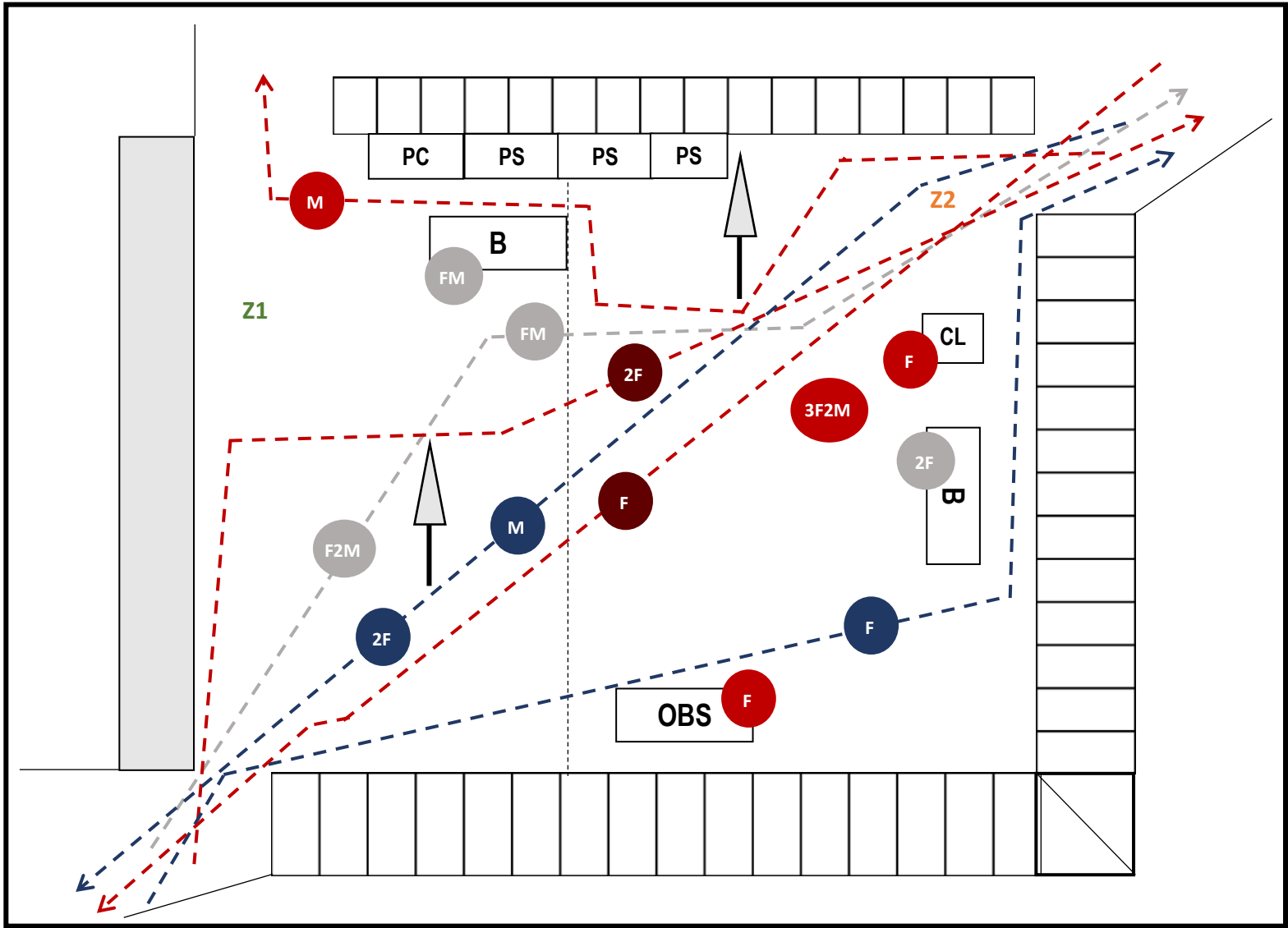


Figure 21. Schematic map of the inner place 2 - *Largo dos Trigueiros*- 02/03/2019: 14h-15h – 1st 10mn time (Saturday).

Table 16.Sociodemographic description of individuals and groups and type of uses observed in the inner place 2 - *Largo dos Trigueiros*

Public place	Day of observation	Period of the day	Group of belonging	Composition of groups	Gender	Age	Nationality/ Ethnicity	Type of use
INNER PLACE 2 LARGO DOS TRIGUEIROS	Monday 18/02/2019	Morning 10h30-11h30	LG= 14	Intragroup=2	F= 6 M=8	Adult=7 Elder=7	Portuguese=14	Passing by= 12 Sociability/ talking= 2
			IMI= 4	Intragroup=1	F= 1 M=3	Adult=3 Elder=1	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 4	Passing by= 4
			NG= 9	Intragroup=2	F= 6 M=3	Adult=9	Portuguese=9	Passing by= 5 Staying in place= 3 Other activity= 1
			TOU= 24	Intragroup=9	F= 18 M=6	Adult=21 Elder=1	European=24	Passing by= 15 Staying in place= 3 Services= 6
TOTAL								
		N / %	51 / 100%	Intra=14 / 100%	F= 31 / 60,8% M= 20 / 39,2%			Passing= 36 / 70,6% Staying= 6 / 11,8% Sociability= 2 / 3,9% Services= 6 / 11,8% Other= 1 / 1,9%
	Afternoon 14h-15h		LG= 13	Intragroup=3	F= 4 M=9	Adult=7 Elder=6	Portuguese=13	Passing by= 9 Sociability/ talking= 3 Other activity=1
			IMI= 3		F= 2 M=1	Adult=3	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 2 African= 1	Passing by= 3

		NG= 16	Intragroup=4	F=5 M=11	Adult=13	Portuguese=16	Passing by= 9 Sociability/ talking= 5 Services= 1 Other activity= 1
		TOU=24	Intragroup=8	F= 16 M=8	Adult=24	European=24	Passing by= 12 Staying in place= 3 Sociability/ talking= 3 Services=6
TOTAL							
	N / %	56 / 100%	Intra=15 / 100%	F= 27 / 48,2% M= 29 / 51,8%			Passing= 33 / 58,9% Staying= 3 / 5,4% Sociability= 11 / 19,6% Services= 7 / 12,5% Other= 2 / 3,6%
INNER PLACE 2 LARGO DOS TRIGUEIROS	Wednesday 06/02/2019	LG= 34	Intragroup=2	F= 15 M=19	Adult=29 Elder=5	Portuguese=34	Passing by= 31 Staying in place= 1 Sociability/ talking= 2
	Morning 10h30-11h30	IMI= 10	Intragroup=2	M=10	Adult=9 Elder=1	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 3 African= 7	Passing by= 8 Sociability/ talking= 2
		NG= 17	Intragroup=4	F= 6 M=11	Adult=17	Portuguese=15 European=2	Passing by= 13 Staying in place= 3
		TOU= 19	Intragroup=6	F= 12 M=7	Adult=19	European=24	Passing by= 19
TOTAL							

	N / %	80 / 100%	Intra=14 / 100%	F= 33 / 41,3% M= 47 / 58,8%			Passing= 71 / 88,8% Staying= 4 / 5,6% Sociability= 4 / 5,6%
	Afternoon 14h-15h	LG= 14	Intragroup=1	F= 7 M=7	Adult=11 Elder=3	Portuguese=14	Passing by= 12 Services= 2
		IMI= 8	Intragroup=2	F= 3 M=5	Adult=7 Elder=1	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 3 African= 5	Passing by= 4 Staying in place= 1 Services= 3
		NG= 11	Intragroup=3	F=4 M=7	Adult=11	Portuguese=9 European=2	Passing by= 11
		TOU=30	Intragroup=11	F= 17 M=13	Adult=25 Elder=5	European=30	Passing by= 22 Staying in place= 4 Services=4
TOTAL							
	N / %	63 / 100%	Intra=17 / 100%	F= 31 / 49,2% M= 32 / 50,8%			Passing= 49 / 77,8% Staying= 5 / 7,9% Services= 9 / 14,3%
INNER PLACE 2 LARGO DOS TRIGUEIROS	Friday 08/02/2019	LG= 13	Intragroup=2	F= 4 M=9	Adult=7 Elder=6	Portuguese=13	Passing by= 9 Sociability/ talking= 2 Services=2
	Morning 11h30-12h30	IMI= 2		F= 1 M=1	Adult=2	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 1 African= 1	Passing by= 2
		NG= 7		F= 2 M=5	Adult=7	Portuguese=7	Passing by= 5 Services=2

	TOU= 40	Intragroup=18	F= 27 M=14	Adult=32 Elder=8	European=40	Passing by= 28 Staying in place= 2 Services=10
TOTAL						
N / %	62 / 100%	Intra=20 / 100%	F= 34 / 54,8% M= 29 / 45,2%			Passing= 44 / 71% Staying= 2 / 3,2% Sociability= 2 / 3,2% Services= 14 / 22,6%
Afternoon 14h-15h	LG= 19	Intragroup=1	F= 7 M=12	Adult=10 Elder=9	Portuguese=19	Passing by= 18 Services=1
	IMI= 13	Intragroup=1	F= 7 M=6	Adult=12 Elder=1	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 2 African= 11	Passing by= 13
	NG= 24	Intragroup=7	F=12 M=12	Adult=24	Portuguese=24	Passing by= 16 Sociability/ talking= 3 Services= 5
	TOU=41	Intragroup=19	F= 23 M=18	Adult=33 Elder=8	European=41	Passing by= 26 Staying in place= 3 Sociability/ talking= 4 Services=8
TOTAL						
N / %	97 / 100%	Intra=28 / 100%	F= 49 / 50,5% M= 48 / 49,5%			Passing= 73 / 75,3% Staying= 3 / 3,1% Sociability= 7 / 7,2% Services= 14 / 14,4%

<i>INNER PLACE 2 LARGO DOS TRIGUEIROS</i>	Saturday 02/03/2019	LG= 10	Intragroup=1	F= 6 M=4	Adult=4 Elder=6	Portuguese=10	Passing by= 10
	Morning	IMI= 3		M=3	Adult=3	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 3	Passing by= 3
	10h30-11h30	NG= 16	Intragroup=2	F= 9 M=7	Adult=16	Portuguese=16	Passing by= 14 Services=2
		TOU= 24	Intragroup=8	F= 18 M=6	Adult=24	European=24	Passing by= 14 Services=10
TOTAL							
	N / %	53 / 100%	Intra=11 / 100%	F=33 / 62,3% M=20 / 37,7%			Passing= 41 / 77,4% Services= 12 / 22,6%
	Afternoon	LG= 18	Intragroup=4	F= 11 M=7	Adult=14 Elder=4	Portuguese=18	Passing by= 5 Staying in place= 2 Sociability/ talking= 7 Services=4
	14h-15h	IMI= 6	Intragroup=1	M=6	Adult=6	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 6	Passing by= 6
		NG= 21	Intragroup=5	F=12 M=9	Adult=24	Portuguese=21	Passing by= 18 Staying in place= 2 Services= 1
		TOU=17	Intragroup=6	F= 10	Adult=17	European=17	Passing by= 6 Staying in place= 5

			M=7			Sociability/ talking= 2 Services=4
TOTAL						
N / %	62 / 100%	Intra=16 / 100%	F= 33 / 53,2% M= 29 / 46,8%			Passing= 35 / 56,5% Staying= 9 / 14,5% Sociability= 9 / 14,5% Services= 9 / 14,5%

Note. LG – long-time residents | IMI – immigrants | NG – new gentrifiers | TOU – tourists. *Composition of groups* refers to the cases which the observation unit was a group, recording if this was composed by members of one single group of belonging (intragroup) or by members of different groups of belonging (intergroup).

4.2.2. Interpretation of the observations in inner place 2 - Largo dos Trigueiros

Results show that the inner public place of *Largo dos Trigueiros* tends to present a higher movement and frequency of people during the afternoon periods, comparing to the morning periods. This is evident along the four days of observation. Regarding the different groups of residents using this place, the observations have revealed a clear predominance of long-time residents and new gentrifiers (see Table 16). There were few Asian (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) and African immigrants using this place (see Table 16), being Friday afternoon the period where it was registered a higher number (N=13).

Although an inner place, *Largo dos Trigueiros* is highly used as a place to pass to other areas of the neighbourhood or the city. Despite this, there are some residents using this place to socialize or talk with others (see Table 16), being long-time residents who do it the most (N=16), followed by new gentrifiers (N=8) and immigrants (N=2). There are also records of residents using specific services, such as cafes, stores and a restaurant (see Table 16, and Figures 19 and 20).

Similarly to what was observed in the inner public place of *Largo da Severa*, the interactions happening in place occur at an ingroup level. The intragroup interactions among residents observed together with the marked use of this place as a throughfare place, and the little presence of immigrants may indicate some forms of informal segregation.

A point worth of noting regards the considerable presence of tourists in this public place. With the exception of Wednesday morning (N=19), the frequency of tourists using this public place was higher than the frequency of all groups of residents over the four days (see Table 16).

Overall, *Largo dos Trigueiros* is characterized as a throughfare place, although some residents use it as a place to socialize with others, or just to stay alone in place, especially long-time residents and new gentrifiers. Moreover, solely intragroup interactions were registered, when residents were in group, and few immigrants use this public place. This is also a place in which in several periods of the day tourists outnumber residents. In general, the observations suggest some sort of local informal segregation, being this place more associated to long-time residents and new gentrifiers, and defined as a very touristic place.

4.3. Mapping the transition place 1 - *Largo de São Cristóvão*

4.3.1. Observations in *Largo de São Cristóvão*

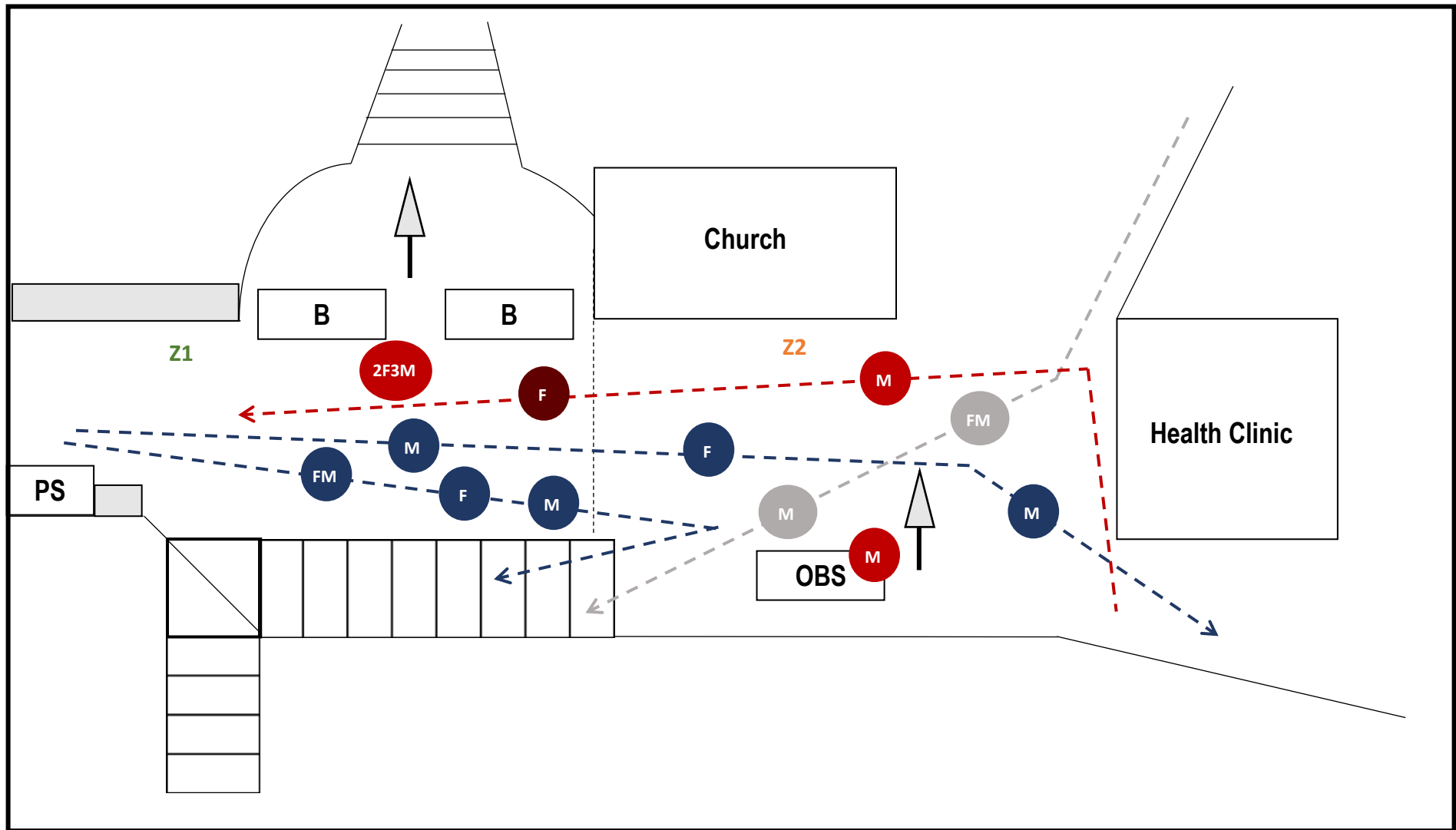


Figure 22. Schematic map of the transition place 1 - *Largo de São Cristóvão* - 11/02/2019: 14h-15h – 3rd 10mn time (Monday).

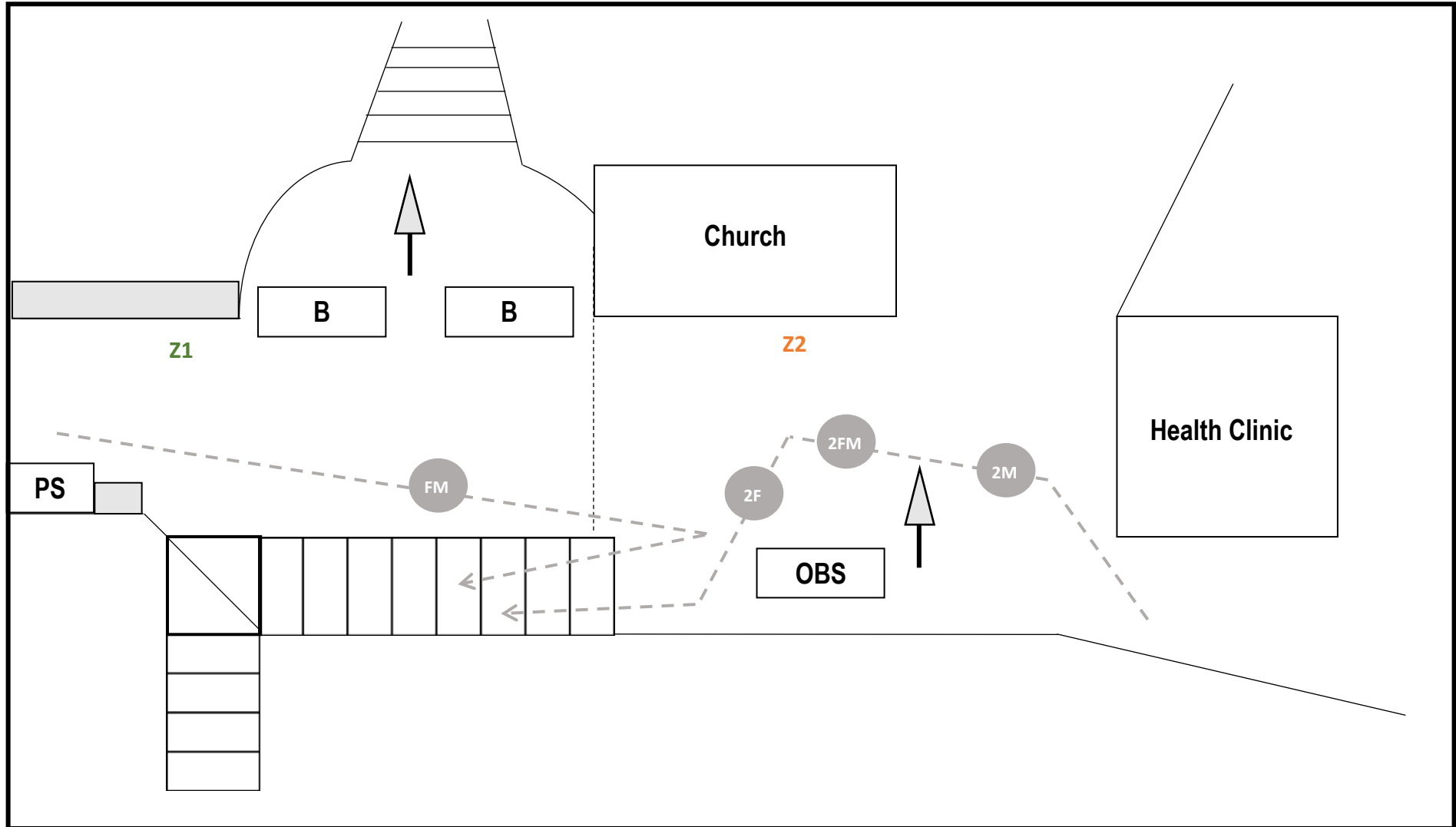


Figure 23. Schematic map of the transition place 1 - Largo de São Cristóvão - 16/02/2019: 14h-15h – 3rd 10mn time (Saturday).

Table 17.Sociodemographic description of individuals and groups and type of uses observed in the transition place 1 - *Largo de São Cristóvão*

Public place	Day of observation	Period of the day	Group of belonging	Composition of groups	Gender	Age	Nationality/ Ethnicity	Type of use
<i>TRANSITION PLACE 1 LARGO DE SÃO CRISTÓVÃO</i>	Monday 11/02/2019 Morning 10h30-11h30		LG= 8		F= 6 M=2	Adult=1 Elder=7	Portuguese=8	Passing by= 2 Services= 6
			IMI= 4	Intragroup=1	M=4	Adult=4	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 4	Passing by= 4
			NG= 12	Intragroup=2	F= 5 M=7	Adult=12	Portuguese=12	Passing by= 12
			TOU= 16	Intragroup=5	F= 9 M=7	Adult=16	European=16	Passing by= 16
TOTAL								
		N / %	40 / 100%	Intra=8 / 100%	F= 20 / 50% M= 20 / 50%			Passing= 34 / 85% Services= 6 / 15%
			LG= 13	Intragroup=4	F= 6 M=7	Adult=8 Elder=5	Portuguese=13	Passing by= 1 Staying in place= 2 Sociability/ talking= 10
			IMI= 0					
			NG= 28	Intragroup=4	F=13 M=15	Adult=28	Portuguese=28	Passing by= 25 Services= 2 Other activity= 1

		TOU=9	Intragroup=1	F= 5 M=4	Adult=9	European=9	Passing by= 8 Staying in place= 1
TOTAL							
	N / %	50 / 100%	Intra=9 /100%	F=24 /48% M=26 / 52%			Passing=34 / 68% Staying=3 / 6% Sociability=10 / 20% Services=2 /4% Other=1 / 2%
<i>TRANSITION PLACE 1</i> <i>LARGO DE SÃO CRISTÓVÃO</i>	Wednesday 13/02/2019	LG= 16 IMI= 0	Intragroup=3	F= 8 M=8	Adult=8 Elder=8	Portuguese=16	Passing by= 10 Staying in place= 2 Sociability/ talking= 4
	Morning 11h30-12h30	NG= 9	Intragroup=1	F= 5 M=4	Adult=9	Portuguese=9	Passing by= 8 Staying in place= 1
		TOU= 22	Intragroup=3	F= 12 M=10	Adult=20 Elder=2	European=22	Passing by= 19 Staying in place= 1 Sociability/ talking= 2
	TOTAL						
	N / %	47 / 100%	Intra=7 / 100%	F= 25 / 53,2% M= 22 / 46,8%			Passing=37 / 78,7% Staying=4 / 8,5% Sociability=6 / 12,8%
	Afternoon 14h-15h	LG= 9 IMI= 10	Intragroup=1 Intragroup=3	F= 4 M=5 F= 2 M=8	Adult=7 Elder=2 Adult=10	Portuguese=9 Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 10	Passing by= 4 Staying in place= 2 Sociability/ talking= 3 Passing by= 8 Staying in place= 1 Services= 1

		NG= 14	Intragroup=5	F=5 M=9	Adult=14	Portuguese=14	Passing by= 12 Sociability/ talking= 2
		TOU=18	Intragroup=8	F= 9 M=9	Adult=16 Elder=2	European=18	Passing by= 18
TOTAL							
	N / %	51 / 100%	Intra=17 / 100%	F= 20 / 39,2% M= 31 / 60,8%			Passing= 42 / 82,4% Staying= 3 / 5,9% Sociability= 5 / 9,8% Services= 1 / 1,9%
TRANSITION PLACE 1 LARGO DE SÃO CRISTÓVÃO	Friday	LG= 8	Intragroup=2	F= 2 M=6	Adult=5 Elder=3	Portuguese=8	Passing by= 2 Staying in place= 2 Sociability/ talking= 4
	01/03/2019	IMI= 0					
	Morning	NG= 1		M=1	Adult=1	Portuguese=1	Staying in place= 1
	10h30-11h30	TOU= 28	Intragroup=4	F= 19 M=9	Adult=28	European=28	Passing by= 22 Staying in place= 1 Sociability/ talking= 5
TOTAL							
	N / %	37 / 100%	Intra=6 / 100%	F=21 / 56,8% M=16 / 43,2%			Passing= 24 / 64,9% Staying= 4 / 10,8% Sociability=9 / 24,3%
	Afternoon	LG= 2	Intragroup=1	F= 1 M=1	Adult=1 Elder=1	Portuguese=2	Sociability/ talking= 2

14h-15h	IMI= 0					
	NG= 5	Intragroup=1	F=3 M=2	Adult=5	Portuguese=5	Passing by= 4 Staying in place= 1
	TOU=8	Intragroup=2	F= 5 M=3	Adult=8	European=8	Passing by= 6 Staying in place= 2
TOTAL						
N / %	15 / 100%	Intra=4 / 100%	F=9 / 60% M=6 / 40%			Passing= 10 / 66,7% Staying= 3 / 20% Sociability= 2 / 13,3%
Saturday	LG= 0					
16/02/2019	IMI= 0					
Morning	NG= 0					
11h30-12h30	TOU= 13	Intragroup=3	F= 6 M=7	Adult=24	European=13	Passing by= 3 Staying in place= 8 Sociability/ talking= 2
TOTAL						
N / %	13 / 100%	Intra=3 / 100%	F=6 / 46,2% M=7 / 53,8%			Passing= 3 / 23,1% Staying= 8 / 61,5% Sociability= 2 / 15,4%
Afternoon	LG= 2	Intragroup=1	F= 1 M=1	Adult=2	Portuguese=2	Passing by= 2

**TRANSITION
PLACE 1**

*LARGO DE SÃO
CRISTÓVÃO*

14h-15h	IMI= 0						
	NG= 0						
	TOU= 24	Intragroup=10	F= 10 M=14	Adult=24	European=24	Passing by= 20 Sociability/ talking= 4	
	TOTAL						
N / %	26 / 100%	Intra=11 / 100%	F=11 / 42,3% M=15 / 57,7%			Passing= 22 / 84,6% Sociability= 4 / 15,4%	

Note. LG – long-time residents | IMI – immigrants | NG – new gentrifiers | TOU – tourists. *Composition of groups* refers to the cases which the observation unit was a group, recording if this was composed by members of one single group of belonging (intragroup) or by members of different groups of belonging (intergroup).

4.3.2. Interpretation of the observation in transition place 1 - Largo de São Cristóvão

Results indicate a higher movement and frequency of people using the transition place of *Largo de São Cristóvão* during the afternoon periods, over the four days of observation. Although records reveal the presence of all groups of residents in this place, new gentrifiers and long-time residents are in higher proportion, comparing to the immigrants (see Table 17). The observations have evidenced the presence of immigrants only during the morning period of Monday (N=4) and the afternoon period of Wednesday (N=10).

Consistent with its definition as a transition place, this public place is mainly used as a throughfare by all groups. Nevertheless, it is interesting how it is also used as a place to socialize with others by long-time residents (N=23). Even though new gentrifiers appear most of the days in higher number than long-time residents, there is only a record of two socializing in place (see Table 17). In line with the results of the previous two public places analysed, the interactions observed happen solely at an intragroup level. Taken together, these results suggest some forms of informal segregation, with a predominance of new gentrifiers passing by, long-time residents passing and socializing in place, and where almost no immigrants are present.

Largo de São Cristóvão also is heavily used by tourists, with the frequency of tourists lower than the frequency of residents only on Monday afternoon (N=9; see Table 17). Moreover, it should also be noted that there are no records of residents using this place on Saturday morning, and only two long-time residents using it on Saturday afternoon (see Table 17).

In sum, the transition place of *Largo de São Cristóvão* appears as a place used to pass to other areas of the neighbourhood or the city, and predominately by new gentrifiers and long-time residents. However, it is noteworthy that some of the latter also use this place to socialize with others, contrary to new gentrifiers. Solely intragroup interactions were registered, when residents were in group, and immigrants were only present on two periods throughout the four days of observation. Results have also revealed a clear difference between the week days and Saturdays, i.e. there is only one record of two long-time residents passing by this place on Saturday afternoon. Additionally, this public place is characterized as a touristic place, in which the number of tourists tends to overcome the number of residents. Regarding the groups of residents, overall, this place is associated in a greater degree to new gentrifiers and long-time residents, with no or little presence of immigrants.

4.4. Mapping the transition place 2 - *Rua do Benfornoso*

4.4.1. Observations in *Rua do Benfornoso*

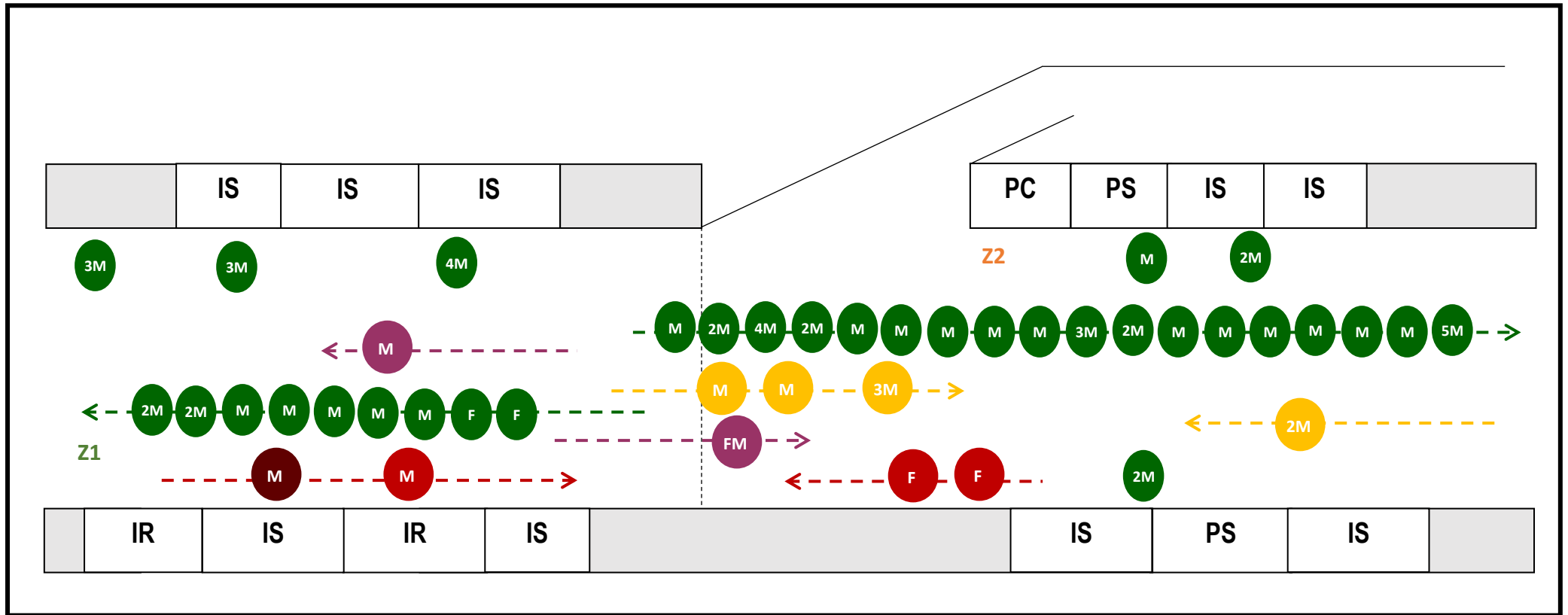


Figure 24. Schematic map of the transition place 2 - *Rua do Benfornoso* - 08/03/2019: 14h-15h – 1st 10mn time (Friday).

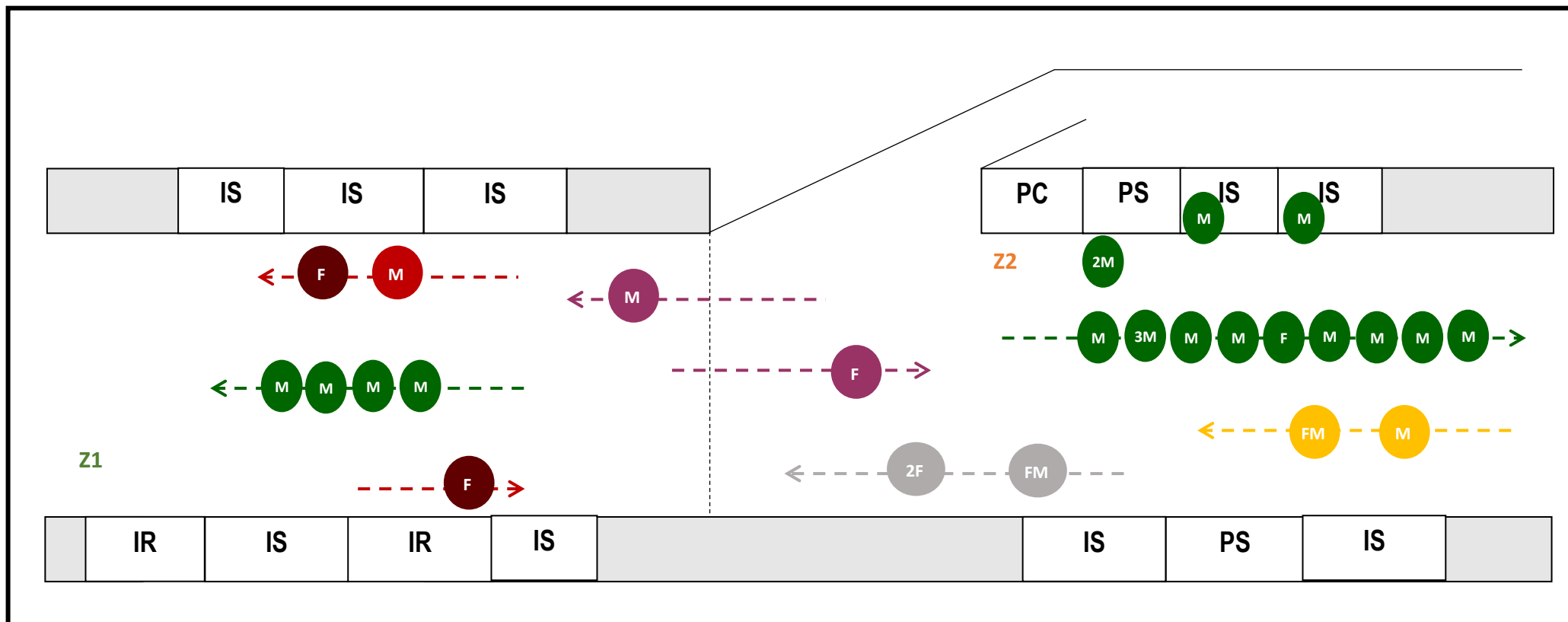


Figure 25. Schematic map of the transition place 2 - Rua do Benfornoso - 09/03/2019: 15h-16h – 1st 10mn time (Saturday).

Table 18.Sociodemographic description of individuals and groups and type of uses observed in the transition place 2 - *Rua do Benfornoso*

Public place	Day of observation	Period of the day	Group of belonging	Composition of groups	Gender	Age	Nationality/Ethnicity	Type of use
TRANSITION PLACE 2 <i>RUA DO BENFORMOSO</i>	Monday 25/02/2019	Morning 10h30-11h30	LG= 8	Intragroup=3	F= 3 M=5	Adult=1 Elder=7	Portuguese=8	Passing by= 7 Staying in place= 1
			IMI= 13	Intragroup=4	M=13	Adult=13	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 13	Passing by= 3 Staying in place= 3 Sociability/ talking= 6 Services= 1
			NG= 0					
			TOU= 3	Intragroup=1	F= 2 M=1	Adult=3	European=3	Passing by= 3
TOTAL								
			N / %	24 / 100%	Intra=8 / 100%	F= 5 / 20,8% M=19 / 79,2%		Passing= 13 / 54,2% Staying= 4 / 16,7% Sociability= 6 / 25% Services= 1 / 4,1%
	Afternoon 14h-15h		LG= 7	Intragroup=2	M=7	Adult=5 Elder=2	Portuguese=13	Passing by= 2 Staying in place= 1 Sociability/ talking= 4
			IMI= 21	Intragroup=5	F=1 M=20	Adult=21	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 21	Passing by= 5 Staying in place= 2 Sociability/ talking= 14
			NG= 1		M=1	Adult=1	Portuguese=1	Passing by= 1

**TRANSITION
PLACE 2**

**RUA DO
BENFORMOSO**

	TOU=2	Intragroup=1	F= 1 M=1	Adult=1	European=1	Passing by= 2
TOTAL						
	31 / 100%	Intra=8 / 100%	F= 2 / 6,5% M= 29 / 93,5%			Passing= 10 / 32,3% Staying= 3 / 9,6% Sociability= 18 / 58,1%
Wednesday 27/02/2019	LG= 9		F= 4 M=5	Adult=7 Elder=2	Portuguese=9	Passing by= 9
Morning 10h30-11h30	IMI= 35	Intragroup=5	M=35	Adult=35	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 31 African= 4	Passing by= 21 Staying in place= 2 Sociability/ talking= 12
	NG= 3	Intragroup=1	F=3	Adult=3	Portuguese=3	Passing by= 3
	TOU= 6	Intragroup=3	F= 2 M=4	Adult=3 Elder=3	European=6	Passing by= 6
TOTAL						
	N / %	53 / 100%	Intra=9 / 100%	F= 9 / 17% M= 44/ 83%		Passing= 39 / 73,6% Staying= 2 / 3,8% Sociability=12 / 22,6%
Afternoon 14h-15h	LG= 10	Intragroup=2	F= 3 M=7	Adult=5 Elder=5	Portuguese=10	Passing by= 9 Services= 1
	IMI= 56	Intragroup=9	F= 4 M=52	Adult=54 Elder=2	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 51 Chinese= 3 African= 2	Passing by= 24 Staying in place= 7 Sociability/ talking= 24 Services= 1

	NG= 5		F= 1 M=4	Adult=5	Portuguese=5	Passing by= 5
	TOU= 2	Intragroup=1	F= 1 M=1	Adult=2	European=2	Passing by= 2

TOTAL						
N / %	73 / 100%	Intra=12 / 100%	F= 9 / 12,3% M= 64 / 87,7%			Passing= 40 / 54,8% Staying= 7 / 9,6% Sociability= 24 / 32,9% Services= 2 / 2,7%

<p>Friday 08/03/2019</p> <p>TRANSITION PLACE 2</p> <p><i>RUA DO BENFORMOSO</i></p> <p>Morning</p> <p>10h30-11h30</p>	LG= 7	Intragroup=1	F= 3 M=4	Adult=5 Elder=2	Portuguese=7	Passing by= 7
	IMI= 91	Intragroup=10	F= 2 M=89	Adult=91	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 79 Chinese= 2 African= 10	Passing by= 52 Sociability/ talking= 37 Services= 2
	NG= 2		F= 2	Adult=2	Portuguese=2	Passing by= 2
	TOU= 0					

TOTAL						
N / %	100 / 100%	Intra=11 / 100%	F=7 / 7% M=93 / 93%			Passing= 61 / 61% Sociability= 37 / 37% Services= 2 / 2%

Afternoon 14h-15h	LG= 25		F= 13 M=12	Adult=19 Elder=6	Portuguese=25	Passing by= 25
	IMI= 190	Intragroup=24	F=9 M=181	Adult=19 0	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 168 Chinese= 3 African= 19	Passing by= 127 Staying in place= 2 Sociability/ talking= 59 Services= 2
	NG= 5		F=3 M=2	Adult=5	Portuguese=5	Passing by= 5
	TOU=12	Intragroup=2	F= 1 M=11	Adult=12	European=12	Passing by= 12

TOTAL

N / %	232 / 100%	Intra=26 / 100%	F=26 / 11,2% M=206 / 88,8%	Passing= 169 / 72,8% Staying= 2 / 0,9% Sociability= 59 / 25,4% Services= 2 / 0,9%
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Saturday 09/03/2019	LG= 11		F= 6 M=5	Adult=11	Portuguese=11	Passing by= 9 Services= 2
Morning 11h30-12h30	IMI= 57	Intragroup=8	F= 10 M=47	Adult=57	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 36 Chinese= 7 African= 15	Passing by= 37 Staying in place= 2 Sociability/ talking= 15 Services= 3
	NG= 2		F= 2	Adult=2	Portuguese=2	Passing by= 2

**TRANSITION
PLACE 2**

**RUA DO
BENFORMOSO**

	TOU= 7	Intragroup=3	F= 6 M=1	Adult=7	European=7	Passing by= 7
TOTAL						
N / %	77 / 100%	Intra=11 / 100%	F=24 / 31,2% M=53 / 68,8%			Passing=55 / 71,4% Staying=2 / 2,6% Sociability=15 / 19,5% Services=5 / 6,5%
Afternoon 15h-16h	LG= 5		F= 3 M=2	Adult=3 Elder=2	Portuguese=2	Passing by= 2 Services= 3
	IMI= 65	Intragroup=6	F= 2 M=63	Adult=65	Indian Pakistani Bengali Nepalese = 59 Chinese= 3 African= 3	Passing by= 40 Staying in place= 4 Sociability/ talking= 18 Services= 3
	NG= 6	Intragroup=2	F= 4 M=2	Adult=6	Portuguese=6	Passing by= 6
	TOU= 8	Intragroup=3	F= 4 M=4	Adult=4	European=8	Passing by= 8
TOTAL						
N / %	84 / 100%	Intra=11 / 100%	F=13 / 15,5% M=71 / 84,5%			Passing=56 / 66,7% Staying=4 / 4,8% Sociability=18 / 21,4% Services=6 / 7,1%

Note. LG – long-time residents | IMI – immigrants | NG – new gentrifiers | TOU – tourists. *Composition of groups* refers to the cases which the observation unit was a group, recording if this was composed by members of one single group of belonging (intragroup) or by members of different groups of belonging (intergroup).

4.4.2. Interpretation of the observations in transition place 2 - Rua do Benfornoso

The observations have revealed the afternoon periods as the busiest time of the day of *Rua do Benfornoso*, throughout the four days of observation. Although there are records of all groups using this place, there is a highly pronounced presence of immigrants (see Table 19), especially Asian immigrants (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh; see Table 18), and few new gentrifiers along the four days (N=24), whom only pass by the street (see Table 18).

Consistent to its definition as a transition place and being a street and not a square - as the other three places observed - *Rua do Benfornoso* is mainly characterized as a throughfare place. Nevertheless, and interestingly, it is simultaneously a place where one can find more individuals actually using the street to socialize with each other, but only on the part of the Asian immigrants (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh; see Table 18, and Figures 23 and 24). These residents tend to stay on the street talking in groups that range between two and six people, at an intragroup level. Others just stay alone on the street, and other use different services (e.g., stores, restaurants). On the other hand, the African and Chinese immigrants only use this place to pass to other areas of the neighbourhood or the city. Regarding the other groups, only four long-time residents were registered as using this place to socialize, on Monday afternoon (see Table 18). Results show long-time residents tend to use the street as a throughfare place or to use specific services.

The predominance of immigrants together and the limited presence of new gentrifiers and long-time residents, in conjunction with the intragroup interactions recorded seem to indicate some forms of avoidance and informal local segregation.

Contrary to what the observations of the other places have evidenced, this is not a marked touristic place. There are few records of tourists passing by this street, and none on Friday morning (see Table 18).

Overall, *Rua do Benfornoso* is characterized as a place to pass to other areas by all groups of residents. However, it should be noted the use of this street to socialize with others by Asian immigrants (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh), the predominant group using this place. Only few long-time residents also use it to socialize, and all interactions recorded have occurred at an intragroup level. This public place is also rarely used by new gentrifiers and tourists. In general, results suggest that groups tend to avoid this place, with the exception of the immigrants, indicating possible forms of informal segregation.

4.5. Spatial distribution of groups across different public places

In order to formally analyse the spatial distribution of the different groups across the four public places observed, and to substantiate the frequency of each group found (see Tables 15, 16, 17 and 18), the Entropy Index (h) was measured (Kramer & Kramer, 2018). The Entropy Index h for each public place i is:

$$h_i = -\sum_{j=1}^k p_{ij} \ln(p_{ij})$$

Where (a) k =number of groups; (b) p_{ij} =proportion of population of j^{th} group in public place i ($=n_{ij}/n_i$); (c) n_{ij} =number of population of j^{th} group in public place i ; and (d) n_i =total number of population in public place i (see Massey & Denton, 1988).

Results show an unequal distribution, evidencing places with little social and cultural diversity, especially in the two transition places: *Rua do Benfornoso* ($h=0.74 < \ln 4 = 1.39$) and *Largo de São Cristóvão* ($h=0.93 < \ln 4 = 1.39$; see Table 19). The first exhibits a predominance of immigrants ($p_2=0.78$) and the second a predominance of new gentrifiers ($p_3=0.25$) and tourists ($p_4=0.49$; see Table 19). This result was expected, as the records of the observations show the transition place 1 - *Largo de São Cristóvão* - as a place heavily used by tourists, and this group has the only present in place during one period of the week (see Table 17). Even though the inner places of *Largo da Severa* ($h=1.22 < \ln 4 = 1.39$) and *Largo dos Trigueiros* ($h=1.29 < \ln 4 = 1.39$) are more diversified places in comparison with the other two places (see Table 19), there is a predominance of the different groups in each one: inner place 1 - *Largo da Severa* – long-time residents ($p_1=0.43$) and immigrants ($p_2=0.33$); and inner place 2 - *Largo dos Trigueiros* - long-time residents ($p_1=0.27$) and tourists ($p_4=0.39$).

The group that is present in a smaller proportion across the four public places concerns the new gentrifiers ($p_3=0.14$; see Table 19). It seems these are the ones using the public places of the neighbourhood to a lesser extent.

Table 19.Entropy index (*h*) values for the different groups of residents and tourists in the neighbourhood of Mouraria

Public Place	LG (1)	IMI (2)	NG (3)	TOU (4)	Total pop.	prop. LG (p1)	prop. IMI (p2)	prop. NG (p3)	prop. TOU (p4)	$h = -p1*\ln(p1) + p2*\ln(p2) + p3*\ln(p3) + p4*\ln(p4)$
I1 - Largo da Severa	265	207	70	76	618	0.43	0.33	0.11	0.12	1.22
I2 - Largo dos Trigueiros	135	49	121	195	500	0.27	0.10	0.24	0.39	1.29
T1 - Largo de São Cristóvão	58	14	69	138	279	0.05	0.02	0.25	0.49	0.93
T2 - Rua do Benfornoso	82	528	24	40	674	0.12	0.78	0.04	0.06	0.74
Total	540	798	284	449	2071	0.26	0.39	0.14	0.22	1.33

Note. The maximum value for *h* is $\ln(k)$, or $\ln 4 = 1.39$. Public places with higher values of *h* are more diverse. A public place with $h = 1.39$ would have equal proportions of all groups. A public place with $h = 0$ contains only a single group. I1 – inner place 1 | I2 – inner place 2 | T1 – transition place 1 | T2 – transition place 2. LG – long-time residents | IMI – immigrants | NG – new gentrifiers | TOU – tourists. *prop.* – proportion of residents in each public place

5. Discussion

The present study has sought to understand what micro-ecological spatial behavioural patterns emerge in two types of public places of Mouraria – inner and transition –, by analyzing the type of use/activity, positioning and interaction of different groups, in order to grasp if these patterns (1) show use of public place to socialize with other people, and (2) the socialization patterns are producing segregated or integrated public places. The literature suggested that there might exist lack of contact between the three groups of residents (Malheiros et al., 2012; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015), but this had not been explicitly examined. As described in Study 1, the main groups of residents of Mouraria report using the public places of the neighbourhood to socialize with other people. However, it does not clarify on how this public sociability actually manifests in specific public places, i.e. if it occurs at an intragroup or intergroup level, and where - inside the neighbourhood or along its borders. In order to address this research question, two inner and two transition public places were observed, each throughout three days of the week and on Saturday, adapting methods used in previous work on the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003; Tredoux & Dixon, 2009; Mckeown et al., 2016). It is now time to summarize and to reflect on what the observations have revealed.

First, findings evidence that all groups use the four public places observed. However, this happens to different extents, as it becomes clear that each one of these public places can be associated to specific groups. Indeed, results show how there is a predominance – by order –

of: a) long-time residents and Asian immigrants (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) in *Largo da Severa*, a inner place; b) long-time residents and new gentrifiers in *Largo dos Trigueiros*, a inner place; c) new gentrifiers and long-time residents in *Largo de São Cristóvão*, a transition place; and d) Asian immigrants (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) in *Rua do Benfornoso*, a transition place. Hence, the initial expectations were partially met. Indeed, there is conviviality in the public places of the community. The patterns of this conviviality show that long-time residents were more present in the inner places, and new gentrifiers and immigrants in the transition places. Even so, it should be noted how the immigrants are also clearly present in the inner place of *Largo da Severa*.

Second, regarding how groups use public places, all four places tend to be mainly used as throughfare places by the three groups, especially the inner place of *Largo dos Trigueiros* and the transition place of *Largo de São Cristóvão*. Nevertheless, the inner place of *Largo da Severa* and the transition place of *Rua do Benfornoso* are places also used by residents to socialize with others. Specifically, the first is characterized mainly by long-time residents standing or sitting on a bench talking with each other, and the second by Asian immigrants (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) standing on the street talking and socializing. Importantly, these interactions have occurred solely at an intragroup level, with the exception of only one situation in *Largo da Severa*, over the four days of observation.

Third, another relevant finding concerns the large number of tourists in *Largo dos Trigueiros* and *Largo de São Cristóvão* - an inner and a transition place respectively -, overcoming the number of residents in some periods of observation. It seems the most touristic places are also the ones where residents socialize less or just stay alone to a lesser extent, and also where there are more records of new gentrifiers using these as throughfare places. This suggests that the differences found on the type of use or activity in place are more related to the degree to which the public places are more or less touristic, than to being inner or transition places.

In general, looking at all these findings together, this study suggests that the local spatial patterns observed are reproducing informal segregation in public places. However, it seems the informal form of segregation revealed is mainly expressed when comparing the four places, and less within each place. In other words, even though the spatial positioning and organisation of residents evidence forms of informal segregation in each place, when a comparison between places is made, it unequivocally stands out how each is associated to specific groups. The interactions are primarily intragroup in each place, and this reflects the uneven distribution of different categories of person across the four public places. The most prominent is *Rua do*

Benfornoso, which is clearly a place with a high frequency of immigrants. This does not mean that the public places of the neighbourhood are not shared by all groups of residents, since these were present in the four places. But, the predominance of particular groups in each place may indicate forms of avoidance (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010), and ultimately forms of micro-ecological segregation (Dixon et al., 2008).

The long-time residents are the ones who obviously express most the traditional lifestyle of the neighbourhood, namely, the use of the public places to socialize with others. Next are the Asian immigrants (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh). The new gentrifiers clearly do not adopt such traditional lifestyle, as they mainly use the public places to pass to other areas of the neighbourhood or the city. However, it should be noted that socializing in place only happens at an intragroup level, which also suggests informal forms of local segregation. In this sense, the reported use of the public places to socialize with others evidenced in Chapter VI, by Study 1, is expressed mainly by long-time residents and the immigrants, but only at an intragroup level.

6. Concluding remarks

This study has shown that all groups of residents are able to freely access, share and interact within different places as citizens (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Di Masso, 2015). However, it has also clearly demonstrated how micro-ecological processes may demarcate who belongs where with whom in four specific public places of the neighbourhood, and may establish territorial boundaries, even if slight, forming places marked by the predominant use of particular groups to the potential detriment of others. Mouraria is a small neighbourhood, defined by its narrow streets and squares (Mendes, 2012; Tulumello, 2015). Yet, its small dimension does not inhibit residents to avoid specific places and to rarely interact with other groups, i.e. does not inhibit the emergence of patterns of intergroup segregation. This supports research on the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (Dixon et al., 2008) showing that even in small scale settings, groups' type of interaction can reveal segregationist behaviours (e.g., Lewis, 2012; McKeown et al., 2016). It is also in line with previous studies suggesting there is little intergroup interactions and possible tensions among residents (Malheiros et al., 2012). Moreover, this study has been innovative in the sense that it is the first to analyse the micro-ecological patterns of intergroup segregation in a multicultural and regenerated neighbourhood.

Notwithstanding the contributions of this study to the social and environmental psychology literature on people-place relations and uses, a central limitation stands out. Specifically, the reliability of the identification of the different groups during the observations.

Even using resources to help address this challenge, such as registering on video the observations, there was uncertainty regarding the identification of certain individuals, particularly some new gentrifiers. The observational approach adopted was non-participant, requiring the acknowledgement on the part of the researcher to reflect on its influence and the research process on the observations (Paterson, Bottorff, & Hewat, 2003). It should be honestly assumed that there may have been some misinterpretations regarding this identification, even taking into account the solid knowledge about the neighbourhood on the part of the researcher, acquired over the last seven years.

Study 2 has offered a first proposal to analyse residents' uses and interactions in place, within a highly social diversified urban context. Maybe, further research can focus on analyzing such phenomenon among different age groups. The transformations of Mouraria, and the inherent processes of gentrification and tourism, may challenge the identification of older residents with the neighbourhood (Davison et al., 2012). As previous studies indicate, these residents may feel out of place, in the sense that they represent the transformations has being developed mainly for a younger and outsider population (e.g., Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). Further studies may explore if this manifests in a retreat of older residents from public places, or if these places are shared by distinct group ages, allowing an inclusive and integrated intergenerational public everyday life.

A final remark should be made. Findings suggest the 'official' social representation of the neighbourhood as multicultural and cosmopolitan (Tulumello, 2015; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017) does not truly manifest in the concrete places of its everyday life, emerging informal boundaries in place. The challenge now is to understand the psychosocial processes underlying these boundaries. As pointed out in Chapter III, through the systematic literature review presented, these patterns of avoidance may stem from negative attitudes and stereotypes (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon, 2005), ingroup identification and perceived threat (e.g., Van Praag et al., 2015), or feelings of anxiety, fear and insecurity (e.g., Keizan & Duncan, 2010). For instance, as the transition place of *Rua do Benfornoso* is characterized by a marked presence of Asian (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) commerce, it may have fostered more immigrants to go there and use this place, as it is a place where they feel identified with the other residents with the same ethnic and cultural background. Actually, this is also consonant with social and environmental psychological research showing that immigrants tend to remake past places of residence, anchoring cultural elements in place, resulting in the emergence of public places with a high frequency of immigrants (Main & Sandoval, 2015). Regarding the long-time residents, their limited presence in this place may result from negative attitudes towards the immigrants,

and in the most touristic places from their negative attitudes towards the tourists, developed by their perceived threat of the neighbourhood losing its identity (Davison et al., 2012). On the part of new gentrifiers, the findings of the present study are consonant with the literature indicating the tendency of this particular group to cherish the traditional lifestyle of the neighbourhood, but without genuinely participating in it (Malheiros et al., 2012). In addition, and interestingly, findings show the multicultural environment new gentrifiers also appreciate (Malheiros et al., 2012; Davison et al., 2012) seems to be the most avoided. Yet, understanding the psychosocial processes that may be involved in residents' behaviour in place entails looking at their discourses about the neighbourhood, their place relations, and their relationships with the others, as the following chapter attempts to explore, through the last study of the thesis, the interview study.

CHAPTER VIII

STUDY 3 - DISCOURSES ABOUT MOURARIA: RESIDENTS MAKING SENSE OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD TRANSFORMATIONS

1. Introduction

The present chapter reports the interview study (Study 3), the last study of the thesis. As evidenced in Study 2, residents' interactions in different public places of Mouraria occur predominantly at the intragroup level. It is now important to understand which psychosocial processes may be associated to these patterns of local intergroup segregation, through the analysis of residents' discourses. Additionally, as argued in Chapter IV, research on Social Psychology has not been focusing on connecting the Theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1976; 1988) to processes of acceptance or contestation regarding the transformations brought about by urban regeneration programs. This thesis will thus contribute to closing this lacuna in the literature, by analysing how different residents of Mouraria represent the neighbourhood, the others in place and the transformations brought by its regeneration plan.

The concept of social representations (Moscovici, 1976) has served as the theoretical basis of several studies in Social Psychology focused on understanding people's adjustment to social and cultural change (e.g., Jodelet, 1989; Howarth, 2006; Castro & Batel, 2008; Castro et al., 2018; Sammut et al., 2015). Studying social representations implies examining shared systems of meaning, knowledge and action that people draw upon in order to make sense of the world and to act in it (Moscovici, 1976; Sammut et al., 2015; Andreouli & Chrysochoou, 2015). This process of meaning-making or re-presenting relies on the relational dynamic within the self-other-object triangle, allowing the emergence, construction and transformation of representations (Moscovici, 1972; Marková, 2003).

Through this process a multiplicity of representations may arise, used by different individuals and social groups (Jodelet, 1989), and within the same place (Howarth, 2002; Sibley & Liu, 2013). Particularly within communities facing social and cultural change, it seems important to analyse social representations' contents and forms of communication (Bauer & Gaskell, 1999), in order to understand how the novelties introduced by the transformations undergoing in a certain context, place or community are interpreted and enter into people's everyday life, i.e. how they are used to make the unfamiliar familiar (Moscovici, 1988; Jovchelovitch, 2001; Castro, 2002; Andreouli & Chrysochoou, 2015).

Individuals and groups find several ways to make sense and cope with the plurality of realities offered by changing environments – such as those resulting from urban transformations - adopting different forms of communication (Moscovici, 1976) and discursive strategies (Castro & Batel, 2008). People adopt new discursive strategies to make sense of the transformations and the diversity of realities they face in their community (Howarth, 2002),

making the unfamiliar familiar (e.g., Jovchelovitch, 2001; Castro, 2002; Sammut et al., 2015). Responding to and interpreting the social and cultural changes happening in the environment (e.g., Moscovici, 1988; Howarth, 2006; Castro, 2012; 2015) are complex processes that often entail ambivalence, and contradiction (Mouro & Castro, 2012), using different discursive strategies, for instance “*Yes, but...*” formats (Billig, 1988; Castro & Batel, 2008; Batel & Castro, 2018). Making sense of change is not a matter of simply accepting or contesting what is new (Batel et al., 2013). Multiple contradictory representations about the same social object may emerge, coexisting within the same individual, group or community (Howarth, 2002; Voelklein & Howarth, 2005; Castro, 2006). In a neighbourhood in transformation, meaning making about its changes is not, moreover, a process that simply emerges in the neighbourhood, constructed by its residents in a way independent from the city or the nation. Meaning making by residents in this situation also is dependent upon the shared resources – or representations – that frame the neighbourhood from the outside. Specially in this case, it is particularly important to understand which and how different representational dynamics arise in a regenerated inner-city neighbourhood ‘officially’ brought to the public sphere – by the Press and the City Council of Lisbon – through specific representations (e.g., see Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). On the one hand, these ‘official’ discourses present Mouraria as a *traditional Lisbon neighbourhood*, with a familiar environment and close neighbourhood relations, woven together by the stories and memories of long-time residents. On the other hand, it is presented also in these same ‘official’ discourses as a recent and successful *multicultural and cosmopolitan neighbourhood*, integrating immigrants from 51 different nationalities (Moya, 2019), and where people from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds live side by side. It is important to understand how such two ‘official’ representations are discursively used by residents for making sense of the changes taking place, and how simultaneous social representations about the ongoing transformations of the neighbourhood may cause tension and conflict between representations (Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernández, 2015) and how residents locate themselves within the community, identifying or not with it (Howarth et al., 2015).

Therefore, analysing the social representations that different groups of residents construct about the neighbourhood, the others and their relations in place, enables a better knowledge about how the regeneration process and the inherent transformations of the neighbourhood (e.g., influxes of new residents, new uses of public place) have been locally received and interpreted by residents, as Study 3 seeks to do. Specifically, this study aims to:

- (1) Understand how the main groups of residents of Mouraria, namely long-time residents, new gentrifiers and immigrants make sense of the Others and the Self in relation to the

neighbourhood, to place relations, uses of place, and neighbourhood's transformations, through the analysis of their social representations.

- (2) Understand what and how the two 'official' representations about Mouraria – as a *traditional inner-city neighbourhood*, and as a successful *multicultural and cosmopolitan neighbourhood* (e.g., Tulumello, 2015; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015) – are used by residents to make sense of the Others, the Self, the place and its uses and transformations, exploring what are the functions of such 'official' representations and their inherent arguments.
- (3) Analyse what and how are the discursive strategies used by residents to reconcile contradictory ideas and justify *ambivalent positions* about the others and the transformations of the neighbourhood (e.g., “Yes, but...”; “No, but...”).

2. Analytic approach

The data were analysed using: (1) thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2012) and (2) pragmatic discourse analysis (Batel & Castro, 2018). Thematic analysis is a method focused on identifying, analysing and reporting repeated patterns of meaning in text, i.e. to identify the main themes privileged within data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2012). It is not linked to a specific pre-existing theoretical framework, and can be used within different theoretical frameworks (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Themes can be identified in two ways: (a) in an inductive or bottom-up way, drawing solely on the data, coding these without integrating them into a pre-existing coding frame (e.g., Frith & Gleeson, 2004; Willig, 2013); or (b) in a deductive or top-down way, drawing on specific evidence and theoretical paradigms, tending to offer a more detailed analysis of a particular subject of the data (e.g., Hayes, 1997; Castro & Mouro, 2016). The analysis can also combine both ways (e.g., Tileagă, 2007). Additionally, the emerging themes can be manifest or explicit, or implicit (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Batel & Castro, 2018), and both those present or absent from the text may be important (Howarth, 2002; Batel & Castro, 2009), what turns thematic analysis in a more in-depth method than content analysis (Batel & Castro, 2018).

For the purposes of the present study, themes were identified in a mixed way, following both an inductive and a deductive way. The last relied on the interpretative lens of the Theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1976; 1988; Castro, 2015) and on the environmental and social psychological literature on processes of social change in urban places (e.g., Ujang & Zakariya, 2015; Heath et al., 2017) and on place identity and place attachment (e.g., Hopkins & Dixon, 2006).

Thematic analysis has been a useful tool for research on social representations (Batel & Castro, 2018), as it enables examining the contents of discourses. Hence, in this case it enables exploring the social representations emerging in residents' discourses concerning the changing regenerated neighbourhood, and identifying the use of different and contradictory meaning categories and discourses. However, it is less suited for analysing why, in which contexts and for what such contradictory or ambivalent discourses are being presented (Batel & Castro, 2018). In this sense, the present study has required a second analytical step, namely, a pragmatic discourse analysis (Batel & Castro, 2018).

Pragmatic discourse analysis aims to identify the processes by which themes are brought about, what functions these serve and what strategic interests these respond to within the self-other relations of a specific sociocultural context (Batel & Castro, 2018). This form of analysis constitutes an adequate method to find certain discursive formats, for instance those used to express contradictory ideas towards social objects, such as “Yes, but...” formats, (Batel & Castro, 2009; Mouro & Castro, 2012; 2016), unveiling what psychosocial processes are at play, such as acceptance, contestation, or ambivalence (e.g., Mouro & Castro, 2012; 2016).

After presenting the overall methodological structure of the analysis of the interviews, the chapter follows with the specific steps adopted in data collection and analysis.

3. Methodology

3.1. Interview procedure

The selection of participants followed two criteria: (1) living in the neighbourhood; and (2) being 18 or more years old. Participants were contacted in different places of the neighbourhood of Mouraria – covering the largest possible area, including both inner and transition places –, namely streets, squares, and commercial businesses (stores, cafes, restaurants, shopping malls), and were told they would be participating in a study aimed at exploring the everyday life of the residents of Mouraria, in the aftermath of the urban regeneration program. In order to determine the sample of interviewees, it was used the method of snowball and convenience sampling (Thompson, 2002; Heckathorn, 2011). The majority of the interviews were conducted in the public places of the neighbourhood and in the residents' workplaces. The recruitment was also supported by local community associations, where some of the interviews occurred. All participants gave their consent to record the interview before it started and were assured their identity would not be disclosed, the data being analysed and reported solely for research purposes.

3.2. Interviews

The interviews lasted between 30 and 210 minutes (mean duration= 90 minutes) and focused on four main topics (see interview guide in Appendix D):

- (a) Residents' life story in Mouraria or for their reasons for settling there (e.g., *How did you come to Mouraria? Why this neighbourhood?*)
- (b) Residents' view of the neighbourhood, the meanings they gave to it, the major physical, social and cultural changes they identified in the neighbourhood, and how they perceived the future of the neighbourhood (e.g., *What does this neighbourhood mean to you?; How do you describe it?; During this process of urban regeneration, what were the main transformations?; How have you lived with these changes?; How do you envision the future of the neighbourhood?*)
- (c) Representations of relationships between residents, and about how different groups relate with each other in the neighbourhood (e.g., *How do you see the conviviality between the people that live here?; How do you describe your relationship with other residents?; With whom do you socialize on an everyday basis?*)
- (d) Residents' uses of public places of the neighbourhood, the more meaningful places, and their representations of others' uses of public places (e.g., *Do you see residents and other people socializing on the streets?; Do you think that there are different areas of the neighbourhood more associated with specific groups, groups of residents or other people that visit or use the neighbourhood?; What places do you use more and how?*).

3.3. Participants

40 semi-structured interviews were conducted ($N_{\text{female}}=18$ and $N_{\text{male}}=22$) with 18 long-time residents, 12 new gentrifiers and 10 immigrants, aged 20 to 83 years old ($M=46.9$; $SD=17.6$). The majority had a full-time employment (77,5%) or were retired (15%), two were unemployed and one was a student (see Table 20).

Table 20.

Sociodemographic characterization of the interviewees (N= 40): gender, age, type of resident, nationality, time of residence and profession

Code	Gender	Age	Type of Resident	Nationality	Time of Residence (years)	Profession
I01	F	63	Long-time	Portuguese	40	Retired
I02	F	82	Long-time	Portuguese	82	Retired
I03	F	83	Long-time	Portuguese	60	Trader (Shopkeeper)
I04	M	62	Long-time	Portuguese	45	Trader (Shopkeeper)
I05	M	52	Long-time	Portuguese	38	Restaurant Business
I06	M	66	Long-time	Portuguese	42	Retired
I07	M	40	Long-time	Portuguese	17	Member of Local Community Association
I08	F	58	Long-time	Portuguese	56	Trader (Shopkeeper)
I09	F	73	Long-time	Portuguese	68	Trader (Shopkeeper)
I10	F	67	Long-time	Irish	39	Photographer
I11	M	55	Long-time	Portuguese	35	Unemployed
I12	F	75	Long-time	Portuguese	10	Retired
I13	M	63	Long-time	Portuguese	40	Retired
I14	M	78	Long-time	Portuguese	78	Shoemaker
I15	M	55	Long-time	Portuguese	35	Member of Local Community Association
I16	M	63	Long-time	Portuguese	63	Retired
I17	M	54	Long-time	Portuguese	54	Civil Servant
I18	M	36	Long-time	Portuguese	36	Restaurant Business
	N _F = 7 (38,9%) N _M = 11 (61,1%)	M _{age} = 62.5 SD= 12.9			M _{time of residence} = 44.2 SD= 21.6	
I19	F	33	New Gentrifier	Portuguese	1	Editor
I20	M	40	New Gentrifier	Portuguese	1	Editor
I21	M	36	New Gentrifier	French	2	Restaurant Business
I22	M	38	New Gentrifier	French	9	Musician
I23	F	47	New Gentrifier	British	7	Photographer
I24	F	31	New Gentrifier	Portuguese	,658 (8 months)	Account of an Audiovisual Producer

I25	F	40	New Gentrifier	Portuguese	,082 (1 month)	Journalist
I26	F	20	New Gentrifier	Portuguese	,082 (1 month)	Undergraduate Student
I27	F	36	New Gentrifier	Portuguese	2	Unemployed
I28	F	45	New Gentrifier	French	9	Photographer
I29	F	24	New Gentrifier	Portuguese	1	Administrative
I30	M	25	New Gentrifier	Portuguese	1	Call Center Operator
	N _F = 8 (66,7%) M _{age} = 34.6				M _{time of residence} = 2.8	
	N _M = 4 (33,3%) SD= 8.4				SD= 3.4	
I31	M	35	Immigrant	Pakistani	13	Trader (Shopkeeper)
I32	M	35	Immigrant	Angolan	13	Restaurant Business
I33	M	38	Immigrant	Nepalese	5	Trader (Shopkeeper)
I34	M	21	Immigrant	Bangladeshi	11	Trader (Shopkeeper)
I35	M	40	Immigrant	Chinese	5	Trader (Shopkeeper)
I36	F	20	Immigrant	Chinese	1	Beautician
I37	F	39	Immigrant	Chinese	2	Beautician
I38	F	36	Immigrant	Bangladeshi	3	Trader (Shopkeeper)
I39	M	39	Immigrant	Chinese	2	Health Business
I40	M	31	Immigrant	Bangladeshi	3	Trader (Shopkeeper)
	N _F = 3 (30%) M _{age} = 33.4				M _{time of residence} = 5.8	
	N _M = 7 (70%) SD= 7.3				SD= 4.7	

3.4. Analytic procedure

The interviews (N= 40) were transcribed verbatim. In order to answer the main goal of the present study, namely, to understand when and how both ‘official’ social representations about Mouraria – a *historical and traditional inner-city neighbourhood* and a *multicultural and cosmopolitan neighbourhood* – were used by the interviewees to justify their positions – acceptance, contestation, or ambivalence (e.g., Mouro & Castro, 2012; 2016) - , data were analysed following a two-step method: (1) thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2012); and (2) pragmatic discourse analysis (Batel & Castro, 2018). Interviews were analysed using Microsoft Excel spreadsheets to index and chart the data, following the methodology proposed by Marcu, Black, Vedsted, Lyratzopoulos, and Whitaker (2017). Each interviewee was attributed to a row, and each column comprised a code. Separate worksheets grouped codes and relevant excerpts into emerging themes.

At a first stage, the analysis of the interviews has followed the five steps of the thematic analysis suggested by Braun and Clarke (2006; 2012):

- (1) *Familiarizing with the data*, which occurred during and after the transcription of the interviews and their repeated reading, and aimed to search for potential meanings and patterns and to start taking notes and ideas for coding;
- (2) *Generating initial codes*, by reading each interview individually and identifying residents’ positions towards the self, the others, the neighbourhood and its transformations; the codes were then introduced into Microsoft Excel spreadsheet: this offered an overview of resident’s positions (acceptance, contestation, or ambivalence);
- (3) *Searching for themes*, in order to summarize and refine residents’ positions and representations together with the arguments used, following the paradigm of social representations and of the environmental and social psychological literature on processes of social change in urban places and on place identity and attachment, by collating the relevant data extracts within the themes produced through codes’ sorting;
- (4) *Reviewing themes*, by reading all the collated extracts for each theme and adjusting the candidate thematic map to the entire data set, potentially leading to new themes, bracketing some and discarding others;
- (5) *Defining and naming themes*, by identifying each theme’s meaning accordingly to the arguments used and the aims and research questions of the study, and then identifying which were common and distinct among the different groups of residents (long-time, new gentrifiers and immigrants; see Table 21).

Drawing on the premises of pragmatic discourse analysis (Batel & Castro, 2018), the second stage of the analysis has focused on: (1) identifying whether and how both ‘official’ social representations about Mouraria – as a *historical and traditional inner-city neighbourhood*, and as a *multicultural and cosmopolitan neighbourhood* – residents use to justify their positions regarding the self, others, the place and its uses and the transformations stemming from the bottom-up/mixed program - *acceptance, contestation, ambivalence* - and what are their functions; and (2) examining the discursive strategies used to justify contradictory ideas and ambivalent positions “Yes, but...” or “No, but...”; Batel & Castro, 2009; Mouro & Castro, 2012; 2016).

The following section provides the results of the two-step analysis conducted in the present study. It begins by presenting the thematic map identified in the thematic analysis, and follows with the pragmatic discourse analysis, offering specific excerpts from the interviews, found representative to illustrate each theme and unveil the ‘official’ social representations about Mouraria.

4. Results and analysis

4.1. Thematic analysis: what residents emphasize in their discourse

A set of five themes were identified from the residents’ discourses, namely: (1) *Relations with immigrant residents: they do not get along with us*; (2) *(Dis)Continuity of traditional features of the neighbourhood*; (3) *Attachment to the neighbourhood*; (4) *Relation with long-time residents: we get along with them*; and (5) *On both sides of gentrification*. As Table 21 shows, the first theme emerged in all three groups of residents. The second and third themes emerged in both long-time residents and new gentrifiers’ discourses. The fourth theme was emphasized by new gentrifiers and immigrants. Finally, the fifth theme was identified solely for new gentrifiers.

The identification of such themes across the different groups of residents brings about central ideas that characterize the discourses of each group. Long-time residents tend to be more focused on two central aspects: (1) on their relations with the immigrants and the lack of involvement of these in the public everyday life of the neighbourhood; and (2) on issues of identity and attachment, highlighting the potential threats of the neighbourhood’s transformations for the continuity of its traditional features, and at the same time claiming their strong attachment to the neighbourhood. Regarding new gentrifiers, they seem to focus their discourses on their belonging to the neighbourhood as true residents of Mouraria, and their involvement in the preservation of the traditional character of the neighbourhood – which they

describe as not yet been totally lost –, including themselves on the good side of gentrification. The immigrants seem to be more focused on relational aspects. Specifically, they highlight how different communities of immigrants do not get along among them, due to cultural and religious differences. Additionally, they tend to focus on how well they get along with the long-time residents, and on how well they are integrated among the Portuguese neighbours.

Table 21.

Thematic map, showing the final five themes identified and the respective distribution among the three groups of residents

	THEMES				
	1. Relation with immigrants: they do not get along with us	2. (Dis)Continuity of traditional features of the neighbourhood	3. Attachment to the neighbourhood	4. Relation with long-time residents: we get along with them	5. On both sides of gentrification
Long-time Residents	X	X	X		
New Gentrifiers	X	X	X	X	X
Immigrants	X			X	

After identifying the main themes emerging in the interviewees’ discourses, the chapter follows with the analysis of the discursive strategies they used when discussing each theme, focusing on the main functions and processes underlying the use of both ‘official’ social representations about Mouraria: as a *traditional* neighbourhood, and as a *multicultural and cosmopolitan* neighbourhood.

4.2. Pragmatic discourse analysis: highlighting a traditional and a multicultural neighbourhood - which processes and functions

This section focuses on the analysis of the main functions and processes underlying the use of both ‘official’ social representations of Mouraria – as a *traditional* and as a *multicultural* neighbourhood. The excerpts (N=24) that now follow summarize and illustrate each of the five themes identified in the Thematic Analysis. They are also analyzed by showing how the two ‘official’ social representations about Mouraria are highlighted by the interviewees in order to justify their positions; the discursive strategies used to justify ambivalent positions are also identified. The analysis will be presented per theme and group of residents, providing for each a set of excerpts representative of: (a) each theme; (b) the ‘official’ representation(s) about Mouraria highlighted per theme and the functions and processes underlying their use; and (c) the discursive strategies used to justify ambivalent positions. Each group is assigned a code: (1) LG for long-time residents; (2) NG for new gentrifiers; and (3) IMI for immigrants. Table 22

summarizes the main functions and processes underlying the use of both 'official' social representations about Mouraria, offering an overview of the analysis presented next.

Table 22.

Functions and processes underlying the use of both ‘official’ social representations of Mouraria: a summary

THEMES	1. Relation with immigrants: they do not get along with us	2. (Dis)Continuity of traditional features of the neighbourhood	3. Attachment to neighbourhood	4. Relation with long-time residents: we get along with them	5. On both sides of gentrification
Predominant Representation	MULTICULTURAL neighbourhood	TRADITIONAL neighbourhood	TRADITIONAL neighbourhood	TRADITIONAL neighbourhood	TRADITIONAL neighbourhood
Long-time Residents	- To justify a discourse that first highlights the acceptance of immigrants, BUT then blames them for not socializing in place: <i>ambivalence</i> - Discursive format “Yes, but...” (N=4 excerpts)	- To justify how the transformations can threaten the neighbourhood identity - <i>contestation</i> - <i>Nostalgic discourse</i> : a desire to return to a past time (N=3 excerpts)	- To justify how Mouraria remains meaningful - The neighbourhood is changing, BUT residents remain attached to it (N=1 excerpt)		
New Gentrifiers	<i>Idem</i> (N=3 excerpts)	- To justify their own <i>acceptance</i> in Mouraria - The neighbourhood is changing, BUT the traditional features remain (N=2 excerpts)	- To justify their neighbourhood attachment: praising the familiar environment - feature of a traditional neighbourhood (N=1 excerpt)	- To justify their belongingness to Mouraria - Representation of the Self as embracing the familiar environment, BUT without using the public places (N=2 excerpts)	- To justify their legitimate presence in Mouraria - Representation of the Self as part of gentrification, BUT of its beneficial outcomes: <i>ambivalence</i> - Discursive format “No, but...” (N=3 excerpts)
			MULTICULTURAL neighbourhood - To justify their neighbourhood attachment: praising the multiculturalism of Mouraria (N=1 excerpt)		
Immigrants	- To justify the lack of inter-ethnic interaction - Discourse reproduces stereotypes regarding specific groups of immigrants, blamed for not socializing: <i>contestation</i> (N=2 excerpts)			- To justify their permanence in Mouraria - Discourse highlighting the <i>acceptance</i> by the Other: long-time residents represented as kind neighbours (N=2 excerpts)	

Note. N regards the number of excerpts presented in section 4.2., for each theme and group of residents.

THEME 1. RELATION WITH IMMIGRANTS: THEY DO NOT GET ALONG WITH US

The analysis starts with extracts from interviews with long-time residents, followed by new gentrifiers, and the immigrants. For each it will be analysed the functions and processes underlying the predominant use of the ‘official’ social representation of Mouraria as a *multicultural neighbourhood* to justify their positions regarding the immigrants and their relations with other residents in place.

Below, a set of excerpts representative of Theme 1 and residents’ positions and discursive strategies will be presented for each group in the following order: (a) four excerpts of long-time residents – two illustrating interviewees *ambivalent* position towards the immigrants, blaming them for the lack of interaction in place, and two illustrating forms of stereotyping distinct groups of immigrants; (b) three excerpts of new gentrifiers – two illustrating interviewees *ambivalent* position towards the immigrants, blaming them for the lack of interaction in place, and one illustrating how they feel uncomfortable in specific public places commonly used by immigrants; and (c) two of immigrants – illustrating interviewees position of *contestation* regarding the lack of inter-ethnic interaction, and the reproduction of stereotypes regarding particular groups of immigrants.

Long-time residents

Blaming the other for the lack of interaction. The following two excerpts illustrate long-time residents’ *ambivalence* towards the immigrants. Their discourses begin by highlighting the acceptance of immigrants in the neighbourhood, but continue by blaming them for not socializing in place, using a discursive format “Yes, but...”. Excerpt 1 clearly suggests the ambivalent position of the interviewee I15, through this discursive format formulated by the sentence “***The immigrants bring some influence to the neighbourhood, but they live for themselves***”. In Excerpt 2, interviewee I07 depicts the same ambivalent position towards the immigrants, constructed by a “Yes, but...” format, and expressed in the sentence “***there is a combination of different nationalities. But the new residents are divided among them, and why? Because the ethnicities do not get along with anyone***”.

Excerpt 1

“The immigrants bring some influence to the neighbourhood, but they live for themselves and turn their back to the Portuguese community, and even among them. The Chinese live their lives, the Bangladeshi live their lives, and so on. There is no interaction, but instead a common livingness. Everyone is in the neighbourhood, but there is no such great interaction. The Chinese go to the coffee shop, to the restaurants of the

*neighbourhood. You do not see a lot of Chinese eating in the restaurants of the neighbourhood, but each one lives his life and **there are no great conflicts, besides some little mischievousness between neighbours, but nothing important.***" [I15, LT]

Excerpt 2

*"Today Mouraria is a cluster of ethnicities (...) is a multicultural neighbourhood. It is known by its multiculturalism. (...) there is a **combination of different nationalities. But the new residents are divided among them, and why? Because the ethnicities do not get along with anyone, that is out of the question!** Bangladeshi, Indian, Africans there are not so much, but there are also some, Chinese, Romanian, **no one gets along with nobody. They do not get along with us, I do not get along with any one of them, because they do not get along with us.**"* [I07, LT]

Differentiating and stereotyping distinct groups. Even though the interviewees do not mention the existence of conflicting or hostile relationships with the immigrants, long-time residents' discourses unveil a stereotyping construction process, indicating some sort of prejudice towards the immigrants, specifically regarding their way of communicate and way of living and even differentiating specific groups (e.g., Chinese, Bengali, Pakistani, Romanians). This process is well illustrated in Excerpts 3 and 4:

Excerpt 3

*"We have some ethnicities that have some difficulty in communicating. I do not know if it is due to their culture, or their religion. They are not very communicative and they could be more participative, (...) **they are very closed off in their culture, and are not capable of adapting so well.** (...) **The ethnicities for whom is harder to communicate are the Chinese, who do not try to speak in Portuguese. However, they are more communicative than the Bangladeshi and another of the same type.** These marginalize themselves more. For instance, **the ethnicity that connects the most is of the Romanian, who tries to speak more in Portuguese.** (...) In part, **I do not have any problems in socializing with those people, but sometimes it is hard to me to understand them, or they to understand me. They are a little bit more reserved, we know how those people are.**"* [I13, LT]

Excerpt 4

*"Nowadays, unfortunately, **one day it is going to be hard to find a White person in our place, among Indian, Pakistani and Chinese.** (...) They live their lives. **The Indian are more closed off among them.** The others are not like this. **The Black people are looser.** Regarding the others, the livingness has been peaceful. (...) they are all friendly, but for me they are equal, they are all Pakistani [Indians and Bangladeshi]. (...) **We have to be careful with the Pakistani. The other day, my dog was barking to a Pakistani man, he must have found him different.**"* [I08, LT]

New gentrifiers

Blaming the other for the lack of interaction. In the two excerpts below of two interviewees who draw on the representation of Mouraria as a *multicultural neighbourhood*, and considered new gentrifiers, the immigrants are reported as a group who tends to create their own world inside the neighbourhood, offering little opportunity to other groups to socialize with them. Hence, even though these are accepted in the neighbourhood, are simultaneously blamed for the lack of intergroup interaction, depicting an *ambivalent* position, through a discursive format “*Yes, but...*”. In Excerpt 5, such isolation on the part of the immigrants is represented by the interviewee I20 as a common feature of the social and cultural environment of the neighbourhood, and the ambivalence expressed through the sentence “***the most multicultural neighbourhood of Lisbon. (...) But, when the large-scale of immigrant’s arrival happened, a little time ago, they created their own world (...)***”. In Excerpt 6, the relations in place among different groups are presented as a cohabitation, instead of a conviviality and social mixing. The interviewee I22 clearly expresses how he appreciates the cultural diversity of the neighbourhood, but at the same time views the immigrants as not contributing to a real social mixing with others in place, as formulated in the sentence “***everyone live side by side in place. But, honestly, there is not a mixture (...) they [the immigrants] do not mix with other people***”.

Excerpt 5

“*Today, the image of Mouraria ‘sold’ to the public presents it as the most multicultural neighbourhood of Lisbon. (...) But, when the large-scale of immigrants’ arrival happened, a little time ago, they created their own world, close themselves off from the others, they protected themselves, right? But, that is all part of the environment lived here.*” [I20, NG, Portuguese]

Excerpt 6

“*I think there is cohabitation in the neighbourhood, more than conviviality. (...) everyone live side by side in place. But, honestly, there is not a mixture, not always. (...) For me, this neighbourhood is highly diversified in everything (...) multiple rhythms, and I like that cultural diversity. (...) For instance, the houses in Beco da Foz are occupied by immigrants from Africa, Bangladesh and Pakistan. (...) but they [the immigrants] do not mix with other people.*” [I22, NG, French]

Feeling uncomfortable with the other. Even though the multiculturalism of the neighbourhood is appreciated, our new gentrifiers’ interviewees highlight the *multicultural* ‘official’ representation of Mouraria to claim feeling uncomfortable in particular places of the neighbourhood mainly used by immigrants, as the immigrants are presented as “*not very*

receptive” (I25, NG, Portuguese). This *ambivalent* position with respect to immigrants is also clearly shown in Excerpt 7:

Excerpt 7

“The neighbourhood is charming (...) ethnically diversified (...). Most importantly, especially in this area, people integrate others and mix with them. (...) Maybe, in Rua do Benfornoso, people are less integrative of others. And, of course, in Martim Moniz the Chinese do not mix with no one. (...) Rua do Benfornoso is more aggressive. I feel a little bit uncomfortable. Aggressive, not because there are bad people, but when I walk there it is a bit, an energy, I don’t know, I really don’t like going there, to that part near Largo do Intendente.” [I23, NG, British]

Immigrants

Blaming other immigrants for the lack of interaction. Also drawing on the *multicultural* ‘official’ representation of Mouraria, the following excerpts show how immigrants’ discourses focus on the *other*, represented here as the other immigrants from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds, for *contesting* the lack of inter-ethnic interaction, reproducing particular stereotypes towards the *other*. Contrary to their Portuguese neighbours, who are presented as members of “*a mixed culture*” (I33, IMI, Nepalese), the other communities of immigrants are presented as tending to restrict their relations to their own group of belonging, being blamed for such isolation. This occurs especially on the part of the Bangladeshi and the Nepalese interviewees regarding the Chinese immigrants, seen as “*a very closed community (...) not open with other cultures*” (I33, IMI, Nepalese). This is also clear on the part of the Bangladeshi regarding the Nepalese, as illustrate by Excerpt 8.

Interestingly, the discourses of the Chinese interviewees tend to mention only their community and the Portuguese neighbours as the people with whom they interact. The absence of mentions to other groups of immigrants may unveil forms of unwillingness to interact with other communities, besides their own and the Portuguese, as shown in Excerpt 9.

Excerpt 8

*“(...) here in this area where I live everyone is Portuguese. **The people who live in the house in front of me are Portuguese, and they really like me.** (...) there are a lot of Bangladeshi in this area now, and Portuguese. (...) **The Nepalese are from another religion, and we are not capable of mixing with them, between Nepal and Bangladesh.** Nepal is a country located below Bangladesh. They are good people, but the Nepalese and the Bangladeshi, **I do not know how to say it, I have some Nepalese friends, but I will not say anything else regarding this.** (...) **But the Chinese, I will not say anything else, but I think they are other issue.** They have their businesses and restaurants. (...) I really like the Portuguese people. We have always got along.”* [I34, IMI, Bangladeshi]

Excerpt 9

“We also need to go to the coffee shop. We go there every day, as well as to some restaurants in the neighbourhood. I think this is a really good area, because the conviviality with the neighbours is good, everything is good, everyone is friendly. We have a lot of friends, Chinese and Portuguese. If we came to live here, we must get along with the people living here, right?” [I36, IMI, Chinese]

THEME 1 – an overview

In sum, the three groups of residents draw on the ‘official’ social representation of Mouraria as a *multicultural neighbourhood* in order to justify their representations about their relationships with the immigrants. In other words, they use this representation to say that multicultural communities are great, ‘we have everything to be a multicultural community, but in fact we fall short of it, because the immigrants do not interact with us’. The discourses thus construct the situation as one where the ‘officially’ known multiculturalism of the neighbourhood is not a success, because it does not translate into an intergroup interaction among residents within the public everyday life of Mouraria, and this is the immigrants’ fault.

The interviews show a convergence on both long-time residents and new gentrifiers’ discourses on this. The general acceptance of the immigrants and the changes they have fostered in the sociocultural and commercial landscapes of Mouraria comes up together with a contestation regarding the little intergroup interaction in the neighbourhood, depicting *ambivalence* towards the immigrants and their relations with others, where immigrants are blamed for the little or none intergroup interaction in place.

Regarding immigrants, they explicitly blame other communities of immigrants for not socializing with different cultural and ethnic communities. Additionally, their discourses depict the reproduction of stereotypes, for instance, regarding the Chinese immigrants, which are described as a too closed community. Overall, the interviews with immigrants suggest that the ‘official’ multiculturalism of Mouraria does not reveal itself at the local level of intergroup relations between different groups of immigrants, but only between immigrants and the Portuguese neighbours.

To summarize, the interviews seem to indicate the existence of local patterns of spatial segregation, coherently to the results of Study 2, where all groups use the neighbourhood but the interaction among them occurs predominantly at an intragroup level, and particular places seem to be more associated to specific groups. Moreover, in terms of psychosocial processes

there is a clear pattern of blaming the immigrants for this pattern of segregation, also with each immigrant group blaming the others.

THEME 2. (DIS)CONTINUITY OF TRADITIONAL FEATURES OF THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

Here again, the analysis will be presented by group of residents, starting with long-time residents, followed by new gentrifiers. For each it will be analysed the functions and processes underlying the predominant use of the ‘official’ social representation of Mouraria as a *traditional neighbourhood* to justify their positions regarding the transformations of the traditional features of the neighbourhood and their (dis)continuity.

For each group, excerpts representative of Theme 2 and residents’ positions and discursive strategies will be presented: (a) three excerpts of long-time residents – two illustrating interviewees *contestation* about how the transformations of the neighbourhood have threatened its traditional features and identity, and one illustrating a *nostalgic discourse*, showing a desire to return to a past time; and (b) two excerpts of new gentrifiers – illustrating interviewees willingness *to be accepted* in the neighbourhood by long-time residents, claiming the traditional features of Mouraria remain.

Long-time residents

Depicting threats to the continuity of neighbourhood identity. When expressing views about the cultural discontinuity of the neighbourhood, long-time residents depict a position of *contestation* towards the transformations of Mouraria, emphasizing these may be threatening its identity. Even though a sense that the typical neighbourhood is somehow preserved seems to remain in the discourses of the interviewees from this group, the cultural continuity of Mouraria and what they “call ‘*bairrismo*’” (I07, LT) are described as threatened and an important heritage to preserve. This lost is also justified by arguments that almost all “*the stores are all of foreigners*” (I06, LT) and “*before there were all from Portuguese people*” (I06, LT).

Excerpt 10

“Yes, we are afraid [of the neighbourhood losing its identity]. I think it is hard that the turistification does not happen, because we feel a lot of pressure from the tourism in the neighbourhood. From the point of view of the tourists, I do not see them as a threat. (...) Certainly, I cannot wish people to sing Fado, eat sardines or participate in Marchas, but at the same time we [residents of the neighbourhood] do not wish to lose the identity of the neighbourhood. I am afraid that within twenty years many of the things [traditional customs] of today just stop happening.” [I15, LT]

Excerpt 11

"Extremely badly [the transformations in the neighbourhood]. If you ask for my opinion, extremely badly, it is really sad, much to my regret. Sometimes I feel I am the last person living here, I feel I am a dinosaur in all of this. Because I would like to go to the window and talk to the neighbours, ask for a bit of salt, a bit of parsley. There is no one here anymore! Back in the old days, I used to go to the window, and if I needed a kilo of rice or a bit of olive oil, I called a kid and he would run errands. I do not see anyone here anymore, nobody." [I01, LT]

The excerpts set out above show long-time residents reporting the profound social and cultural changes they perceive the neighbourhood has been undergoing, and claiming how its traditional features have been lost over the years. Excerpt 10 exemplifies residents' fear of this lost due to the transformations stemming from the growing tourism. Excerpt 11 emphasizes their contestation regarding the neighbourhood's transformations, particularly the displacement of several long-time residents and its consequences for the local community cohesion.

A nostalgic discourse about a past place. The interviewees frequently present a nostalgic discourse highlighting a desire to return to a past time, where the tenor of the neighbourhood was associated to a familiar environment and a lively sociability in its public places. The discourse shifts from this nostalgic characterization of the neighbourhood to concerns about the reduction of the sense of community and neighbourliness. In Excerpt 12, the interviewee I08 describes how in the past almost everyone knew each other in Mouraria and how it has changed:

Excerpt 12

"We all knew each other in the neighbourhood, we were almost a family in the past. Even nowadays, with this age, when I walk in the neighbourhood those ancient people say 'Hi Miss C., how are you?'. We were almost like a family, but unfortunately this is also ending. There were some things that have improved with the regeneration program. However, I see a lot of transformations in the neighbourhood, and unfortunately not for the better. (...) in the past there were those typical stores in the neighbourhood, there were those typical people in each area of the neighbourhood." [I08, LT]

New gentrifiers

Presenting the continuity of a traditional neighbourhood where the self fits. New gentrifiers' discourses show a general perception of continuity of the familiar environment of the neighbourhood, despite the regeneration program implemented, revealing that *"The space has become even more traditional than before, this means, the neighbourhood has a more typical tenor"* (I28, NG, French). It seems new gentrifiers are *seeking for the acceptance of*

their presence in the neighbourhood on the part of long-time residents. Even though they represent themselves as part of the huge influxes of new residents and of the consequent social transformations of Mouraria, they claim the traditional features and environment of Mouraria have not been extinguished, within which they fit in. Excerpts 13 and 14 illustrate well this position, also emphasizing the importance of the public places to preserve such environment:

Excerpt 13

“Regarding the relationships with the residents that are here in the neighbourhood for a long time, I think that nothing is changed. Well, maybe yes, the issue about the displacement of residents (...) is more present in people’s conversations. But, besides that, I see the same livingness, the same conviviality [in the neighbourhood]. (...) However, there are less and less opportunities for that to happen, because basically there are fewer people here. (...) I think that squares, giving their topography, and the social geography of the neighbourhood, they are crucial. (...) If the squares get privatized, or almost privatized, then there is no longer a city. Because these are places with an important social function.” [I22, NG, French]

Excerpt 14

“Of course, of course there is conviviality. (...) there is still that attachment. (...) The street is a really important public place, like Largo dos Trigueiros, for example. The children use it, stay there, and everyone socialize there. There is a true lively street everyday life in the neighbourhood.” [I21, NG, French]

THEME 2 – an overview

In sum, long-time residents rely their discourses on the ‘official’ representation of Mouraria as a *traditional neighbourhood* for *contesting* its transformations, which are represented as threatening the neighbourhood identity. The interviews also indicate a *nostalgic discourse* about a changing place, expressing a desire to go back to a past time, when Mouraria was more traditional, and feelings of community and continuity were stronger.

New gentrifiers’ discourses indicate a tendency to frame positively the transformations happening in the neighbourhood and to value specific ones, in the sense that the familiarity and close relations among neighbours that they appreciate are represented as continuing to be central features of Mouraria. It seems that they are *seeking for the acceptance* of the long-time residents, i.e. for these to accept them as true residents of Mouraria, as belonging to it, given they represent themselves as integrated in its familiar environment. To resume, for them the neighbourhood is changing, but its traditional features remain, seeking to be accepted by long-time residents as residents of Mouraria.

THEME 3. ATTACHMENT TO THE NEIGHBOURHOOD

The analysis will be presented by group of residents, starting with long-time residents, followed by new gentrifiers. It will focus on functions and processes underlying the use of the ‘official’ social representations about Mouraria to justify residents’ positions regarding their neighbourhood attachment: (1) a *traditional neighbourhood* by long-time residents; and (2) both representations – *traditional and multicultural* – by new gentrifiers.

Next, excerpts representative of Theme 3 and residents’ positions and discursive strategies will be presented, for each group: (a) one excerpt of a long-time resident – illustrating interviewee justification of his attachment to the neighbourhood, despite its transformations; and (b) two excerpts of a new gentrifier – one illustrating the interviewee invoking the ‘official’ representation of a *traditional neighbourhood*, and one illustrating him invoking the representation of a *multicultural neighbourhood*, in both cases to justify his attachment to Mouraria.

Long-time residents

Continuing to feel attached to the traditional neighbourhood. Despite the profound social and cultural transformations of the neighbourhood emphasized by long-time residents, as abovementioned, this persists as a place highly meaningful to them. Residents remain strongly attached to Mouraria, justifying their connection by using an ‘official’ social representation of a *traditional neighbourhood*. They mention how several generations of families have lived in the neighbourhood, or even in the same dwelling, and how they feel more attached to the areas of the neighbourhood represented by them as more traditional, as shown in Excerpt 15:

Excerpt 15

“My father was born in Mouraria and my grandmother lived here most of her life. Today I live in my grandmother’s house. (...) This Mouraria more traditional, this Mouraria from the parish council of Socorro. These are the places that I remember the most, because the houses of my grandmother and father were in that place, so that is the Mouraria which I remember well. (...) I feel I belong much more to the parish council of Socorro, not only because there is where my home is and because I live there for 35 years, but also because I love that area much more than the area of São Cristóvão without a doubt. For me, that area is the original are of Mouraria, and where I would really like to see truly regenerated in properly conditions. Because, those people living there, they deserve it, because they were always the most stigmatized people, and so they really deserve having their residence area well regenerated.” [I15, LT]

New gentrifiers

Praising both familiar and multicultural environments. When new gentrifiers reflect on their bonds with the neighbourhood their discourses draw simultaneously on the two ‘official’ representations about Mouraria, i.e. one as a *traditional neighbourhood* and another as a *multicultural neighbourhood*. There are indications of a discourse of *acceptance* regarding the transformations of Mouraria, as its characterization still relies on its two main images – *traditional* and *multicultural* – allowing this group of residents to develop emotional bonds to the neighbourhood. Excerpts 16 and 17 illustrate the use of both representations by the same new gentrifier. On the one hand, the interviewee highlights a social representation of a *traditional neighbourhood* to justify why he has chosen to live in Mouraria due to the closeness of the neighbours’ relationships, and how this has strengthened his attachment and sense of belonging to the neighbourhood, as expressed in Excerpt 16:

Excerpt 16

“I think this place is quite symbolic and personal. (...) this feeling of walking in the street, greeting people, having a frontal attitude in the street, I love that, I really like that a lot. I needed that, something completely frontal. (...) Yes, yes, [I feel I belong to this area]. (...) this building [where he lives] is part of my story. (...) one day she [a long-time neighbour] called me ‘neighbour’, and for me that was important. Being a neighbour, I am a neighbour, you see? Looking at you as a person that belongs and have a social function that is of participating in the life of the neighbourhood.” [I22, NG, French]

On the other hand, the interviewee highlights a social representation about Mouraria as a *multicultural neighbourhood* to justify why he feels attached to the neighbourhood. He claims how he likes and was attracted by the sociocultural diversity of the neighbourhood, focusing on how he praises its multiculturalism. In Excerpt 17, Mouraria is described as a place where he can contact with different cultures in one single area of the city, fostering stronger bonds to it:

Excerpt 17

“When I left France, I decided to stay here in Lisbon and not in Oporto or in any other place, because it was different. Because of the cultural, ethnic, musical diversity. (...) I see a huge diversity in everything in the neighbourhood. Age groups, cultures, rhythms, but very peaceful. It does not have the effervescence of Martim Moniz, for instance. But, it is full of life beyond the walls, beyond doors, I don’t know, I like that. (...) And I found it when I arrived here. Africa is part of my Lisbon. Without Africa, Lisbon no longer interests me. So, I could not be interested in Oporto, Aveiro, Coimbra, and so on, because they do not have these multiple rhythms and the diversity. I only find them here.” [I22, NG, French]

THEME 3 – an overview

To summarize, long-time residents draw their discourses on the social representation of Mouraria as a *traditional neighbourhood* to justify how they remained attached to it. Despite the profound transformations it has been undergoing, the neighbourhood continues to be highly meaningful place to them.

Regarding new gentrifiers, their attachment with the neighbourhood is expressed in their discourses through the two ‘official’ representations of Mouraria – a *traditional neighbourhood* and *multicultural neighbourhood*. They report how fitting in Mouraria depend both on its close neighbours’ relations, and on of the sociocultural diversity it offers, enabling them to contact with different cultures. It seems their discourses unveil a position of *acceptance* regarding the transformations of Mouraria, in the sense that these have not erased the two main images of the neighbourhood they praise the most.

THEME 4. RELATION WITH LONG-TIME RESIDENTS: WE GET ALONG WITH THEM

The analysis will be presented by group of residents, starting with new gentrifiers, followed by the immigrants. For each it will be analysed the functions and processes underlying the predominant use of the ‘official’ social representation of Mouraria as a *traditional neighbourhood* when describing how well both groups get along with long-time residents.

For each group, excerpts representative of Theme 4 and residents’ positions and discursive strategies will be presented: (a) two excerpts of new gentrifiers – illustrating how they present themselves as embracing the familiar environment of Mouraria to justify their belongingness to it; and (b) two excerpts of immigrants – illustrating how they construct the Other, the long-time residents, as kind neighbours, in order to reinforce their own permanence in the neighbourhood.

New gentrifiers

Presenting the self as part of a traditional image. Excerpts 18 and 19 illustrates how interviewees new gentrifiers tend to focus on the *Other* – representing long-time residents as good neighbours and integrative of new residents – and on the *Self* - representing themselves as embracing the familiar environment of close-knit social relations between neighbours. It seems they seek to justify their belongingness to the traditional image of the neighbourhood, and to be considered as fitting as true residents of Mouraria. Nevertheless, there are no indications of a real participation of new gentrifiers in the everyday public life of the neighbourhood. Specifically, there are no mentions of them using its public in a daily basis.

The image of the traditional neighbourhood and its familiar environment is praised, but it seems new gentrifiers tend to assume a role of bystanders of this image and not of active participants.

Excerpt 18

*“I live in a building with six flats, and I know all the six people living there. They have cats, and when they go on holidays, they ask me to take care of their plants. **There is that kind of relationship between neighbours.** (...) **I did not know them before, never have seen them. It is a kind of a more occasional relationship. We have a very cordial and respectful relationship.** (...) **It is really a neighbourhood, in the real sense (...). People greet you in the street, they know you (...). And the neighbours are always available to help. That was something I felt and I could find it here. (...) Yes! [she felt welcomed in the neighbourhood]. People are available to help you and that is nice, is more familiar.**” [I24, NG, Portuguese]*

Excerpt 19

*“Sometimes, there are some problems because of the noise, due to the small size of the houses. But, **in terms of neighbours there are no problems.** Of course, there are always gossips, and people have to choose sides sometimes. But the other part of this is really good, because **if people do not see someone for a long time, they get concerned, you know?** So, it has both sides. There is a really good relationship. (...) **I do not see any problem [between new and old residents]. (...). People’s integration is peaceful, on the part of the residents that live here for a long time.**” [I23, NG, British]*

Immigrants

Seeking for their own permanence in the neighbourhood. Some of the immigrant interviewees used a discourse focused on showing immigrants’ willingness to get along with the Portuguese neighbours and to remain in the neighbourhood, in order to justify their permanence in Mouraria. Immigrants focus on their *acceptance by the Other* – the long-time residents – presented as kind neighbours, and on how they have developed good and friendly relationships with the Portuguese neighbours, as exemplified in Excerpt 20. Moreover, it seems immigrants establish daily relations with long-time residents mainly through their businesses, as shown by Excerpt 21.

Excerpt 20

*“(...) our customers are not like Asian, they are more European, Portuguese also. (...) **I have Portuguese neighbours. They are in the other houses in the building, there is a couple there and they are very nice and friendly.** And they are other also. But **we have a good relationship with all the neighbours. They are very nice.** If we need some help, they are always ready to help us. It is a very good relationship. And they offer us some sweets, you know, when they have a celebration or something like that, in their place.” [I33, IMI, Nepalese]*

Excerpt 21

“I think people are so nice. I really, really like them, (...) most of the people are nice, very nice. Actually, I like all of them, especially older people. I respect as much women as men, they are very old, but in fact I really like and respect everybody here. (...) there is not very respect for the older that stay there in the street talking, in this area. Some, as I told you before, are standing there, just the young boys. They have too much drink, and then have some problems. (...) Older people, well, I am just telling for myself, as I am good to older people, older people are good for me, simply. (...) I have a good relationship with the residents.” [I31, IMI, Pakistani]

THEME 4 – an overview

Both new gentrifiers and immigrants use the ‘official’ social representation about Mouraria as a *traditional neighbourhood* in order to justify their presence in it. New gentrifiers recount their good relationship with long-time residents, and the familiar environment they where they fit and *belong as true residents*. However, there are indications of them not using the public places of Mouraria. Regarding the immigrants, they put a strong emphasis on how well they relate to long-time residents and how well they are integrated in the neighbourhood. They represent their interactions with the Portuguese neighbours as peaceful and harmonious, seeking for their acceptance as residents of Mouraria, and their *permanence* in the neighbourhood.

THEME 5. ON BOTH SIDES OF GENTRIFICATION

New gentrifiers

Presenting the self as protecting the traditional neighbourhood. This theme has only emerged across the interviews with new gentrifiers, through a discourse focused on the ‘official’ representation of Mouraria as a *traditional neighbourhood*, illustrated below by three excerpts.

New gentrifiers present an *ambivalence* towards gentrification, through a discursive format “*No, but...*”. Their discourses focus on the negative outcomes of gentrification (e.g., displacement of residents), representing themselves as being only part of its beneficial outcomes. In Excerpts 22 and 23, the interviewees make appeals to how gentrification can bring positive outcomes to the neighbourhood (e.g., the diminishing of a stigmatized image of the neighbourhood), for which they contribute. This ambivalence is well illustrated in Excerpt 22, in which interviewee I23 describes both sides of gentrification and how she is on the positive one, through a discursive format “*No, but...*”, constructed in the sentence “*There are some people that are very negative about that. But I think that it will always bring good things.* (...)”

The gentrification, right? There is a gentrification, there is a positive side of gentrification. (...). I am on the positive side of it (...).” The same position regarding both sides of gentrification is also expressed in Excerpt 23 by the interviewee I19, formulated by the sentence ***“(...) nowadays with gentrification there is an excessive number of houses for short-term rental. But, before the changes that happened in the neighbourhood (...), nobody came here, everyone was afraid, (...) they [long-time residents] were happy with that change about the stigma of the neighbourhood.”***

Excerpt 24 illustrates new gentrifiers’s emphasis on their own role in preserving the traditional character and identity of the neighbourhood, and their claims about feeling part of the gentrification process, but not in the real sense. The ambivalent position of interviewee I21 is constructed as follows, ***“(...) there is not a single day without seeing completely wrong behaviours [from tourists and touristic activities] (...) a lot of people thought we (...) were here to do another thing of gentrification. Even if that ends to happen, I think we are part of the gentrification, one part, but not in the real sense.”***

Excerpt 22

“There are some people that are very negative about that. But I think that it will always bring good things. Of course, the prices will rise, the rents will get higher, the population will change, there will be more businesses here. (...) The gentrification, right? There is a gentrification, there is a positive side of gentrification. I would like to think that I am on the positive side of it, but of course that there is also the side that is not like that. It is very important that people are capable of integrate themselves, right? Coming to live here, because they like the neighbourhood as it is, without trying to change the place, respecting its history. I think that is very important. And respect those people which roots are here.” [I23, NG, British]

Excerpt 23

“(...) nowadays with gentrification there is an excessive number of houses for short-term rental. But, before the changes that happened in the neighbourhood in the last few years, nobody came here, everyone was afraid, and long-time residents do not like that image of the neighbourhood at all. We arrived on December 2016, and I noticed that they were happy with that change about the stigma of the neighbourhood. And they also were happy for us being young, for being Portuguese like they said, and for going to live here for a long time.” [I19, NG, Portuguese]

Excerpt 24

“You cannot imagine, there is not a single day without seeing completely wrong behaviours [from tourists and touristic activities], with such a lack of respect. (...) I am always comparing the neighbourhood with a village, a kind of the village of Astérix. That protected region that everyone wants to protect, and we are all connected by the same

goal. And that is why I think we are going to be able to protect the neighbourhood, more or less. (...) When we arrived, at the beginning, a lot of people thought we were French people with a lot of money, and were here to do another thing of gentrification. Even if that ends to happen, I think we are part of the gentrification, one part, but not in the real sense. (...) after getting to know us better, people found out that we are a couple that love Lisbon, and want to have a house here. (...) Because, we are not part of that thing that is increasingly happening of the foreigners coming here to invest foreigner money. (...) All our debts are Portuguese. And so, we wish to live and socialize with the Portuguese people.” [I21, NG, French]

THEME 5 – an overview

In sum, new gentrifiers represent themselves as outsiders of the gentrification process, presenting an *ambivalent* position towards this process, using a representation of Mouraria as a *traditional neighbourhood*, and a discursive format “*No, but...*”. On the one hand, in general they contest how this process can disrupt the traditional environment of the neighbourhood they cherish. On the other hand, they represent themselves as part of the positive outcomes of the process, and as having a positive role on preserving the identity of the neighbourhood. Their discourses suggest they seek to legitimize their own presence in the neighbourhood, by claiming they live in this place to preserve its traditional character, because they want to maintain it.

5. Discussion

The present chapter has sought to analyse the social representations the main groups of residents of an inner-city neighbourhood, undergoing a mixed/bottom-up regeneration program, construct about the neighbourhood, the others and their relations in place, in order to understand how the regeneration process and the inherent transformations of the neighbourhood (e.g., influxes of new residents, new uses of public place) have been locally received and interpreted by residents. It has offered an important contribution to the social psychological literature, which has not been focusing on studying processes of acceptance or resistance/contestation regarding the transformations stemming from urban regeneration programs under the interpretative lens of the Theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1976; 1988).

An interview study was developed, which has first of all focused on identifying the emerging themes on residents’ discourses about the changing neighbourhood. Next, it has focused on understanding what and how both ‘official’ social representations about Mouraria – as a *historical and traditional inner-city neighbourhood*, and as a *multicultural and cosmopolitan neighbourhood* - residents use to justify their positions – *acceptance*,

contestation, or *ambivalence* (e.g., Mouro & Castro, 2012; 2016) – regarding the others, the self, the place and its uses and the transformations stemming from the bottom-up/mixed regeneration program. Additionally, it has examined what discursive strategies residents use to conciliate contradictory ideas and justify *ambivalent positions* (Batel & Castro, 2018). A set of forty semi-structured interviews was conducted with the three main groups of residents of Mouraria: (1) long-time residents (N=18); (2) new gentrifiers (N=12); and (3) immigrants (N=10). It is important now to expatiate on the main findings of the study and their significance.

First, the interviews revealed five central themes emerging in residents' discourses, but differently across the three groups. The first and only theme emerging in all three groups concerns how these represent their relationships with other groups, namely the immigrants. Specifically, residents contest the lack of inter-ethnic interaction, using an 'official' representation of a *multicultural neighbourhood*.

Long-time residents and new gentrifiers depict convergent discourses, sharing a similar social representation regarding the immigrants. Their discourses unveil an *ambivalent* position towards the immigrants, through a discursive format "Yes, but...". Even though, in general, they support the presence of immigrants in the neighbourhood, these are blamed for not socializing in place with other groups of residents, restricting their interactions within their own groups of belonging. Long-time residents present this lack of predisposition for interaction on the part of the immigrants as threatening the identity of the neighbourhood, for fostering the little or none intergroup interaction in its public places. In the case of new gentrifiers, despite depicting supporting and appreciating the multiculturalism of the neighbourhood, in accordance with previous literature (e.g., Lees, 2008; Davison et al., 2012; Malheiros et al., 2012), they also reveal feeling uncomfortable in particular places of the neighbourhood mainly used by immigrants. The social and ethnic diversity of the neighbourhood seems to represent an image of place new gentrifiers appreciate, but are not so prone to be part of. Moreover, on both long-time residents and new gentrifiers' interviews there are indications of the reproduction of stereotypes towards immigrants' way of communicate and lifestyle, also used to justify the predominantly intragroup interaction. Thus, although there are no mentions to conflicting or hostile relationships with the immigrants, the interviews unveil possible tensions between the different groups of residents, corroborating previous research (Malheiros et al., 2012; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015).

Similarly to long-time residents and new gentrifiers, immigrants also *contest* the lack of inter-ethnic interaction, by blaming it on other immigrants from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. These are represented as tending to restrict their relations to their own group of

belonging, but differently across distinct communities of immigrants. For instance, the Nepalese and the Bangladeshi interviewees explicitly blame other communities for not socializing with members from communities with different cultural backgrounds, reproducing stereotypes regarding the Chinese immigrants described as a too closed community. On the other hand, the interviews with the Chinese immigrants seem to implicitly evidence forms of unwillingness to interact with other communities, besides their own and the Portuguese.

The multiculturalism of the neighbourhood does not seem to be expressed in place at the local level of intergroup relations between different groups of immigrants. These seem to comprise their interactions to the same places where their group of belonging stay within the neighbourhood, placing cultural elements and commercial businesses in these places. This follows previous research, which shows how through these cultural and commercial anchors, different communities of immigrants establish in their new neighbourhood, creating distinct areas in it (Ehrkamp, 2005; Kaplan & Recoquillon, 2014; Main & Sandoval, 2015).

In sum, all three groups draw on an 'official' representation of Mouraria as a *multicultural neighbourhood* to show how local interactions in public place occur predominantly at an intragroup level, and how particular places seem to be more associated to specific groups, corroborating the results of Study 2. Therefore, the interviews indicate the existence of local patterns of spatial segregation, where the multiculturalism of the neighbourhood does not reveal itself in public place, of possible tensions between residents, and the reproduction of stereotypes regarding specific groups of immigrants on the part of all three groups of residents.

The second theme identified in the interviews regards the (dis)continuity of traditional features of the neighbourhood found on both long-time residents and new gentrifiers discourses, which have highlighted a representation of Mouraria as a *traditional neighbourhood*. However, they position themselves differently regarding the transformations of the neighbourhood stemming from the urban regeneration program.

On the one hand, long-time residents mostly *contest* the social and cultural transformations happening in the neighbourhood, expressing concerns about the reduction of the sense of community, neighbourliness, and lively sociability which have been characterizing the identity of Mouraria for years. There are indications of a nostalgic discourse, revealing a desire to return to a past time, and emphasizing how the identity of the neighbourhood may be threatened due to the changes that have occurred, such as the influx of new residents and the displacement of several long-time residents. Although some residents acknowledge certain favourable outcomes of the regeneration program, and a feeling of living in a traditional neighbourhood still exists, this comes together with a growing feeling that a sense of continuity

is being lost. These findings corroborate previous studies evidencing how the arrival of new residents with new lifestyles may lead long-time residents to feel the identity and cultural continuity of the neighbourhood are threatened (Davison et al., 2012; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015; Stevenson et al., 2018).

On the other hand, contrary to long-time residents' discourses and their position of *contestation*, new gentrifiers represent Mouraria as a place that offers a familiar environment with a strong sense of community and lively public sociability. These are presented as features they appreciate and represent as continuing to characterize the neighbourhood. When expressing this, their discourses unveil not only a tendency to *accept* the transformations stemming from the regeneration interventions, but also suggest how they are *seeking to be accepted* by long-time residents. Indeed, new residents often seek out neighbourhoods continuous with values they favour (Rishbeth & Powell, 2012), and particularly new gentrifiers tend to value the traditional tenor of historical inner-city neighbourhoods, seeking to feel fully integrated in its familiar environment (Malheiros et al., 2012; Davison et al., 2012). The interviews evidenced how this integration involves feeling accepted and considered as true residents of the neighbourhood on the part of long-time residents.

The third theme has also emerged in both long-time residents and new gentrifiers interviews, referring to how they feel attached and a sense of belonging to the neighbourhood. Even though long-time residents strongly contest the social and cultural transformations of Mouraria, the neighbourhood persists as a place highly meaningful to them. Residents remain strongly attached to the neighbourhood, justifying their connection through a discourse focused on an 'official' representation of a *traditional neighbourhood*. They can still find traces of the typical neighbourhood they have known for years, enabling them to continue to feel attached to it. Being able to continue to know their place is crucial for residents to develop place bonds (Benages-Albert et al., 2015).

In the case of new gentrifiers, the development of place bonds with the neighbourhood is expressed in their discourses through both 'official' social representations of Mouraria – a *traditional neighbourhood* and *multicultural neighbourhood*. Their attachment is justified simultaneously by the traditional character of the neighbourhood and its sociocultural diversity. Again, the interviews unveil a position of *acceptance* of the transformations of Mouraria, in the sense that these have not erased the two main images of the neighbourhood new gentrifiers praise the most. These findings suggest how, even though the interviewees present an average time of residence of three years, they have already developed relatively strong bonds with the neighbourhood, corroborating previous studies (Davison et al., 2012). Some may even be

considered as second-stage gentrifiers (Davison et al., 2012; Freeman et al., 2016). Moreover, findings also confirm what the literature on urban changing places and gentrification evidences regarding this particular group of residents, i.e. that they seek this kind of neighbourhoods to live in, due to both their traditional character and neighbourliness and multiculturalism (Lees, 2008; Malheiros et al., 2012; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015).

The fourth theme was identified on both groups of new residents' interviews, namely new gentrifiers and immigrants. It refers to how these groups represent their relationships with long-time residents. Both highlight an 'official' representation of a *traditional neighbourhood*, representing long-time residents as good and kind neighbours, with whom they establish friendly relationships. In the case of new gentrifiers, this discourse is used to justify once more their belongingness to the neighbourhood, representing themselves as embracing its familiar environment. However, there are no indications of them using the public places of Mouraria on a daily basis, suggesting that the traditional image of the neighbourhood is appreciated but on the perspective of bystanders and not of active participants in the public life of the neighbourhood. This is consonant with previous studies which evidence the tendency of this type of residents to carry out their daily activities only marginally inside the neighbourhood (Malheiros et al., 2012; Kaplan & Recoquillon, 2014; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015), despite the familiar close relationships and the multiculturalism the neighbourhood offers and they praise (Malheiros et al., 2012; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015).

The immigrants seem to be looking for the acceptance of long-time residents, in order to justify their continuity in the neighbourhood. Their discourses focus on their willingness to get along with the Portuguese neighbours and to remain in the neighbourhood, and on how well they are integrated in Mouraria. In addition, and similarly to new gentrifiers, the interviews indicate a scarce involvement in the public life of the neighbourhood. Nevertheless, they establish daily relationships with long-time residents mainly through their businesses. This is in line with previous research showing how many times immigrants seek to integrate in their current neighbourhood through their commercial businesses, establishing relations with long-time residents by this via (Ehrkamp, 2005; Main & Sandoval, 2015).

Finally, the fifth theme was identified solely on new gentrifiers' discourses. It refers to how this group represents the process of gentrification occurring in the neighbourhood and how they position themselves within this process. They highlight a representation of Mouraria as a *traditional neighbourhood*, and present an *ambivalent* position towards gentrification, through a discursive format "*No, but...*". The interviewees contest how harmful gentrification can be for the neighbourhood in general, by disrupting its traditional character, but acknowledge that

it can also bring positive outcomes, for which they contribute. The representation of Mouraria as a *traditional neighbourhood* is used to legitimize their own presence in the neighbourhood, by claiming they are also important actors in the preservation of its traditional character and identity. Therefore, they represent themselves as outsiders of the process of gentrification, and as having some sort of “authority” over the protection of the neighbourhood, assuming it as their own. Assuming this position is a characteristic of second-stage gentrifiers, who tend to converge their positions with those of long-time residents (Davison et al., 2012; Freeman et al., 2016). These gentrifiers tend to contest those who may threaten the cultural continuity of the neighbourhood, presenting themselves as willing to protect and maintain its distinctiveness (Davison et al., 2012).

In sum, the interviews have offered a multiplicity of representations about Mouraria and its transformations and have shown how the “battle of ideas” (Moscovici & Marková, 2000) among different meaning systems (Castro, 2012; 2015) emerges within the same social and culturally changing community (Howarth, 2002), under a specific mixed/bottom-up regeneration program. The two ‘official’ social representations of Mouraria – a *traditional neighbourhood* and a *multicultural neighbourhood* – seem to be battling for dominance. The multiplicity of representations shown in this study has revealed some convergences and divergences between residents’ discourses. Indeed, each group tends to be allocated to one profile, but that does not mean that there cannot be find elements of the group in another profile (Sibley & Liu, 2013).

Long-time residents and new gentrifiers share a similar social representation about the immigrants, and both exhibit a predominant use of a representation of a *traditional neighbourhood* to justify their positions, but in a divergent way. Additionally, new residents – new gentrifiers and immigrants – highlight the representation of a *traditional neighbourhood* in order to justify their permanence and belongingness to the neighbourhood, seeking for the acceptance of long-time residents. The representation of a *multicultural neighbourhood* is used by the three groups of residents to blame the other – groups of immigrants – for the little intergroup interaction in place. Nevertheless, this study has shown little intragroup variability and more intergroup variability (Sibley & Liu, 2013). Despite the existence of converging social representations between groups, the study has evidenced the construction of specific and relatively stable representational profiles (Jovchelovitch, 2001; Howarth, 2002; Sibley & Liu, 2013), accordingly to each of the three groups of residents and to different positions concerning the neighbourhood and its transformations. Specifically: (1) long-time residents are more

associated to a position of *contestation*; (2) new gentrifiers depict a position of *ambivalence*; and (3) immigrants exhibit a general position of *acceptance*.

The present study has enlightened how the approach of social representations (Moscovici, 1976; 1988) can help understand the psychosocial processes involved on the acceptance, contestation, or ambivalence regarding the transformations stemming from the implementation of urban regeneration programs, particularly those with a mixed/bottom-up policy plan. Moreover, it has shown how the conjunction of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2012) with pragmatic discourse analysis (Batel & Castro, 2018) is an important tool to identify the content of residents' discourses together with why and for what are these discourses being used for.

Finally, and not less important, this study has illuminated the consequences that processes of urban regeneration may have for place relations in a culturally diverse community, especially for a place characterized by a strong place identity based on stories and memories that are still very important to and lived by long-time residents. Mouraria is a place that epitomizes what it means to be a citizen of the historical neighbourhoods of Lisbon (Mendes, 2012; Malheiros et al., 2012). A threat to this identity may push older residents to abandon the neighbourhood, leading to growing gentrification and ethnicization instead of to a more integrated place. This arises a rethinking about what it means 'to be Mouraria', how one can be defined as a resident of Mouraria. It may be recognized that the neighbourhood is now a different place and that there has been a break from its past. However, one cannot forget or disregard the quick and increasingly transformations inherent to the development of the neighbourhoods, particularly those under a regeneration program, and how those cannot ignore the influx of new residents willing to settle in these neighbourhoods.

The interviews have revealed little intergroup interaction in Mouraria, as suggested in previous studies (Malheiros et al., 2012; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). This study has enabled further discussion on the dangers of erasing the identity of the place, but also on the dangers of keeping the neighbourhood conserved in a 'bubble' environment, only existing for visitors to experience a day in a typical place, full of history. In order to have a more balanced development of the neighbourhood, the major challenge for urban policy interventions may be to find a way of integrating the traditional identity and memories of older residents with the challenges presented by the transformations of today, without losing people-place bonds and the vitality of the public places of the neighbourhood and preventing patterns of local spatial segregation. Nevertheless, this study seems to indicate how a mixed/bottom-up regeneration program may

be more favourable to achieve these outcomes, than an intervention following a strictly top-down model, as the transformations happen in a more gradual way (Pissourios, 2014).

To summarize, by illuminating the diversity of representations about a neighbourhood undergoing a mixed/bottom-up regeneration program, this study can be a source of information for urban regeneration policies and decision-makers, helping to create communication bridges among multiple voices (Crawhall, 2008). Additionally, it can further clarify where possible tensions may emerge between long-time residents and gentrifiers and immigrants, and among different groups of immigrants, within a highly social and culturally diversified neighbourhood. This can also help overcome the limitations of top-down expert-led models that do not always recognize the need for a bottom-up approach in urban interventions, bridging the gap between official institutions and the community.

6. Concluding remarks

This chapter has presented the last study of the thesis, the interview study, which has aimed to analyse how the transformations of the neighbourhood of Mouraria, under a mixed/bottom-up regeneration program, have been locally received and interpreted by residents, through the analysis of residents' discourses. The study has relied on the Theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1976; 1988) and on the environmental and social psychological literature on processes of social change in urban places (e.g., Ujang & Zakariya, 2015; Heath et al., 2017; Stevenson et al., 2018) and on place identity and place attachment (e.g., Dixon & Durrheim, 2004; Hopkins & Dixon, 2006).

Findings evidence a predominant use of the 'official' social representation of Mouraria as a *traditional neighbourhood* on the part of both long-time residents and new gentrifiers, although in a divergent way. Long-time residents are more focused on issues of continuity and the perceived threat of the neighbourhood identity, claiming there are fewer people living in the neighbourhood, and that the influx of new residents – immigrants and new gentrifiers – may threaten traditional features. It seems that these are not represented as truly belonging to the neighbourhood and participating in its public everyday life. On the other hand, new gentrifiers seem to be looking for acceptance from long-time residents, focusing on issues of belongingness to place. They present themselves as part of the process of gentrification, but not as actors of its negative outcomes (e.g., displacement), having a positive role on preserving the identity of the neighbourhood. However, they do not seem to use very frequently its public places. Both groups also use an 'official' representation of a *multicultural neighbourhood* to justify their ambivalent position regarding the immigrants, sharing the same social

representation about them, which are blamed for the lack of intergroup interaction in the neighbourhood.

On the part of the immigrants, they also highlight a representation of a *multicultural neighbourhood*, depicting how the multiculturalism of the neighbourhood does not express itself in place between different communities of immigrants, as these do not get along among them. At the same time, immigrants use an 'official' representation of Mouraria as a *traditional neighbourhood* to justify their permanence in the neighbourhood, focusing on issues of acceptance by long-time residents.

Taken together, these findings suggest that the regeneration occurring in Mouraria is not only a process of physical change, but also one of cultural and social change, a "battle of ideas" (Moscovici & Marková, 2000), expressing different voices and different representations of place, its uses, and future projects. Different representations of the neighbourhood may clash with each other, the neighbourhood as a 'new' place and as 'reliving the past' (Czaplicka & Ruble, 2003). Therefore, it is important to find ways to accommodate both, without erasing the traditional identity and memories of older residents and the vitality of public places, and simultaneously integrate the inherent social and physical transformations of today, finding ways to assure the permanence of all residents, old and new, and to prevent patterns of local spatial segregation. This may comprise one of the major challenges for urban policies, turning the present study into a useful source of information for further urban interventions and projects.

SECTION III
GENERAL DISCUSSION

CHAPTER IX

GENERAL DISCUSSION AND INTERPRETATION

Chapter Presentation

The present chapter first reviews the main questions, aims and findings of the thesis. By providing a summary of the main findings of the three studies developed, the chapter discusses their significance, as well as their empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions to Social and Environmental Psychology.

It then identifies the limitations of the work developed and proposals for future research. It ends by reflecting on the potential practical contributions of the thesis to urban regeneration public policies.

1. Introduction

The present thesis has sought to understand how people relate to and use public place and relate with each other in place, under processes of urban regeneration, by integrating psychosocial explanations, thus contributing to the social and environmental psychological literature on studies about place. Urban policies have been adopting various forms of local governance for urban regeneration, aiming at adjusting the social future of cities to the fast-growing globalized society (Bailey et al., 2004; Freeman et al., 2016). A prominent example of such forms of local governance is the implementation of programs of urban regeneration in several historical inner-city areas of major European cities (Lees, 2008; Tulumello, 2015; Freeman et al., 2016). The urban planning under which these areas have been intervened has been defined by two main tendencies over the years: (1) top-down and (2) bottom-up approaches (Pissourios, 2014), sometimes combined or mixed in different ways. These bring diverse social and psychological challenges to those who live and use public places, entailing people to constantly find different forms of adaptation to the social, cultural, human, and economic transformations they face (Lees, 2008). Therefore, it is important to understand how people adjust to those challenges. One way comprises understanding how people are able to develop people-place bonds (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015), affirm identities in place (Di Masso, 2012), adopt patterns of segregation and integration among groups in place (Dixon & Durrheim, 2003), and produce and transform social representations about place and others (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Castro, 2015). However, contrary to the well-developed research on the sociological (Blanco et al., 2011; Lees, 2008), geographical (Tulumello, 2015) and urban planning (Davison et al., 2012; Freeman et al., 2016) dimensions and consequences of inner-cities' transformations and the models they follow – top-down or bottom-up –, the social-psychological literature on this topic is scarce.

Little is known about the underlying social psychological explanations involved in how people use public places and relate with each other in place (Di Masso & Dixon, 2015), and in their relation to the transformations caused by urban regeneration programs, particularly those following a mixed approach. Additionally, there is no research on the micro local patterns of people's behaviour in place on multicultural and regenerated urban communities, i.e. on the micro-ecology of intergroup segregation in such context.

In order to understand the bonds, processes, uses and relations in place aforementioned, this thesis has taken the historical inner-city neighbourhood of Mouraria, in Lisbon, as a case study. The neighbourhood has been undergoing an urban regeneration program since 2010, which as followed a policy strategy based on a mixed approach (top-down and bottom-up).

Together with the urban interventions, the neighbourhood has been characterized over the last years by processes of gentrification and ethnicisation (Malheiros et al., 2012; Tulumello, 2015). It has also been presented by the City Council of Lisbon and in the Press as a simultaneously traditional and well succeed multicultural neighbourhood (Tulumello, 2015; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). Specifically, discourses about the neighbourhood have been consistently constructing two ‘official’ social representations which praise the successful transformations (Tulumello, 2015; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017): (a) a (now renewed) traditional neighbourhood characterized by its lively public place sociability and close neighbours’ relations; and (b) a renewed neighbourhood with new residents, now multicultural and cosmopolitan. Drawing on the theoretical premises aforementioned, and on the context of the neighbourhood of Mouraria, this thesis was guided by the following research question: *how are the transformations of an inner-city historical and multicultural neighbourhood stemming from a mixed urban (bottom-up and top-down) regeneration program experienced by people, through their uses of public place, their intergroup relations in place, their social representations about place and others, and their place attachment and identification?*

To answer this question, the thesis has offered an integrative and innovative approach by combining the two main research paths in Social and Environmental Psychology, namely the analysis of meaning making in place relations (e.g., Castro, 2012; 2015; Benages-Albert et al., 2015) with the examination of place use directly observed (e.g., Dixon et al., 2008; Mckeown et al., 2016). Moreover, it has extended this to the community level, particularly, to multicultural and regenerated urban communities, and to the understanding of the consequences of regeneration urban policies, specifically those following a mixed approach, from a psychosocial perspective. In sum, the thesis had three main aims, namely:

- (1) to analyse what psychosocial processes underlie residents’ reported use of the public places of the neighbourhood to socialize with others;
- (2) to analyse how the main groups of residents use the public places and if they interact at an intragroup or intergroup level;
- (3) to understand what and how both ‘official’ social representations about Mouraria - as a historical and traditional inner-city neighbourhood, and as a multicultural and cosmopolitan neighbourhood - residents use to justify their positions and social representations about the self and the others, their relations in place, their uses of place, and neighbourhood transformations.

In order to respond to these aims, the thesis was primarily guided by the literature on Social and Environmental Psychology on people-place bonds. Understanding how developing

emotional bonds to place can be connected to a better adaptation to environments under social and cultural changes (Lewicka, 2008; Stevenson et al., 2018) is particularly relevant when studying the impact of the transformations stemming from urban regeneration interventions on residents' relations in place, bonds to place and decisions about whether or not continue to be involved in the local public life of their neighbourhood. One central bond to place extensively studied in Social and Environmental Psychology is place identity, often approached at the individual level of analysis (e.g., Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010). Hence, this thesis was guided by the literature on place identity, but framing this concept in an integrative way, by considering both individual and social levels of analysis (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Hopkins & Dixon, 2006). Moreover, it drew on the research on place identity within the context of urban environments and its connection with perceived cultural continuity (Sani et al., 2007; 2008; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014) and place knowledge (e.g., Benages-Albert et al., 2015). As the memories and the knowledge about the neighbourhood and its history are central assets of Mouraria, it was important to further explore the research on the constructs of perceived cultural continuity (Sani et al., 2007; 2008; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014) and place knowledge (e.g., Benages-Albert et al., 2015).

Understanding how different groups of residents use public places of their neighbourhood and the underlying psychosocial processes was a central aim of the thesis. Therefore, the present work has also drew on the literature on place uses (e.g., Di Masso, 2015). Specifically, it has relied on the premises of the emergent research on the citizenship of place (Di Masso, 2015; Stevenson et al., 2015a), as this offers relevant insights on how feeling accepted as belonging to a place and being considered as a true citizen may have consequences on people decision to use specific public places or allow others to use the same place. Understanding such processes is interconnected to another essential field of work, namely the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (Dixon et al., 2008; Mckeown et al., 2016), which has provided the theoretical and methodological basis to directly study groups' behaviour in the public places of the neighbourhood, and the respective potential patterns of micro segregation.

Another aim of the thesis focused on understanding how residents give meaning to the ongoing social and cultural changes in a neighbourhood 'officially' presented under two specific representations in the public sphere, as Mouraria (e.g., Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). Such social constructions about the neighbourhood entails the production of various meaning systems – social representations –, which can be accessed by looking at people's discourses (Howarth, 2002). Hence, this thesis was also theoretically guided by the Theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1976), which has served as the theoretical basis of several studies

in Social Psychology focused on understanding people's adjustment to social and cultural change (e.g., Castro & Batel, 2008; Castro et al., 2018; Sammut et al., 2015). Studying social representations implies examining how simultaneous social representations about the ongoing transformations of the neighbourhood may cause tension and conflict between representations (Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernández, 2015) and how residents locate themselves within the community, identifying or not with it (Howarth et al., 2015).

Together with the abovementioned theoretical premises, this thesis has also relied on migration studies focused on immigrants' adaptation to new places of residence (Ehrkamp, 2005; Main & Sandoval, 2015), in order to further frame immigrants responses to the transformations of the neighbourhood. Finally, but not least, the thesis has drew on the literature on urban regeneration processes (Malheiros et al., 2012; Pissourios, 2014), such as gentrification (Lees, 2008; Davison et al., 2012; Freeman et al., 2016), in order to further understand the context of study, and the potential social and psychological challenges these processes may present to residents.

By adopting a multi-method approach – quantitative and qualitative – the present thesis has extended the literature on these fields, addressing the empirical, theoretical and methodological lacunae on Social and Environmental Psychology regarding the underlying social psychological explanations involved in how people use public places and relate with each other in place within a context of an urban regenerated community. Three studies were developed – Study 1) Questionnaire; Study 2) Observation; and Study 3) Interviews – accordingly to the three aims proposed, each bringing about specific contributions. Importantly, the thesis has also offered the first systematic literature review on the micro-ecology of intergroup segregation.

The chapter follows with an overview on the entire thesis, systematizing the chapters, providing a summary of the main findings of the three studies, and reflecting on their empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions to Social and Environmental Psychology.

2. Summary and main findings: how the research process was conducted

Chapter I has reviewed the main processes and consequences of urban regeneration interventions in inner-city neighbourhoods, particularly in southern European cities, in order to contextualize the social and psychological challenges these interventions may pose to residents. For instance, residents may feel the physical and cultural features of the neighbourhood no longer match their affective perceptions and functional needs (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015).

The literature shows how urban regeneration interventions have been adopting different urban policy approaches, such as top-down and bottom-up/mixed (Pissourios, 2014), how these may impact differently the neighbourhoods and also how the process of gentrification may emerge and develop differently (Savage & Warde, 1993; Lees, 2008; Freeman et al., 2016). Bottom-up strategies tend to foster higher levels of community identification than top-down interventions (Heath et al., 2017). Nevertheless, even bottom-up/mixed interventions may not be successful in recognizing and negotiating multiple identities (Davies, 2007; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). The chapter has also enabled a better understanding of the context of the object of study on which this thesis has focused, a neighbourhood undergoing a mixed intervention, and how this kind of intervention is connected to new people-place relations and uses of place.

Chapter II has reviewed relevant literature and research on Social and Environmental Psychology on people-place bonds. The literature review has focused on two main themes: (1) theoretical perspectives on *place identity*; and (2) research on place identity within the context of changing urban environments, connecting it to *cultural continuity* and *place knowledge*. First, given the centrality of place identity in the thesis, this literature review has clearly evidenced how in order to answer the aims of the thesis, place identity should be conceptualized in an integrative, i.e., as comprising the cognitions and feelings guiding residents' perceptions about a place (e.g., Hernández et al., 2007; Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010), its emotional dimension, i.e. place attachment (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010), and its collective nature, resulting from a meaning-making and relational process, through social interactions in place, (e.g., Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Di Masso et al., 2013). Second, it has revealed two relevant lacunae on Social and Environmental Psychology: (1) the literature on the relationship between place identity and cultural continuity has not fallen on studying it at the collective level, but rather on the individual one (e.g., Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010); and (2) the scarce literature on the role of place knowledge on people relations to urban places.

In sum, Chapter II has highlighted the importance of studying such psychosocial processes, particularly within sociocultural diversified urban contexts, such as regenerated neighbourhoods, to understand their association to residents' uses of public place, and to comprehend how these processes work for long-time and new residents. In order to respond to such demand and to address the lacunae identified in the literature, it has become clear the need to adopt a mixed methodology. Thus, first it was developed a quantitative study – Study 1 – directly analyzing the relationship between *place identification* and specific psychosocial processes (*cultural continuity*, *place knowledge* and *representation of intergroup interactions*), and their predictive role on *public place sociability*, for the three groups of residents of Mouraria

(Chapter VI). Then, it was developed a qualitative study – Study 3 – in order to understand such processes by examining residents’ processes of meaning making about the neighbourhood and its uses, through their discourses (Chapter VIII).

Chapter III has focused on reviewing the literature about the uses of public place and their connection to the development of located citizenship (Di Masso, 2015) and to a social and cultural diversified public conviviality (Dixon et al., 2008; Buchecker, 2009), since people’s constructions of place and identities may impact their interactions with others in place and their spatial behaviour (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006), and given the centrality of people’s uses of public place on this thesis. In addition, it has offered a systematic literature review on the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (Dixon et al., 2008) focused on the empirical work developed from 2001 to 2017, which hitherto had not been developed in Social Psychology, and has also further structured Study 2 (Chapter VII).

The chapter drew attention to a central topic to examine in this thesis, specifically to explore how long-time residents and newcomers may retreat themselves from the public life of their neighbourhood, if this offers no conditions for them to feel accepted and as belonging to it, due to its transformations. Understanding such residents’ behaviour in place implies looking at the routines and encounters of daily life, through the analysis of the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon, 2005). Importantly, research on this field has not yet focused on multicultural and regenerated urban communities, a gap this thesis has addressed through Study 2 (Chapter VII), by directly observing groups’ socio-spatial behaviour in four public places of Mouraria. Importantly, the systematic literature review revealed how there has been a growing interest among authors in adopting a mixed method approach in order to understand the social psychological processes – negative attitudes and stereotypes (e.g., Durrheim & Dixon, 2005); ingroup identification and perceived threat (e.g., Van Praag et al., 2015); and feelings of anxiety, fear and insecurity (e.g., Keizan & Duncan, 2010) – that may underlie observed behavioural patterns of segregation. One prominent method to understand such processes regards interviews, further examining people’s interpretations and social representations of place, and their place-based identities’ construction, through discursive analysis. Indeed, the discursive constructions of a place are intertwined with material and social practices in place (Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Di Masso & Dixon, 2015; Spitz, 2015). This means looking at memories, personal stories, and social representations of place and the others (Moscovici, 1976; Castro, 2012; 2015; Sammut et al., 2015) of particular social groups connected to place, as Study 3 has shown (Chapter VIII).

Given the context of study of Mouraria, a social and culturally diversified context undergoing major transformations, it has become clear the adequacy of drawing on the paradigm of social representations to understand how such transformations are received by the community, and under which discursive strategies. Understanding this entails reviewing the literature regarding the Theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1976; 1988), on which Chapter IV has focused. It allows a better understanding of which and how different representational profiles may arise within the same changing environment, specially one presenting specific 'official' representations in the public sphere (e.g., Bettencourt & Castro, 2015; Tulumello, 2015; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017), as Mouraria.

Chapter IV has brought about six central points, namely: (1) the concept of social representations (Moscovici, 1976) has served as the theoretical basis of several studies in Social Psychology focused on understanding people's adjustment to social and cultural change (e.g., Jodelet, 1989; Howarth, 2006; Castro & Batel, 2008; Sammut et al., 2015); (2) a multiplicity of representations may arise in different individuals and social groups (Jodelet, 1989), and within the same place (Howarth, 2002; Sibley & Liu, 2013); (3) the production of meaning only occurs within a specific interactional and cultural context (Castro, 2015), implying social representations to be produced and transformed through communication and time (Sammut et al., 2012); (4) people adopt new discursive strategies to make sense of the transformations and the diversity of realities they face in their community (Howarth, 2002), i.e. make the unfamiliar familiar (e.g., Jovchelovitch, 2001; Castro, 2002; Sammut et al., 2015), through the psychological processes of *anchoring* and *objectification* (Moscovici, 1976; 1984; 1988); (5) sociocultural changes may be received in different manners by individuals and groups, accepting, rejecting (Batel et al., 2013), or being ambivalent (Mouro & Castro, 2012) towards it; and (6) there is no research on Social Psychology that specifically links the Theory of Social Representations to processes of acceptance, resistance or ambivalence regarding the transformations stemming from urban regeneration programs.

Some concluding remarks concerning Chapter IV are noteworthy. The paradigm of social representations helps to examine central questions of the thesis, namely, how simultaneous social representations about the neighbourhood transformations may cause tension and conflict between representations (Friling, 2012; Jovchelovitch & Priego-Hernández, 2015) of a multicultural and traditional neighbourhood and how residents locate themselves within the community, identifying or not with it (Wagner et al., 1999; Howarth, 2002; Howarth et al., 2015). Last, but not least, the chapter has highlighted an important lacuna in the literature – the scarce body of work focused on understanding how people construct social representations

about a changing urban place. The thesis has addressed such lacuna, by analyzing residents' discourses about the neighbourhood, their place relations and the others, through Study 3 (Chapter VIII).

Chapter V has focused on presenting the context of study, the neighbourhood of Mouraria. It provided an overview on the history and sociodemographic characterization of the neighbourhood, together with a brief description of the program of urban regeneration and community development of Mouraria (PDCM – QREN Mouraria), implemented in 2010. Recent studies evidence the existence of two 'official' social representations about Mouraria: (1) a *historical and traditional neighbourhood*; and (2) a well succeed *multicultural and cosmopolitan neighbourhood* (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015; Tulumello, 2015). In addition, research also indicates the three main groups of residents today living in the neighbourhood – long-time residents, new gentrifiers and immigrants – seem to live apart, rarely interacting (Menezes, 2012; Malheiros et al., 2012; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). These two evidences brought about by previous research on the neighbourhood have comprised the central starting point of the investigation work of the thesis, turning Mouraria as the ideal context to respond to its main aims and to study the respective psychosocial phenomena.

After providing the theoretical framework of the thesis and presenting the context of study, this work has followed with its empirical section (Chapters VI, VII, and VIII). Study 1 in Chapter VI aimed at answer to the *first general aim* of the thesis: *to analyse what psychosocial processes underlie residents' reported use of the public places of the neighbourhood to socialize with others, i.e. public place sociability*. It centered the research on the relational and collective level, going beyond previous studies on place relations focused solely on the individual level (e.g., Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010). For that, two sub-studies – Study A and Study B – were developed. A sample (N=277) including the three main types of residents of Mouraria – long-time residents, new gentrifiers, and immigrants – completed a questionnaire in the neighbourhood (see Appendix B).

As Chapter II highlighted, the literature shows that feeling identified with the neighbourhood is a central bond to place for the three groups of residents (Di Masso, 2015; Main & Sandoval, 2015). It also suggests there are distinct associations of place identification with other factors for different groups of residents (e.g., Ehrkamp, 2005; Blanco et al., 2011). Drawing on this, **Study A** has explored the predictive role of the *perceived cultural continuity* (Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014) of the place, *place identification* (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010), and *place knowledge* (Benages-Albert et al., 2015) on *public place sociability* for long-time residents (N=137) and new gentrifiers (N=64).

First, findings have shown the pattern of people-place relations within the neighbourhood differs between the two types of residents. Although both identified with the neighbourhood, know its history, and perceive some level of continuity of the neighbourhood's culture and traditions, long-time residents show stronger place bonds and a higher perception of cultural continuity than new gentrifiers. In addition, both report using the public places to socialize, but once again long-time residents report doing it more frequently. These differences corroborate previous literature showing that living for a longer time in a neighbourhood leads to stronger people-place bonds (e.g., Lewicka, 2008; 2011). Nevertheless, new gentrifiers reported a clear connection with the neighbourhood. Their acquaintance with the neighbourhood might have led them to perceive that it reflected the type of person they were and that its public life expressed values and aspirations they shared.

Second, findings have evidenced that perceiving the neighbourhood as retaining cultural continuity with the past predicts public place sociability, but this relationship is mediated by place identification and place knowledge. Hence, although perceiving continuity may help *per se* to maintain old habits and encourage residents to perceive change as less threatening (Obradović & Howarth, 2018), residents may also actively create and sustain bonds to place through the appropriation and use of places and of their shared stories and memories, developing place identification and knowledge (Benages-Albert et al., 2015). Study A suggests that collective continuity matters for the maintenance of previous traditional ways of socializing in changed places, but if people-place bonds are assured, this matters more. Importantly, the type of resident did not moderate these relationships. This means the same predictive pattern was valid for both long-time residents and new gentrifiers, showing the same psychosocial processes are similarly important for the two groups in explaining the decision to use the public places of the neighbourhood to socialize, suggesting these are strong processes.

Study B has analysed the predictive role of *representation of intergroup interaction* and *place identification* (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010) for long-time residents (N=137) and immigrants (N=76). Research suggests finding familiarity in the neighbourhood is important for both long-time residents (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015) and immigrants (Main & Sandoval, 2015), which may be expressed by viewing intergroup relationships occurring in place. Drawing on this, it was important to ask if representing the public places as places where intergroup relationships happen fosters both groups' willingness to use these to socialize.

First, findings have shown both long-time residents and immigrants view different groups interacting at an intergroup level in the public places of the neighbourhood – *representation of intergroup interaction*. This finding contradicts what was initially expected, that both would

tend to represent different groups as interacting at an intragroup level in place. Specifically, previous research highlights: (a) long-time residents tend to view immigrants as interacting mostly among them (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015); and (b) immigrants tend to interact mostly at an intragroup level, when arriving to a new neighbourhood (e.g., Kalan & Recoquillon, 2014).

Study B seems to suggest the ‘official’ social representation of Mouraria as a multicultural and cosmopolitan neighbourhood (e.g., Tulumello, 2015) is being reproduced by both groups, viewing this representation of a sociocultural diversified neighbourhood translated in place, through people’s intergroup interaction. Additionally, both groups reveal feeling identified with the neighbourhood, although long-time residents feel it to a greater extent. Similarly to Study A, this result corroborates previous literature evidencing long-term residents tend to develop stronger people-place bonds (e.g., Lewicka, 2008; 2011). On the other hand, it also corroborates previous research evidencing that remaking significant past places, and expressing in place elements of their culture of origin, as it happens in the case of Mouraria (e.g., Oliveira & Padilla, 2017), enables immigrants to continue to feel identified with the neighbourhood (Main & Sandoval, 2015). Regarding the use of the public places to socialize, both report doing it, but long-time residents do it more.

Second, this study has evidenced that representing groups as interacting at an intergroup level and feeling identified with the neighbourhood predict residents’ willingness to use the public place to socialize. This occurs for long-time residents and immigrants, as the type of resident did not moderate these relationships, indicating that both processes seem to be strong. Once again feeling connected with the neighbourhood has shown to be important for all residents, independently of the group they belong to. Overall, findings suggest that viewing public places of the neighbourhood as social and culturally diversified, through people’s intergroup interaction, fosters stronger people-place bonds. In the case of long-time residents, viewing different groups interacting in place means that the traditionally known public place sociability of Mouraria remains. Being able to find this important element in the neighbourhood seems to maintain long-time residents identified with the neighbourhood. For immigrants, viewing that public places provide a real opportunity for an intergroup interaction, where different cultural elements are reproduced and mixed in place, enables them to feel more welcomed and identified with their current neighbourhood. Ultimately, the representation of intergroup interaction matters for the maintenance of public place sociability, for both long-time residents and immigrants, but feeling identified with the neighbourhood seems to be even more important.

Drawing on a previous interviews' study (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015) indicating that having family or acquaintances in the neighbourhood is one of the reasons for immigrants' choice of Mouraria as their place of residence, it was also hypothesized this to have a role on their willingness to use public places to socialize, as it enables them to find familiar elements in public places (Main & Sandoval, 2015). Results have confirmed this to be their reason for choosing Mouraria, also demonstrating how this is positively related to place identification, in line with the literature (e.g., Main & Sandoval, 2015). However, the same relationship was not found regarding public place sociability, revealing that finding familiar elements in the public places of the neighbourhood decreases immigrants' willingness to socialize with others in place, contrary to what was expected. Nevertheless, this relationship is totally mediated by immigrants' identification with the neighbourhood, showing again the prevalence of place identification on the maintenance of the public place sociability in the neighbourhood.

In sum, Chapter VI evidenced the centrality of place identification, suggesting that urban places can accommodate some transformation without losing their vibrant social life if protective mechanisms are assured for maintaining place identification. Three points should be retained: (1) the relevance of place knowledge, which when guaranteed, together with place identification, make the role of perceived continuity less central for long-time residents and new gentrifiers; (2) the effect of place identification on the predictive role of the representation of intergroup interaction in place for long-time residents and immigrants; and (3) place identification overlaps the effect of choosing the neighbourhood as place of residence due to having family or acquaintances already living there for immigrants.

Following the findings of Study 1, one logic and essential question emerged for this thesis, namely, to what extent the public place sociability reported by the three groups of residents – long-time, new gentrifiers, and immigrants – actually materializes in public places and entails intergroup interactions. To answer this and the *second general aim* of the thesis, the empirical work has followed with Study 2 in Chapter VII. This study aimed at *understanding how different individuals and groups use the public places of the neighbourhood of Mouraria and interact among them in place through the analysis of people's behaviour directly observed*. For that, it has followed the theoretical and methodological proposals of the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (Dixon et al., 2008), presented in Chapter III. Two inner – *Largo da Severa* and *Largo dos Trigueiros* – and two transition public places – *Largo de São Cristóvão* and *Rua do Benfornoso* – were observed, each throughout three days of the week and on Saturday. This study revealed three main findings, as explained next.

First, the observations shown that all groups use the four public places, yet to different extents. Each one of these public places can be associated to specific groups. This means, there is a predominance, by order, of: (a) long-time residents and Asian immigrants (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) in inner place 1 - *Largo da Severa*; (b) long-time residents and new gentrifiers in inner place 2 - *Largo dos Trigueiros*; (c) new gentrifiers and long-time residents in transition place 1 - *Largo de São Cristóvão*; and (d) Asian immigrants (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) in transition place 2 - *Rua do Benfornoso*. Overall, the initial expectations of the study were partially met. Long-time residents were more present in the inner places, and new gentrifiers and immigrants in the transition places. Nevertheless, it should be noted the clear presence of immigrants in the inner place of *Largo da Severa*.

Second, the four public places observed tend to be mainly used as throughfare places by all groups, especially the inner place of *Largo dos Trigueiros* and the transition place of *Largo de São Cristóvão*. However, the observations revealed a remarkable finding. The inner place of *Largo da Severa* and the transition place of *Rua do Benfornoso* are also used by residents to socialize with others, but not all. Specifically, the first is characterized by long-time residents standing or sitting on a bench talking with each other, and the second by Asian immigrants (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) standing on the street talking and socializing. Regarding how these interactions are expressed, it is explicit these occur solely at an intragroup level. Only one situation of an intergroup interaction – in inner place 1 *Largo da Severa* – was registered over the four days of observation.

Third, it was clear the strong presence of tourists in the inner place of *Largo dos Trigueiros* and the transition place of *Largo de São Cristóvão*, overcoming the number of residents in some periods of observation. It seems the most touristic places are also those where residents socialize or just stay alone to a lesser extent, and also those which new gentrifiers use more as passing places. Hence, it seems the differences found on the type of use or activity in place stem more from the degree to which public places are more or less touristic, than from being inner or transition places.

In sum, taking together these findings suggest: (1) the local spatial patterns observed are reproducing informal segregated public places, mainly expressed when comparing the four places and to a lesser extent within each place, i.e. each is unequivocally associated to specific groups; (2) all groups were present in the four public places, but the predominance of particular groups in each place suggests forms of avoidance (Alexander & Tredoux, 2010), and ultimately forms of micro-ecological segregation (Dixon et al., 2008); (3) the long-time residents and the Asian immigrants (Nepal, India, Pakistan, Bangladesh) tend to adopt more the traditional

lifestyle of the neighbourhood of socializing with others in place, than the new gentrifiers; and (4) the interactions in place observed occur at an ingroup level, suggesting informal forms of local segregation. Hence, the reported public place sociability evidenced in Chapter VI, by Study 1, is expressed mainly by long-time residents and immigrants, only at an intragroup level.

The findings of Study 2 emphasized how the ‘official’ social representation of the neighbourhood as multicultural and cosmopolitan (Tulumello, 2015; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017) has a rather complex and ambivalent manifestation in the concrete places of its everyday life, with informal boundaries emerging in place. However, it was not yet clear which psychosocial processes were involved in the construction and maintenance of such boundaries. Therefore, the empirical work had to follow by looking at residents’ discourses about the neighbourhood, their place relations, and their relationships with the others. For that, Chapter VIII presented Study 3, the last study of the thesis. Study 3 aimed at *understanding what and how both ‘official’ representations about Mouraria – a traditional inner-city neighbourhood, and a multicultural and cosmopolitan neighbourhood – residents use to justify their positions regarding the Others, the Self, the place and its uses and transformations neighbourhood (e.g., influxes of new residents, new uses of public place), exploring what are the functions of such ‘official’ representations the inherent arguments, and the discursive strategies used.*

The 40 interviews were analysed through a two-step method, using: (1) thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) and (2) pragmatic discourse analysis (Batel & Castro, 2018).

The thematic analysis identified five themes from the residents’ discourses, namely: (1) *Relations with immigrant residents: they do not get along with us*; (2) *(Dis)Continuity of traditional features of the neighbourhood*; (3) *Attachment to the neighbourhood*; (4) *Relation with long-time residents: we get along with them*; and (5) *On both sides of gentrification*. The first theme emerged in all three groups of residents’ discourses. The second and third themes emerged in both long-time residents and new gentrifiers’ discourses. The fourth theme was emphasized by new gentrifiers and immigrants. Finally, the fifth theme was identified solely for new gentrifiers.

Regarding the pragmatic discourse analysis, the data respective of each theme was analysed, examining the ‘official’ social representations about Mouraria highlighted to justify their positions and the discursive strategies used to justify ambivalent positions, by each group of residents.

The analysis indicated that long-time residents and new gentrifiers share the same social representation about the immigrants, unveiling ambivalence, through a discursive format “*Yes, but...*”. Hence, the discourse works by having two parts – one expressing support for the

presence of immigrants in the neighbourhood, the other blaming them for not socializing in place with other groups. In general, both groups exhibit a predominant use of a representation of a *traditional neighbourhood* to justify their positions, but in divergent ways.

With respect to new gentrifiers and immigrants, they tend to highlight the representation of a *traditional neighbourhood* in order to justify their permanence and belongingness to the neighbourhood, seeking for the acceptance of long-time residents. The representation of a *multicultural neighbourhood* is used by the three groups of residents to blame the other – groups of immigrants – for the little intergroup interaction in place. Nevertheless, this study has shown little intragroup variability and more intergroup variability (Sibley & Liu, 2013).

Despite the existence of converging social representations between groups, the study has evidenced the construction of specific and relatively stable representational profiles (Jovchelovitch, 2001; Howarth, 2002; Sibley & Liu, 2013), accordingly to each of the three groups of residents and to different positions concerning the neighbourhood and its transformations. Specifically: (1) long-time residents are more associated to a position of *contestation*; (2) new gentrifiers depict a position of *ambivalence*; and (3) immigrants exhibit a general position of *acceptance*. The central points to retain are provided next.

Long-time residents tend to emphasize how the transformations of the neighbourhood can threaten neighbourhood's identity, reveling a nostalgic discourse based on a desire to return to a past time. However, residents affirm remaining attached to Mouraria. New gentrifiers represent themselves as belonging to the neighbourhood, embracing its familiar environment and praising its multiculturalism, as well as part of the beneficial outcomes of the gentrification process, depicting an *ambivalent* position (discursive format “*No, but...*”) of this. However, there are indications of not spending their everyday life in the public places of the neighbourhood. Immigrants' discourses are mainly focused on the acceptance on the part of the long-time residents, seeking for their continuity in the neighbourhood.

These findings suggest the two ‘official’ social representations of Mouraria – a *traditional neighbourhood* and a *multicultural neighbourhood* – seem to be battling for dominance. The multiplicity of representations about Mouraria and its transformations shown in this study evidenced how each group tends to be allocated to one profile, although not meaning that there could not be found elements of the group in another profile (Sibley & Liu, 2013). Moreover, the interviews shown how the “battle of ideas” (Moscovici & Marková, 2000) among different meaning systems (Castro, 2012; 2015) emerges within the same social and culturally changing community (Howarth, 2002), under a specific mixed/bottom-up regeneration program. Importantly, the interviews have revealed little intergroup interaction in Mouraria, as suggested

in previous studies (Malheiros et al., 2012; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015), and consonant to Study 2's findings.

Drawing on the findings of the three studies developed and presented, this chapter follows with a general interpretation of their meaning all together.

3. Connecting all findings to a further understanding of people-place relations in regenerated neighbourhoods

The empirical work developed in this thesis, through the three studies presented, has sought to understand how the macro-level of urban policies is linked to the micro-level context of everyday life in the public places of a regenerated inner-city neighbourhood, following a mixed/bottom-up urban regeneration policy strategy. For that, each study has focused on a central topic and method, namely: Study 1) on the reported public place sociability – questionnaire; Study 2) the observed behavioural patterns in public place – observation; and Study 3) the social representations about the neighbourhood, others and its uses – interviews. This multi-method approach has provided a complete and holistic understanding of the impact of urban regeneration interventions on the everyday life of neighbourhoods and its residents and the psychosocial phenomenon involved, particularly within the context of a mixed/bottom-up urban regeneration program, in the light of Social and Environmental Psychology.

Overall, taken together these studies reveal the centrality of *place identification* for the maintenance of a lively and shared neighbourhood. Even if for different reasons for each group of residents, all three groups demonstrate being more prone to use the public places, and to relate with others if they are able to feel connected to the neighbourhood, and to find familiarity in its public places.

This thesis has begun by suggesting through Study 1, that urban regeneration programs following a mixed/bottom-up strategy does not necessarily lead to a reduction in public place sociability, a traditional feature of inner-city neighbourhoods, so characteristic of southern European cities. On one hand, neighbourhoods may still be simultaneously changed and retain past social characteristics, being perceived as retaining cultural continuity with the past, if people continue to feel identified to them, and feel that they still know them, particularly to long-time residents and new gentrifiers. On the other hand, when the public places of the neighbourhood are viewed accordingly to the 'official' social representation of the neighbourhood as a multicultural place, where social diversity seems to be promoted, neighbourhoods may be changed if people remain identified to them, particularly to long-time

residents and immigrants. However, this public sociability does not necessarily and always translate into intergroup interactions, as shown by Study 2.

In fact, the observations undertaken in Study 2 have unequivocally demonstrated the emergence of patterns of micro-ecological segregation (Dixon et al., 2008) along the four places observed. These are indicative of forms of avoidance among residents, being more prominent in the case of *Rua do Benfornoso*, characterized by the strong presence of immigrants, and little presence of long-time residents and new gentrifiers. This is an interesting finding regarding the last group, about which previous research evidence they appreciate and seek for the multicultural environment (Malheiros et al., 2012; Davison et al., 2012). However, *Rua do Benfornoso* appears in this study as the less used by new gentrifiers. Moreover, new gentrifiers seem to be the group less involved in the public everyday life of the neighbourhood, using its public places mostly to pass to other areas. This is in accordance to the literature indicating the tendency of this group to cherish the traditional lifestyle of the neighbourhood, without genuinely participating in it (Malheiros et al., 2012). With respect to long-time residents and immigrants, even though they use the public places to socialize with others, they do it at an intragroup level.

Even though all groups of residents are able to freely access, share and interact within different places as citizens (Hopkins & Dixon, 2006; Di Masso, 2015), it is evident how four public places, particularly two inner places and two transition places, of Mouraria are demarcated by who belongs where with whom, forming places marked by the predominant use of particular groups in detriment of others. Despite its small dimension (Mendes, 2012; Tulumello, 2015), the neighbourhood allows residents to avoid specific places and to interact with other groups, i.e. does not inhibit the emergence of patterns of intergroup segregation. This supports research on the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (Dixon et al., 2008) showing that even in small scale settings, groups' type of interaction can reveal segregationist behaviours (e.g., Lewis, 2012; McKeown et al., 2016).

Going further with Study 3, through the analysis of the interviews conducted in Mouraria, the residents' discourses about the neighbourhood and its transformations seem to meet the results of Study 2. For instance, long-time residents seem to be more focused on issues of continuity and the perceived threat of the neighbourhood identity, claiming there are fewer people living in the neighbourhood, and that the influx of new residents – immigrants and new gentrifiers – may threaten traditional features. These representations of the others and the transformations of the neighbourhood as potential threats to place identity, may explain long-

time residents' avoidance of particular public places like *Rua do Benfornoso*, or not using others to socialize, due to its marked tourism like *Largo dos Trigueiros*, as Study 2 as shown.

On the part of new gentrifiers, in general they seem to be looking for acceptance from long-time residents, focusing on issues of belongingness to place. They assume being part of the process of gentrification, without contributing to its negative outcomes (e.g., displacement), having a positive role on preserving the identity of the neighbourhood. However, they do not seem to use very frequently its public places, only praising an image of a traditional neighbourhood. Additionally, they represent the immigrants the ones to blame for the lack of intergroup interaction in the neighbourhood. It seems their preference for a neighbourhood simultaneously traditional and multicultural does not translate into a real use of the public places of the neighbourhood in everyday life, supporting Study 2's findings.

Regarding the immigrants, they tend to represent different groups of immigrants as not getting along among them, suggesting the multiculturalism of the neighbourhood does not express itself in place between different communities of immigrants. This finding is consonant with the patterns of intragroup interaction observed in Study 2, among different groups of residents and immigrants from different communities.

Taken together, the three studies presented in this thesis suggest that the mixed/bottom-up regeneration intervention implemented in Mouraria has shown to be a process of both physical and sociocultural change. Findings suggest this policy strategy does not necessarily implies a retreat of residents from the public places of the neighbourhood. Indeed, it was evident that the main groups of residents – traditional, new gentrifiers, and immigrants – continue to use the neighbourhood (Study 1). This may be connected to the slow-growing of the process of gentrification, allowing a more integrated development of the neighbourhood, and to conciliate both old and new lifestyles (Davison et al., 2012; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017). Nevertheless, the studies have also evidenced the existence of local patterns of intergroup segregation, being specific groups comprised to specific public places (Study 2). Maybe, the gentrification process has begun to be more accelerated, alongside with the fast-growing tourism (Moya, 2019), already moving to a more advanced stage, bringing the inherent consequences, as the perceived threat to the neighbourhood identity, and the lack of familiarity found in public places (Davison et al., 2012), and cultural elements to which to identify with (Main & Sandoval, 2015). Indeed, the most touristic public places observed were the least used by residents to socialize or just stay alone. This suggests when the socio-spatial transformations of public places are at a more advanced stage, it is more likely these places to become more mischaracterized (Davidson,

2008; Davison et al., 2012), fostering a retreat from them on the part of the residents (Buchecker, 2009).

In addition, it seems different representations of the neighbourhood are clashing with each other, the neighbourhood as a 'new' place and as 'reliving the past' (Czaplicka & Ruble, 2003), a "battle of ideas" (Moscovici & Marková, 2000; Study 3). The studies have evidenced the importance of accommodating both, by finding ways to assure the permanence of all residents, old and new, and to prevent patterns of local spatial segregation. One such important way of preventing the abandonment of the public places and local patterns of segregation is to assure the transformations of the neighbourhood do not erase the traditional identity and memories of older residents, and at the same time accommodate the new residents.

It is time now to explore the main empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions the three studies have brought about to the literature, as presented in the following section.

4. Empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions for Social and Environmental Psychology

Drawing on the main findings abovementioned and the theoretical framework that has guided this thesis, this work has offered an integrative and innovative approach by combining the two main research paths in Social and Environmental Psychology on people-place relations studies. Specifically, bringing together the analysis of meaning making in place relations (e.g., Castro, 2012; 2015; Benages-Albert et al., 2015) with the examination of place use directly observed (e.g., Dixon et al., 2008; Mckeown et al., 2016). It has also extended this to the community level, particularly, to multicultural and regenerated urban communities, and to the understanding of the consequences of regeneration urban policies, specifically those following a mixed approach, from a psychosocial perspective. Moreover, although there is an extensive literature on the urban planning (e.g., Freeman et al., 2016), geographical (e.g., Tulumello, 2015) and sociological (e.g., Lees, 2008) dimensions of urban regeneration, the literature in Social and Environmental Psychology is scarce (e.g., Heath et al., 2017), and particularly there are no studies about Mouraria from a psychosocial perspective.

Before looking at each study's contributions, one remarkable theoretical contribution this thesis has offered regards the systematic literature review on the Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (Chapter III). Hitherto, this is the first systematic literature review on the topic in Social Psychology. It has presented a detailed review on the empirical work on micro-ecological processes of intergroup segregation from 2001 to 2017, identifying: (a) the main contexts studied; (b) different mixed methods used; and (c) the main psychosocial processes underlying

the patterns of micro-ecological segregation (negative attitudes and stereotypes, ingroup identification and perceived threat, and feelings of anxiety, fear and insecurity). Hence, it represents a helpful tool for researchers aiming at studying people's behaviour at local level, by adopting observational methods. It has also draw attention on the benefits of such methods to study people's behaviour and interactions between groups, instead of traditional methodological tools in Social Psychology, such as laboratory experiments and questionnaire surveys. Thus, it has helped to centre the debate in Social Psychology on a historically important but increasingly neglected imperative (see Doliński, 2018), i.e. the study of real behaviour, through its observation in naturalistic settings.

The chapter will now follow with the main empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions of each study for the literature in Social and Environmental Psychology.

Regarding **Study 1**, first it should be highlighted how this study has extended the analysis of the consequences of urban regeneration to the relational level, exploring associated place-related psychosocial processes. It has identified strong psychosocial processes predicting residents' willingness to use public places to socialize with others, revealing *place identification* as the most important predictor.

As mentioned in Chapter II, environmental psychological research has not explored whether place identification can predict self-reported public place behaviour. Moreover, the literature shows, the relationship between place identification and sense of continuity has remained focused on the individual level, and has not yet explored whether a sense of continuity at a *collective* level – i.e. *perceived cultural continuity* (Sani et al., 2007; 2008; Smeekes & Verkuyten, 2014) – helps predict *place identification*. Chapter II has also evidenced how there is a scarce literature on the role of *place knowledge* on people relations to urban places, even though some research show its link to place identity (Lewicka, 2008), and how it can be constructed through (individual) everyday experiences and familiarity (Droseltis & Vignoles, 2010). This study has been able to address these empirical lacunae. First, it evidenced that a sense of collective continuity fosters place identification, and this in turn mediates the relationship between continuity and reports of behaviour in place (e.g., use of public places for socializing). Hence, it suggests that collective continuity matters for the maintenance of previous traditional ways of socializing in changed places, but if people-place bonds are assured, this matters more. Second, this study emphasized the role of place knowledge in residents' use of public places to socialize, as a factor independent of place identity. It also demonstrated the association between the perception of collective continuity and the knowledge of the history and residents of a neighbourhood, helping predict sociability in its public places.

In sum, it highlights how familiarity with place developed by connecting with it through action and *relation* (Benages-Albert et al., 2015) leads to increasing appropriation and, by implication, may help to maintain the vibrant sociability of public places where this was already a tradition.

The specific case of new gentrifiers should be point out, as their connection with their neighbourhood and its reasons are a less studied issue in the literature. Their identification with the neighbourhood corroborates previous interview studies suggesting that these residents were attracted to the traditional lifestyle of the neighbourhood (Blanco et al., 2011; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017).

Importantly, this study has contributed to an understanding of the relationship between how residents construct their social representations about their neighbourhood and the development of a sense of identification with it. For long-time residents, viewing different groups interacting in place means that the traditionally known public place sociability of Mouraria remains, contributing to their identification with the neighbourhood. For immigrants, viewing that public places provide a real opportunity for an intergroup interaction, where different cultural elements are reproduced and mixed in place, enables them to feel more welcomed and identified with their current neighbourhood. Therefore, this study has shed some light on the role of the representation of intergroup interaction for the maintenance of public place sociability, for both long-time residents and immigrants.

The study has also extended previous analyses (Heath et al., 2017) that compared the effects of the two types of regeneration models, but did not compare different types of residents that regeneration brings.

Overall, this study evidenced how processes of place identification are not self-contained, and may be develop among new residents as a result of some level of acquaintance with the area – due to hear about, or to visit – helping to create place bonds. This is relevant for the literature on place identification and its relation with time of residence (e.g., Lewicka, 2008). People may already establish bond to a new place, without necessarily living in the neighbourhood.

Study 2 has contributed to address a relevant lacuna on the field of Micro-ecology of Intergroup Segregation (Dixon et al., 2008), i.e. the absence of studies on multicultural and regenerated urban communities, as highlighted in Chapter III. It has also provided a solid starting point for future studies aiming at analysing people's socio-spatial behavioural patterns in changing neighbourhoods, offering an adequate methodology. It has also shown that even in small scale settings, groups' type of interaction can reveal segregationist behaviours, supporting previous research (e.g., Lewis, 2012; McKeown et al., 2016). Importantly, this study has

reinforced the need to study the real behaviour, through its observation in naturalistic settings (e.g., Dixon et al., 2008; Mckeown et al., 2016), in order to get a further understanding of people's interactional choices in place. This thesis has shown how the reported uses of public places people indicate through a survey study, does not necessarily correspond to what actually happens in place, and is insufficient to access the type of interaction. Particularly, the reported public sociability evidenced in Study 1 does not actually manifest in the public places of the neighbourhood for the three groups of residents.

Finally, **Study 3** has provided an important contribution to the social psychological literature, specifically to the Theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1976; 1988). As Chapter IV indicated, so far research on transformed urban contexts following this theory is scarce (e.g., Hubbard, 1996). This thesis has helped address this lacuna, by offering a study on the processes of acceptance, resistance/contestation, or ambivalence regarding the transformations stemming from urban regeneration programs, particularly those with a mixed/bottom-up policy plan, under the interpretative lens of the Theory of Social Representations (Moscovici, 1976; 1988). Study 3 has also shown how the same changing place can be object of different discourses according to people's relations to place, and how this analysis can be achieved by examining people's representations of place's transformations. Additionally, it has evidenced how distinct representational profiles (Sibley & Liu, 2013) may arise among different social groups, which may, even so, share certain social representations.

This study has enlightened the literature on people-place relations, by showing how the social construction of such relations in urban changing contexts entails how people give to and reproduce meaning about the environment, through their discourses, i.e., by (re)producing social representations. For the particular case of Mouraria, it has indicated there is little intergroup interaction in place, supporting previous studies (Malheiros et al., 2012; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015). It seems residents are constantly negotiating their rapidly changing reality and sense of place. Moreover, it has shown how particular 'official' representations about a changing place are interpreted and appropriated by individuals may play an important role on their connection to that place and their adaptation to its transformations.

Methodologically, it has reinforced the reliability of studying people's social representations and their positions towards social change through the conjunction of thematic analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2012) with pragmatic discourse analysis (Batel & Castro, 2018). It enables to identify the content of people's discourses together with why and for what are these discourses being used for.

In conclusion, this thesis has provided an innovative and integrative form of studying the phenomena involved in regenerated inner-city neighbourhoods, from a psychosocial and environmental perspective, highlighting the importance of adopting a multi-method approach.

5. Limitations, remaining questions, and ideas for future research

This thesis has offered empirical, theoretical and methodological contributions, helping address relevant lacunae in the literature on Social and Environmental Psychology. However, it has also revealed some limitations worth noting. The first limitation for some of the studies, namely the survey studies, regards the fact that there was no other neighbourhood to which directly compare it to, specifically one undergoing a top-down regeneration process with imposed gentrification. As findings from this study suggest, the implementation of a bottom-up/mixed regeneration intervention in Mouraria, characterized by a slow growing gentrification and residential ethnicisation, might have favoured new residents – new gentrifiers and immigrants – connection and identification with the neighbourhood, and long-time residents to still feel attached to it. It would be important to extend this analysis, by studying how the same mechanisms work in neighbourhoods under a top-down regeneration intervention. In future studies, it would be relevant to directly compare different regeneration models *and* residents, assessing whether under top-down, forced conditions of gentrification and residential ethnicisation and “superdiversity” (Oliveira & Padilla, 2017), new gentrifiers and immigrants’ place identification is less clear, older residents’ identification is diminished, and all engage less in public place sociability, and/or whether there are moderations effects per type of resident, unlike what was found in Study 1.

The second limitation concerns the fact that Study 1 did not directly investigate the reasons why new gentrifiers chose to live in Mouraria. Although such reasons were mentioned in their interviews, in Study 3, supporting previous research (Blanco et al., 2011; Davison et al., 2012; Bettencourt & Castro, 2015) and emphasizing their willingness to live in a more familiar and traditional environment (Bettencourt & Castro, 2015), future quantitative research could examine whether their reasons for this choice were direct predictors of their place identification and knowledge, and social behaviour in place.

For the particular case of the immigrants, a third limitation emerges in the empirical work of the thesis. Specifically, it fails on grasping in more detail what elements and what kind of relationship with others the immigrants prioritize in the neighbourhood, and might predict a stronger sense of identification and uses of public place. It has only evidenced that viewing public places as social and culturally diversified, through people’s intergroup interaction,

fosters place identification (Study 1). Previous research suggests immigrants mainly relate to other residents through their commercial businesses (e.g., Kaplan & Recoquillon, 2014). Further studies could explore whether these kinds of relationships predict immigrants' bonds to place and uses of place, or if there are other priority type of relationships or elements in place praised by immigrants.

Another limitation regards the reliability of identifying different groups during the observations, in Study 2. Particularly, the methodology adopted presents some challenges, pointing out some uncertainty about certain individuals observed being from the group of belonging attributed. This was one of the reasons for naming each group as 'apparently' representing one specific social category (e.g., apparently new gentrifier; apparently Asian immigrant). Especially in the case of new gentrifiers, it was not always immediate their identification. However, the solid knowledge of the neighbourhood on the part of the researcher, acquired over the last seven years of continuous visits to its streets and squares, was a crucial asset for developing an identification of the different groups living in Mouraria, and supporting to a more reliable categorisation of the people observed. Many of the regular visits undertaken over these years were accompanied by members of leading local associations, who helped to get to know various residents. Moreover, the researcher was able to contact and meet residents from all groups through the interviews conducted in the neighbourhood also along these years. In sum, although the categorization of the residents observed in place may obviously include attributions of individuals to incorrect categories, the margins of error were bounded and contextualized with the researcher's extensive knowledge about the neighbourhood.

Study 2 was the first to map the distribution and uses in place of different 'categories' of residents and of the tourists. Perhaps, further research may refine the 'categories' analysed, and compare not only different groups of residents, but also different age groups. The transformations of Mouraria, and the inherent processes of gentrification and tourism, may challenge the identification of older residents with the neighbourhood (Davison et al., 2012), as Study 3 has also suggested. Further studies may explore if this manifests in a retreat of older residents from public places, or if these places are shared by distinct group ages, allowing an inclusive and integrated intergenerational public everyday life.

A fifth limitation is noteworthy, regarding the interviews conducted in Study 3. Specifically, this study would benefit from a higher number of interviews with the immigrants, in order to access to a more diversified sample and representative of the various communities living in the neighbourhood, reinforcing the findings. It would be interesting in future research to compare different groups of immigrants in one single study, exploring more in-depth their

social representations of place and their meaning-making processes related to their place relations, grasping in more detail other factors involved in their uses and relations.

To conclude, a final remark should be recognized. The neighbourhood of Mouraria is not the same as when this work began. Giving the continued and more accelerated changing processes of the neighbourhood, there are some transformations the neighbourhood has undergone which may not have been taken into account in the present thesis. Perhaps these would have had impacted the findings of the studies now. The gentrification and ethnicisation of the neighbourhood has tended to accelerate, impacting the neighbourhood at different levels, which were not impacted at the beginning (Moya, 2019). The fast-growing tourism, and the displacement of residents have become more central themes and concerns for the residents (Corte-Real & Monte, 2018). Future studies, should further analyse how these factors might impact peoples' uses, relations and representations of the neighbourhood, providing an examination of the long-term effects of a mixed/bottom-up regeneration intervention, after its early stages.

6. Practical contributions to urban regeneration public policies

This final section of the thesis intends to reflect on the practical contributions the theoretical and empirical work presented has brought to urban regeneration public policies, political decision-makers, and experts involved in urban interventions. Overall, the thesis aimed at clarifying the nature of residents' responses to the dynamics of urban regeneration today transforming so many neighbourhoods of Southern European cities.

The specific case of the regeneration intervention undertaken in Mouraria has followed the simultaneous involvement of experts and community with the Community Development Program of Mouraria (PDCM; Malheiros et al., 2012), distinguishing itself from other plans in other gentrified neighbourhoods of Lisbon (e.g., Bairro Alto, Cais Do Sodré). Some authors even consider Mouraria as a “deviant case” (Tulumello, 2015; p.9). However, there are also some challenges to consider.

The public places of inner-city neighbourhoods characterized by a strong place identity based on stories and memories that are still very important to and lived by long-time residents, such as Mouraria, run the risk of becoming empty and abandoned if residents feel to have no influence on the community and its development (Buchecker, 2009). Indeed, this thesis has shown the benefits of mixed/bottom-up plans of regeneration in preventing such withdrawal from public places. Nevertheless, has also highlighted potential threats to the public everyday life of neighbourhoods. Even though the three main groups of residents have revealed using the

public places of the neighbourhood and having a connection to it, findings have also evidenced the existence of segregation patterns at the micro-ecological scale. Moreover, the empirical work clearly suggests the long-time residents present themselves as more resistant to change, showing concerns regarding the continuity of the cultural and social structures and values of the community. This together with the little actual involvement of new gentrifiers in the everyday life of the neighbourhood and the apparent closing in themselves of the immigrants stands as one of the major threats of the regeneration policies. It arises various issues to which decision-makers should be aware when planning to implement new interventions in neighbourhoods.

The practical and innovative character of this thesis relies on giving a psychosocial perspective about the impact of the interventions adopted in the neighbourhood, enlightening the processes involved and what should be prioritize in urban regeneration to help prevent abandoned and segregated public places. Therefore, it offers a relevant resource to decision-makers, providing a perspective that goes beyond the urban planning (Davison et al., 2012; Freeman et al., 2016), geographical (Tulumello, 2015) and sociological (Lees, 2008; Blanco et al., 2011) views on urban regeneration. The work here presented highlights how in order to prevent the reduction or the complete loss of the public life of neighbourhoods, interventions should take into account the sociocultural sustainability of the neighbourhood. This entails transforming the neighbourhood without turning it into a completed uncharacterized place. It means respecting the tradition, history, and identity values of the community, at the same time including the sociocultural and generational diversity. Urban regeneration interventions should be able to guaranty the immaterial patrimony of the neighbourhood, allowing residents to find elements in place to which they develop bonds and identify with. The loss of physical and cultural character may affect people's identification and place bonds with it (Ujang & Zakariya, 2015), where the temporal dimension, culture and memories of different groups of residents play a central role in how changes are experienced every day.

Enabling different groups to develop different place identities and place relations may be a way to resist the global markets and real-estate pressure (Moya, 2019). The continuous processes of gentrification and tourism cannot be eliminated, but its management may be conducted in a way which prevent residents to abandon public places, or even to be displaced from the neighbourhood. It seems crucial for urban policies to know how to innovate and regenerate public places, and simultaneously to know which features of the neighbourhood should be maintained, even if these apparently serve only a minority. This thesis sheds some light on this by showing that guarantying residents' place identification might help to maintain

both the “old” and “new” neighbourhoods to live side by side, and the well-known “place encounters” (Viola, 2012; p.143) in public places. Mouraria is a place that epitomizes what it means to be a citizen of the historical neighbourhoods of Lisbon (Mendes, 2012; Malheiros et al., 2012). The findings discussed in this work suggest that threats to neighbourhood identity endanger the use of public places, fostering less integrated places. They also have highlighted how new residents seek to be considered as true residents of Mouraria. Thus, public regeneration urban policies should not ignore the influx of new residents willing to settle in these neighbourhoods, together with how the public places and the inherent social encounters function as an antidote to loneliness (Buchecker, 2009) for many residents, especially long-time ones. The convivial imaginary associated to Mouraria (Padilla et al., 2014) and the duality of both ‘official’ representations of a traditional and a multicultural neighbourhood (Tulumello, 2015; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017) are used in the public sphere to create an image of a place that “embraces diversity in different ways – for tourism, attraction of newcomers, ethnic business and the promotion of creative initiatives” (Padilla et al., 2014; p.7). It is suggested here that is important now for urban decision-makers to assure that this diversity actually translates into lively and integrated public places, and not remains solely as a brand image.

Social interaction in public place is not *per se* sufficient condition of public culture (Amin, 2008), and this thesis does not intend to affirm that different groups of residents should establish strong relationships among them or become true friends. Instead, it intends to emphasize that if the transformations (e.g., commerce, tourism) occurring in Mouraria do not take into consideration the neighbourhood identity and the different place relations and identities of the different groups, these begin avoiding specific public places, fostering local spatial patterns of segregation, as already starts to occur. For this reason, it presents itself as an important information resource to urban public policies, pointing out the dangers of erasing the identity of a place, but also the dangers of keeping it conserved in a ‘bubble’ environment, only existing to visitors experience a day in a typical place. The major challenge to urban policies relies on finding a way of integrating the traditional identity and memories of older residents with the challenges presented by the transformations of today, without losing people-place bonds and the vitality of the public places of the neighbourhood and preventing patterns of local spatial segregation.

Urban places comprise three dimensions, namely the “spatial practices” – where the society shapes space –, “representations of space” – planned by urban experts and politicians –, and the “representational space” – symbolically experienced (Lefebvre, 1991). The institutional space of experts and politicians should try to negotiate with the representations of

place experienced and produced locally by the community (Lefebvre, 1991), a relation to which this thesis intends to contribute to. It also expects to bridge the gap between policy decision-makers and the academic expertise, specifically from Social and Environmental Psychology, fostering a more open dialogue to create truly integrated neighbourhoods inclusive of all citizens.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

QUALITATIVE ANALYSIS OF THE SYSTEMATIC LITERATURE REVIEW: SUMMARY OF STUDIES (2009-2017) (CHAPTER III – Section 3.2.2.1. Micro-ecological patterns observed)

Summary of studies from 2009 to 2017 relative to studies' aim and findings by type of segregation.

Authors	Type of Segregation	Aim of the Study	Findings
Schrieff et al. (2005)	Ethnic	To study the seating patterns of black and white students on university dining-halls.	Intragroup seating patterns of both groups.
Alexander (2007)	Ethnic	To study the seating patterns of black and white students on university dining-halls.	Intragroup seating patterns of both groups. "White" tables are strongly resistant to 'intrusion'.
Tredoux et al. (2005)	Ethnic	To study the seating patterns of students from different ethnic groups on university public steps.	Spatial positioning at intragroup level. When the space fills up, and there is less choice for seats, the seating pattern becomes less segregated.
Cowan (2005)	Ethnic	To study students inter-ethnic interactions on university classrooms and informal settings on campus.	Same percentage of inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic groups. Inter-ethnic contact is higher in multi-ethnic environments with higher levels of minority groups' members than majority groups' members (white).
Clack et al. (2005)	Ethnic	To study the seating patterns of students from different ethnic groups on a university cafeteria.	Multiple forms of segregation in the cafeteria. Crowding creates a social context in which individuals' willingness to associate with members of other ethnic groups declines.
Tredoux and Dixon (2009)	Ethnic	To study the patterns of contact and isolation of different ethnic groups on night clubs.	Unequal distribution of ethnic groups over the night clubs. Predominant ethnically exclusive seating arrangements and intra-ethnic interactions in each club.
Koen and Durrheim (2010)	Ethnic	To study the seating patterns of students from different ethnic groups on university lecture theatres.	Segregation increases over the course of a semester, with no significant differences in levels of segregation between black, white, and Indian groups. Lower number of students is associated to higher levels of segregation.
Swyngedou (2013)	Ethnic	To study interactions and seating arrangements among different ethnic groups on a train line.	Interaction occurs mainly with people who look similar and appear to be living in the same city's area, expressing the geographical and social exclusion in the city.

Priest et al. (2014)	Ethnic	To study intergroup contact between minority and majority ethnic groups within urban public spaces.	Minority groups tend to have no contact with others or to interact with people from their own or other visible minority ethnic groups. Majority groups (Anglo/White Australians) tend to interact predominately at intragroup level, and more likely to self-segregate.
Dixon and Durrheim (2003)	Ethnic	To study micro ethnic distribution and varieties of informal segregation in a public beach.	Production of ‘umbrella spaces’ – ethnically homogeneous spaces – giving rise to patterns of ingroup contact. Segregation is seen as part of the natural order of things, and reflects and actively sustains racial stereotyping.
Durrheim and Dixon (2005)	Ethnic	To study micro ethnic distribution and varieties of informal segregation in a public beach.	Patterns of informal segregation between blacks and whites. Whites ‘run away’ from blacks, to carve out new spaces of privilege and exclusion elsewhere. Relationship between racist talk and the reality of the world constituted by embodied practices.
Durrheim (2005)	Ethnic	To study micro ethnic distribution and varieties of informal segregation in a public beach.	Whites ‘run away’ from blacks, occupying the beach early, clustering together. Micro-ecology of racial interaction gives rise to representations of racial differences and hierarchy. White interviewees stereotype blacks as aggressive and black interviewees stereotype whites as racists.
Salari et al. (2006)	Ethnic	To analyse inclusionary and exclusionary behaviours between natives and immigrants, on senior center spaces.	There is a territorial behaviour. Defending a dining seat often prevented the defender from leaving the seat and taking advantage of other activities at the center. Lack of representation and decision making power among participants may have enforced a sense of lower social status.
Arjona and Checa (2008)	Ethnic	To understand the micro-ecological segregation among different ethnic groups on a bus.	High levels of segregation both in location (dissimilarity) and interaction. Immigrants sit in the back, and natives sit in the front. Boundaries are maintained in every inter-ethnic interaction processes, based on prejudices and stereotypes.
Hunter (2010)	Ethnic	To study the social interactions in a predominantly black night club.	Club is as a unique opportunity to use space to interact across social class and neighbourhood lines. The club’s within-ethnicity heterogeneity is as a unique opportunity to gather connections to enhance individuals own social capital.
Echols et al. (2014)	Ethnic	To study the seating patterns of middle school students from different ethnic groups in school’s cafeteria.	Certain areas of the cafeteria are more likely to be occupied by specific ethnic groups. As lower status ethnic minority groups, African American and Latino students cross ethnic boundaries to sit together as a result of the perceived shared plight of marginalized groups. In the beginning of middle school, being a white person is a greater determining factor of segregation than the presence of a high number of whites.

Spitz (2015)	Ethnic	To study social interactions across different ethnic groups in urban public places.	Publicly cross-ethnic contact is shallow and often reify ethnic and spatial boundaries in the neighbourhood. Neighbourhood ethnic diversity, even in micro-spaces where exposure is guaranteed, is insufficient for fostering cross-ethnic social interaction.
Besharati and Foster (2013)	Ethnic	To study how everyday interactions maintain and regulate new ethnically boundaries in public suburban places.	There is pattern of informal segregation among the Indian minority community, and a new pattern of internal segregation between the 'South African Indians' and 'immigrant Indians'. Informal segregation acts as a regulator of hidden and hostile racism. The 'South African Indian' group does not identify with the 'immigrant Indians'.
Van Praag et al. (2015)	Ethnic	To study patterns of interethnic relations between students in classrooms of multiethnic secondary schools.	There is ingroup preferences regarding gender and ethnicity. Patterns of interethnic relations vary across tracks, ranging from separation of ethnic groups, positive encounters with students of another ethnic descent, to the development of ethnic tensions and hostile attitudes, stemming from the awareness of ethnic identities.
Kesten et al. (2011)	Ethnic	To study patterns of ethnic segregation in urban public places.	There is a practical conviviality, alongside with limitations, difficulties and tensions between different groups. The sense of territoriality among young people is translated into feelings of safety within that square, but a degree of danger outside it.
de Haan and Leander (2011)	Ethnic	To study patterns of ethnic segregation between high schools' students from different ethnic groups.	School spaces become "loaded" or marked by ethnic confrontations. Resources for othering become compressed within school spaces. These spaces may be informing certain identity positions, and serves to characterize inter-ethnic relationships in terms of particular ethno-spatial patterns.
Alexander and Tredoux (2010)	Ethnic	To analyse students' seating patterns in university tutorial classrooms.	Seating patterns are significantly segregated on both spatial dimensions of evenness and exposure. Segregation remains significant over time. Ethnically homogeneous spaces are a product of processes of inclusion and exclusion. Classroom provides a supportive framework for black students' inter-ethnic interactions, and creates anxiety for white students.
Keizan and Duncan (2010)	Ethnic	To study patterns of ethnic segregation amongst high school students in an ethnically desegregated school setting.	Patterns of both ethnic integration and segregation. Social segregation on the basis of ethnicity is relatively fixed and chosen. Black, Indian and coloured learners integrate more frequently with each other than do white learners with any other ethnic group. Despite ethnic integration does not physically occurs, it seems that there is a desire for ethnic integration, or at least it seems an aspiration.
Henze (2001)	Ethnic	To study interethnic relations between students from different ethnic groups in multiethnic schools.	Segregation patterns among students from different ethnic groups in classrooms. There is a tendency to stereotype other ethnic groups.
Lewis (2012)	Ethnic	To study the seating patterns amongst college students from different ethnic groups.	Ethnic groups showed differing levels of segregation: Asians - lowest score; whites - next lowest score; Hispanics - next lowest score; blacks - highest score, thus they are the most segregated. These differences can be attributed to

Schrieff et al. (2010)	Ethnic	To study the temporal stability of segregated seating arrangements of students in university residences.	discrimination faced by black students, requiring much social energy for everyday social interaction. All nonwhite students have strong ingroup preferences, because of the low social energy needed for these friendships. There is a marked segregation in seating patterns and consistent over time. For 59.57% of students, most of the peers they sit with are of the same ethnicity. For 13.83%, all of the peers they sit with are same-ethnicity peers, due to perceived similarity and understanding across interests, customs, culture, or background. Students also revealed intergroup anxiety.
Ramiah et al. (2015)	Ethnic	To study ethnic (re)segregation in a mixed high school cafeteria with high proportions of outgroup members.	Multiple patterns of (re)segregation. Both whites and Asians attributed their own and outgroup's inaction to interact to lack of interest.
Nagle (2009)	Religious	To study patterns of segregation between Protestants and Catholics in public places and public events in city center.	Local segregation patterns in shared public places and public events in city center between both groups.
Abdelmonem and McWhinney (2015)	Religious	To study patterns of segregation between Protestants and Catholics in public urban parks.	Each community tends to extend their privileged spatial practices into the park space. The demand over territory is driven by a sense of insecurity on the minority group's side.
McKeown et al. (2012)	Religious	To study the seating patterns of Protestants and Catholics students in a meeting room, meeting hall and a school bus.	There is a persistent segregation from meeting hall to bus. Students revert back to ingroup acquaintances when out of the contact situation. Ingroup identification maintains ingroup interaction patterns.
Orr et al. (2012)	Religious	To study seating patterns of Protestants and Catholics students in university lecture theatres.	Participants make self-segregating decisions even without the presence of visual cues.
McKeown et al. (2016)	Religious	To study seating patterns of Protestants and Catholics students in school's classrooms.	There are patterns of religious and gender segregation in the majority of classrooms. Segregated seating choice persists over time. Students sit beside those with whom they identify most strongly with.
Pérez-Tejera (2012)	Socioeconomic	To study patterns of segregation in urban public squares amongst different socioeconomic groups.	Patterns of segregation according to visible signs of poverty people exhibit. People use mechanisms of social exclusion in places perceived as more safe.
Stillerman and Salcedo (2012)	Socioeconomic	To study patterns of segregation amongst groups of different socioeconomic backgrounds in shopping malls.	Poor residents avoid these malls fearing they would feel out of place there, or that wealthier customers might humiliate them.
Krellenberg et al. (2014)	Socioeconomic	To study patterns of segregation amongst groups of different socioeconomic backgrounds in urban green areas.	Majority of households visit parks in their vicinity. These two parks are mostly situated in neighbourhoods with the same socioeconomic status as the park visitors.
Garrido (2013)	Socioeconomic	To study the segregating practices of squatters and villagers in both typical and atypical situations of class interaction.	Villagers engage in three main types of segregating practices: 1) exclusion; 2) circumscription; and 3) avoidance. Squatters mainly engage in avoidance.

Messner and Bozada-Deas (2009)	Gender	To study the social construction of adult gender segregation in youth sports.	Villagers initiate segregating practices, while squatters mainly conform to them.
Rodriguez-Navarro et al. (2014)	Gender and Ethnic	To understand the process through which immigrant newcomers integrate in their new school setting.	The majority of women volunteers are channeled into a team parent position, and the majority of men volunteers become coaches. Men coaches and “team moms” symbolize and exemplify tensions. Boys predominantly tend to self-segregate. Girls tend to welcome all students. Immigrant newcomers fear being mocked and rejected by male groups.

APPENDIX B

QUESTIONNAIRE OF STUDY 1 (CHAPTER VI – Section 4.2.1. Procedure and participants)

LONG-TIME RESIDENTS:



O presente questionário faz parte de um projecto de investigação para Doutoramento em Psicologia, desenvolvido no Centro de Investigação e Intervenção Social (CIS-IUL) do Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL).

Tem como objectivo principal compreender o que os moradores da Mouraria pensam sobre o seu bairro e como utilizam os seus espaços no dia-a-dia.

Pedimos que colabore respondendo às perguntas que se seguem.

Obviamente, não existem respostas certas ou erradas, apenas pretendemos saber a sua opinião.

Não há nenhuma informação no questionário que o(a) possa identificar.

Comprometemo-nos a manter o anonimato de todas as respostas e a utilizá-las só para fins de investigação.

Muito Obrigada pela sua Colaboração

Data: ____/____/____

Lugar de Aplicação: _____

TRA

Leonor Bettencourt
leonor.bettencourt@iscte.pt

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5. Por favor, pense no **bairro da Mouraria** e diga-nos o que pensa das frases que se seguem (numa escala de 1 a 7).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	Discordo Totalmente		Não Concordo, nem Discordo			Concordo Totalmente		
	Discordo Totalmente						Concordo Totalmente	
Sinto que a Mouraria faz parte mim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Aqui no bairro sinto-me aceite pelas outras pessoas e próximo(a) delas.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Conheço muitas histórias sobre este bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Este bairro expressa bem o tipo de pessoa que eu sou.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Não deviam vir mais novos moradores para o bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Sinto-me emocionalmente ligado(a) a este bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Morar na Mouraria faz-me sentir bem comigo mesmo(a).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Acho que o bairro mudou para melhor nos últimos anos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Aqui no bairro sinto-me uma pessoa capaz e competente.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Sei quais são os lugares do bairro com mais importância histórica.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Se a Mouraria deixasse de existir, eu sentiria que uma parte de mim também tinha deixado de existir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Vou a casa dos meus vizinhos visitá-los.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Sinto que me enquadro bem neste bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
O estilo de vida dos novos moradores ameaça a identidade da Mouraria.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Conheço bem os caminhos aqui dentro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
A Mouraria tem conseguido manter os seus próprios hábitos e tradições ao longo do tempo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Sei quais são os melhores lugares da Mouraria para fazer as compras do dia-a-dia ou comer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Acho que o bairro mudou para pior nos últimos anos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Viver na Mouraria é algo que me distingue de outras pessoas.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
O estilo de vida dos novos moradores tem renovado a identidade da Mouraria.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
As minhas raízes estão aqui na Mouraria.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Sinto-me seguro(a) no bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Conheço o passado deste bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
O bairro tem preservado a sua identidade ao longo do tempo, mesmo com novos moradores.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Morar aqui faz-me sentir que existe uma continuidade entre o meu passado, o meu presente e o meu futuro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Não deviam vir mais novos moradores para a cidade de Lisboa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Sei quais são os lugares mais bonitos da Mouraria para visitar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Este bairro reflecte bem os meus valores pessoais.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Os novos moradores do bairro enfraquecem o estilo de vida tradicional da Mouraria.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Acho que este bairro é bonito.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Os novos moradores têm o direito de celebrar as suas tradições nos espaços públicos do bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Conheço pessoas de todos os grupos que moram aqui no bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Não deviam vir mais novos moradores para Portugal.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
As normas e valores da Mouraria estão ameaçados pela presença de novos moradores.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sei quais são os lugares da Mouraria que devo evitar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Costumo parar e falar com as outras pessoas do bairro na rua.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. Por favor, diga-nos o seguinte **sobre si**:

6.1. Sexo _____ 6.2. Idade _____ 6.3. Nacionalidade _____

6.4. Naturalidade _____ 6.5. Profissão _____

6.6. Escolaridade

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Menos que o 9º ano ou equivalente | <input type="radio"/> Licenciatura |
| <input type="radio"/> 9º ano ou equivalente | <input type="radio"/> Mestrado |
| <input type="radio"/> 12º ano ou equivalente | <input type="radio"/> Doutoramento |

6.7. Há quanto tempo mora no bairro? _____

6.7.1. Onde morava antes?

- Outro bairro de Lisboa
- Fora de Lisboa
- Fora de Portugal

6.8. Zona do bairro onde mora _____

6.9. Trabalha no bairro? _____ Há quanto tempo? _____

7. Para terminar, se quiser faça alguma observação sobre o bairro.

Muito Obrigada!

Caso deseje algum esclarecimento sobre o estudo, por favor, contacte:

Leonor Bettencourt, pelo e-mail leonor.bettencourt@iscte.pt

O presente questionário faz parte de um projecto de investigação para Doutoramento em Psicologia, desenvolvido no Centro de Investigação e Intervenção Social (CIS-IUL) do Instituto Universitário de Lisboa (ISCTE-IUL).

Tem como objectivo principal compreender o que os moradores da Mouraria pensam sobre o seu bairro e como utilizam os seus espaços no dia-a-dia.

Pedimos que colabore respondendo às perguntas que se seguem.

Obviamente, não existem respostas certas ou erradas, apenas pretendemos saber a sua opinião.

Não há nenhuma informação no questionário que o(a) possa identificar.

Comprometemo-nos a manter o anonimato de todas as respostas e a utilizá-las só para fins de investigação.

Muito Obrigada pela sua Colaboração

Data: ____/____/____

Lugar de Aplicação: _____

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5. Por favor, pense no **bairro da Mouraria** e diga-nos o que pensa das frases que se seguem (numa escala de 1 a 7).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
	Discordo Totalmente		Não Concordo, nem Discordo			Concordo Totalmente		
	Discordo Totalmente						Concordo Totalmente	
Sinto que a Mouraria faz parte mim.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Aqui no bairro sinto-me aceite pelas outras pessoas e próximo(a) delas.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Conheço muitas histórias sobre este bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Este bairro expressa bem o tipo de pessoa que eu sou.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Não deviam vir mais novos moradores para o bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Sinto-me emocionalmente ligado(a) a este bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Morar na Mouraria faz-me sentir bem comigo mesmo(a).	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Acho que o bairro mudou para melhor nos últimos anos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Aqui no bairro sinto-me uma pessoa capaz e competente.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Sei quais são os lugares do bairro com mais importância histórica.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Vim para este bairro porque já tinha aqui família ou conhecidos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Se a Mouraria deixasse de existir, eu sentiria que uma parte de mim também tinha deixado de existir.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Aqui no bairro encontro lugares que me fazem lembrar outros onde já morei.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Vou a casa dos meus vizinhos visitá-los.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Sinto que me enquadro bem neste bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
O estilo de vida dos novos moradores ameaça a identidade da Mouraria.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Conheço bem os caminhos aqui dentro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
A Mouraria tem conseguido manter os seus próprios hábitos e tradições ao longo do tempo.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Sei quais são os melhores lugares da Mouraria para fazer as compras do dia-a-dia ou comer.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Acho que o bairro mudou para pior nos últimos anos.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Viver na Mouraria é algo que me distingue de outras pessoas.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
O estilo de vida dos novos moradores tem renovado a identidade da Mouraria.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
As minhas raízes estão aqui na Mouraria.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Sinto-me seguro(a) no bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Conheço o passado deste bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
O bairro tem preservado a sua identidade ao longo do tempo, mesmo com novos moradores.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Morar aqui faz-me sentir que existe uma continuidade entre o meu passado, o meu presente e o meu futuro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
Não deviam vir mais novos moradores para a cidade de Lisboa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	

Sei quais são os lugares mais bonitos da Mouraria para visitar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Aqui no bairro posso ter um tipo de vida parecido com o que tive em lugares onde já morei.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Este bairro reflecte bem os meus valores pessoais.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Os novos moradores do bairro enfraquecem o estilo de vida tradicional da Mouraria.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Acho que este bairro é bonito.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Os novos moradores têm o direito de celebrar as suas tradições nos espaços públicos do bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Conheço pessoas de todos os grupos que moram aqui no bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Não deviam vir mais novos moradores para Portugal.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
As normas e valores da Mouraria estão ameaçados pela presença de novos moradores.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sei quais são os lugares da Mouraria que devo evitar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Costumo parar e falar com as outras pessoas do bairro na rua.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. Por favor, diga-nos o seguinte **sobre si**:

6.1. Sexo _____ 6.2. Idade _____ 6.3. Nacionalidade _____

6.4. Naturalidade _____ 6.5. Profissão _____

6.6. Escolaridade

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Menos que o 9º ano ou equivalente | <input type="radio"/> Licenciatura |
| <input type="radio"/> 9º ano ou equivalente | <input type="radio"/> Mestrado |
| <input type="radio"/> 12º ano ou equivalente | <input type="radio"/> Doutoramento |

6.7. Há quanto tempo mora no bairro? _____

6.7.1. Onde morava antes?

- Outro bairro de Lisboa
 Fora de Lisboa
 Fora de Portugal

6.8. Zona do bairro onde mora _____

6.9. Trabalha no bairro? _____ Há quanto tempo? _____

7. Para terminar, se quiser faça alguma observação sobre o bairro.

Muito Obrigada!

Caso deseje algum esclarecimento sobre o estudo, por favor, contacte:

Leonor Bettencourt, pelo e-mail leonor.bettencourt@iscte.pt

IMMIGRANTS:



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Tem como objectivo principal compreender o que os moradores da Mouraria pensam sobre o seu bairro e como utilizam os seus espaços no dia-a-dia.

Pedimos que colabore respondendo às perguntas que se seguem.

Obviamente, não existem respostas certas ou erradas, apenas pretendemos saber a sua opinião.

Não há nenhuma informação no questionário que o(a) possa identificar.

Comprometemo-nos a manter o anonimato de todas as respostas e a utilizá-las só para fins de investigação.

Muito Obrigada pela sua Colaboração

Data: ____/____/____

Lugar de Aplicação: _____

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5. Por favor, pense no **bairro da Mouraria** e diga-nos o que pensa das frases que se seguem (numa escala de 1 a 7).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7					
	Discordo Totalmente			Não Concordo, nem Discordo			Concordo Totalmente					
						Discordo Totalmente		Concordo Totalmente				
Sinto que a Mouraria faz parte mim.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Aqui no bairro sinto-me aceite pelas outras pessoas e próximo(a) delas.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Conheço muitas histórias sobre este bairro.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Este bairro expressa bem o tipo de pessoa que eu sou.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Não deviam vir mais novos moradores para o bairro.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sinto-me emocionalmente ligado(a) a este bairro.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Morar na Mouraria faz-me sentir bem comigo mesmo(a).						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Acho que o bairro mudou para melhor nos últimos anos.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Aqui no bairro sinto-me uma pessoa capaz e competente.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sei quais são os lugares do bairro com mais importância histórica.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Vim para este bairro porque já tinha aqui família ou conhecidos.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Se a Mouraria deixasse de existir, eu sentiria que uma parte de mim também tinha deixado de existir.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Aqui no bairro encontro lugares que me fazem lembrar outros onde já morei.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Vou a casa dos meus vizinhos visitá-los.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sinto que me enquadro bem neste bairro.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
O estilo de vida dos novos moradores ameaça a identidade da Mouraria.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Conheço bem os caminhos aqui dentro.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
A Mouraria tem conseguido manter os seus próprios hábitos e tradições ao longo do tempo.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sei quais são os melhores lugares da Mouraria para fazer as compras do dia-a-dia ou comer.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Acho que o bairro mudou para pior nos últimos anos.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Viver na Mouraria é algo que me distingue de outras pessoas.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Aqui no bairro consigo manter as minhas tradições (e.g. festividades; comida).						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
O estilo de vida dos novos moradores tem renovado a identidade da Mouraria.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
As minhas raízes estão aqui na Mouraria.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sinto-me seguro(a) no bairro.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Conheço o passado deste bairro.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
O bairro tem preservado a sua identidade ao longo do tempo, mesmo com novos moradores.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Morar aqui faz-me sentir que existe uma continuidade entre o meu passado, o meu presente e o meu futuro.						1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Não deviam vir mais novos moradores para a cidade de Lisboa.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sei quais são os lugares mais bonitos da Mouraria para visitar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Aqui no bairro posso ter um tipo de vida parecido com o que tive em lugares onde já morei.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Este bairro reflecte bem os meus valores pessoais.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Os novos moradores do bairro enfraquecem o estilo de vida tradicional da Mouraria.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Acho que este bairro é bonito.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Os novos moradores têm o direito de celebrar as suas tradições nos espaços públicos do bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Conheço pessoas de todos os grupos que moram aqui no bairro.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Não deviam vir mais novos moradores para Portugal.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
As normas e valores da Mouraria estão ameaçados pela presença de novos moradores.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Sei quais são os lugares da Mouraria que devo evitar.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Costumo parar e falar com as outras pessoas do bairro na rua.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

6. Por favor, diga-nos o seguinte **sobre si**:

6.1. Sexo _____ 6.2. Idade _____ 6.3. Nacionalidade _____

6.4. Naturalidade _____ 6.5. Profissão _____

6.6. Escolaridade

- | | |
|---|------------------------------------|
| <input type="radio"/> Menos que o 9º ano ou equivalente | <input type="radio"/> Licenciatura |
| <input type="radio"/> 9º ano ou equivalente | <input type="radio"/> Mestrado |
| <input type="radio"/> 12º ano ou equivalente | <input type="radio"/> Doutoramento |

6.7. Há quanto tempo mora no bairro? _____

6.7.1. Onde morava antes?

- Outro bairro de Lisboa
 Fora de Lisboa
 Fora de Portugal

6.8. Zona do bairro onde mora _____

6.9. Trabalha no bairro? _____ Há quanto tempo? _____

7. Para terminar, se quiser faça alguma observação sobre o bairro.

Muito Obrigada!

Caso deseje algum esclarecimento sobre o estudo, por favor, contacte:

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APPENDIX C

SOCIODEMOGRAPHIC DATA OF STUDY 1: NATIONALITY

(CHAPTER VI – Section 4.2.1. Procedure and participants)

New Gentrifiers		
	n	%
Portuguese	59	92.2
French	3	4.7
Italian	1	1.6
Spanish	1	1.6
Total	64	100

Immigrants		
	n	%
Indian	13	17.1
Pakistani	5	6.6
Bengali	15	19.7
Chinese	6	7.9
Cape Verdean	10	13.2
Angolan	6	7.9
Nepalese	2	2.6
Brazilian	7	9.2
Mozambican	5	6.6
Romanian	2	2.6
South African	1	1.3
Senegalese	4	5.3
Total	76	100

APPENDIX D

INTERVIEW GUIDE OF STUDY 3 (CHAPTER VIII – Section 3.2. Interviews)

PORTUGUESE VERSION:



GUIÃO ENTREVISTA MOURARIA

<p><u>Dia e hora da entrevista:</u> _____</p> <p><u>Local da entrevista:</u> _____</p> <p><u>Duração da entrevista:</u> _____</p> <p><u>Nome do entrevistado:</u> _____</p> <p><u>Profissão:</u> _____</p> <p><u>Idade:</u> _____</p> <p><u>Sexo:</u> _____</p> <p><u>Nacionalidade:</u> _____</p> <p><u>Há quanto tempo mora na Mouraria:</u> _____</p> <p><u>Com quem mora:</u> _____</p>

Escolha do Bairro

- Como veio parar aqui à Mouraria? / O que o trouxe para este bairro? / Como foi a vinda aqui para o bairro?

Descrição do Bairro (actual, passado e perspectiva sobre o seu futuro) / Continuidade do Bairro / Continuidade com Lugares Passados

- O que é para si a Mouraria? Como a descreve? Que bairro é este?
- Como gostava que fosse o futuro do bairro? / Como perspectiva/vê o futuro do bairro?
- Ao longo de todo este processo de reabilitação pelo qual o bairro tem passado, o que pensa mais ter mudado, tanto a nível do seu aspecto físico (edifícios, ruas, praças), como a nível social? / Como vê ou descreve estas mudanças?
- De que forma tem vivido com estas mudanças?
- Encontra alguma coisa no bairro que a faça lembrar lugares onde anteriormente já viveu?

Relações entre Moradores / Representação de Relações entre Diferentes Grupos

- Relativamente à convivência entre as pessoas que aqui vivem, como é a relação entre elas, no geral? Que tipo de relação é essa?
- E no seu caso, como descreve a sua relação com os seus vizinhos e com as outras pessoas do bairro?
- Com quem convive mais no bairro, e como descreve essa relação?

Uso do Espaço Público

- As pessoas convivem na rua? / Quem?
- Sente que, dentro do bairro, pertence mais a um local do que a outro?
- Para si, existem diferentes zonas no bairro que estão associadas/atribuídas/ligadas a diferentes grupos (moradores, ou pessoas que visitam ou utilizam o bairro).
- Se eu lhe pedir que me diga como é para si um dia normal aqui no bairro, como o descreve?
- A que lugares mais vai? Porquê?
- Para si a rua é um lugar de encontro com outras pessoas do bairro?
- Em termos de recursos e serviços, como vê o bairro? O que é que ele lhe oferece?

INTERVIEW IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF MOURARIA

<p><u>Day and Hour:</u> _____</p> <p><u>Interview's Place:</u> _____</p> <p><u>Length of the Interview:</u> _____</p> <p><i>To be completed by the interviewee:</i></p> <p><u>Name of the Interviewee:</u> _____</p> <p><u>Profession:</u> _____</p> <p><u>Age:</u> _____</p> <p><u>Gender:</u> _____</p> <p><u>Nationality:</u> _____</p> <p><u>How long in the neighbourhood:</u> _____</p> <p><u>With whom do you live:</u> _____</p>

Neighbourhood's Choice

- I would like to start by asking you if you can tell me a little bit about your story regarding your coming to this neighbourhood, for how long have you been here, where were you before coming to Mouraria, ...
- How did you come to Mouraria? / Why did you choose this neighbourhood? / Why did you settle here in this place in Lisbon?
- How was your integration here? / What was more challenging in your adaptation to the neighbourhood?

Description of the Neighbourhood (present, past e perspective about its future) / Neighbourhood's Continuity / Continuity with Past Places

- If I ask you to tell me what this neighbourhood represents and means to you, what would you say? How do you describe this neighbourhood?
- During all this process of urban regeneration that the neighbourhood has been undergoing, what are the main transformations that you see/identify in the neighbourhood?
- How do you see those changes? / How have you lived with these changes?
- Does this neighbourhood remind you of previous places where you lived or worked in?
- How do you envision the future of the neighbourhood? / How do you see this neighbourhood in the future?

Relationship with Residents / Representations about Relationships among Different Groups

- Regarding how people the conviviality between different people that live here, how do see and describe it? / Do they get along with each other?
- And for you, how do you describe your relationship with the residents, and other people of the neighbourhood? / With whom do you socialize more on an everyday basis?

Use of Public Place

- Now regarding what you can observe on the streets, do you see the residents and other people socializing on the streets? / Who?
- Do you think that that there are different areas of the neighbourhood more associated with specific groups, groups of residents or other people that visit or use the neighbourhood? For example, areas that are more used or where you see more immigrants, or older residents that live here for many years, or younger people. Or, on the other hand, do you think that all the spaces of Mouraria are well mixed places?
- Do you spend most of the day here in the store, right? If I ask you to describe an ordinary day in the neighbourhood, what would you say?
- For you, the street can also be a meeting/gathering place with other people?