# CIDADES, Comunidades e Territórios

## Near and far: A case of social mix in Lisbon

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**Abstract**

This paper intends to give an account of an urban regeneration process in Lisbon, guided by criteria of social mix. Initially a camp of slums, the territory in question is now a part of the city where private housing, targeted to middle-high classes, and social housing, promoted by the private sector, coexist in an almost identical proportion. This housing situation sets a high polarization of the demographic and socio-economic tissue of this territory with impacts in the forms of appropriation in the neighbourhood, in its internal and external image and in the logic of integration in social and urban dynamics of the city. Starting from a study that aimed to identify ways of life and needs for equipment and services of the population living in this neighbourhood – now called Alta de Lisboa – the purpose of this paper is to report the forms of representation and life through social coexistence in this territory. It addresses, from the diversity of social profiles of the population living at Alta de Lisboa, existing lifestyles and ways of usage and appropriation of the space, its perception and evaluation of the neighbourhood. It also discusses the impacts of social coexistence in the internal dynamics of this area and how it limits, for each involved social group, the logic of perception and use of residential area.

**Keywords**: Social Mix; Alta de Lisboa; Excessive Residencialization.

## Introduction

This paper aims to give an account of an urban regeneration process in Lisbon guided by social mix criteria. The territory in question was initially a slum area but is now a part of the city where private housing for upper middle-classes coexists in almost equal proportions with social housing promoted by the private sector. This housing situation makes the demographic and socio-economic tissue of this territory very polarized and impacts the forms of appropriation in the neighbourhood, its internal and external image and the integration logic in the city's social and urban dynamics.

The purpose of this paper is to report on how the forms of social coexistence in this neighbourhood – now called Alta de Lisboa – are represented and experienced. It is based on a study that sought to identify the ways of life of this population and its needs for facilities and services. By looking at the diversity of social profiles of the population living in Alta de Lisboa, we examine their lifestyles and their use and appropriation of space, as well as their perception and evaluation of the neighbourhood. The paper also discusses the impact of social coexistence in the internal dynamics of this area and how it limits the logic with which each social group perceives and uses the residential area.

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### 1. From slum neighbourhoods to Alta de Lisboa: A project for social mix and renewal in a rundown area

Alta de Lisboa is located on the Northeast border of the Lisbon municipality. This peripheral neighbourhood was made up of a large amount of randomly scattered atypical housing forming an area that is lacking order and quality both from the physical and social perspective.

In the 1960s and 1970s, a heterogeneous population settled in this neighbourhood. It included rural migrants coming to the city, '*retornados*' (those returning) from the former colonies, and later immigrants from Cape Verde in particular, as well as people who had lost their homes as a result of public works that were under construction. The Lisbon City Hall offered the latter either land on which to build their own homes or precarious temporary housing that with time became permanent; more specifically, it was slum housing in areas lacking in infrastructures, facilities and with very poor access.

In 1998, the Alto do Lumiar Urbanization Plan (PUAL) was approved and it involved a private company, Sociedade Gestora do Alto do Lumiar (SGAL), and Lisbon City Hall (CML). In the ambit of the PER[2] programme, they pledged to eradicate all slum neighbourhoods in the municipality. The two institutions signed a protocol whereby SGAL was responsible for the construction of buildings to re-house those living in the slums or dilapidated housing in this area, as well as (sports, social, recreational and cultural) facilities and various means of access. In exchange, it was allowed to construct housing on the remaining land which could be sold to the general public. For their part, the CML was required to concede land for re-housing and for private housing, to licence projects and works and subsequently manage the buildings for re-housing and built facilities.

The aim of this protocol was to eradicate all dilapidated housing in this area in which 14,755 residents and 3,811 families lived and at the same time to upgrade an area on the outskirts of the city with a deprived social and urban fabric and poor economic vitality and to turn it into a new urban centre within the city of Lisbon. PUAL's objective was to create a zone of reference by means of qualified and architecturally distinct housing in an area with good facilities, urban parks, commerce and services that could attract a young, qualified and high-income population.

It is an innovative project from the social and urban perspective, fostering the idea that a diverse social fabric could be created through the co-existence (and living together) of distinct social groups in terms of their socioeconomic, cultural and educational status, their trajectories and their ways of life. It therefore contrasted sharply with traditional re-housing processes that are marked by concentrating the low-income population in an area which is usually peripheral and densely populated and often with poor facilities and services, thus enhancing the segregation to which they are so often associated.

PUAL foresaw that in this area of about 300 hectares, 18,700 dwellings would be built in 2010 (14,700 for private housing and 4,000 PER) and 59,000 people would be living in an area with 500,000 m2 of Commerce and Services and in which 32.3 % of the intervention area would be occupied by public facilities and green spaces. These characteristics would ensure centrality, attractiveness, multifunctionality and the desired social diversity.

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[2] PER (Special Rehousing Programme) was set up in 1992, when a contract was signed between the Central Administration and the Local Authorities with the aim of eradicating all slums in the metropolitan areas of Lisbon and Porto. At that time, it was calculated that there were roughly 40,000 slums and 146,000 people in need of re-housing in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon alone.

**Figures 1 and 2. PUAL: Intervention area**



## 2.  A population with a contrasting social profile, a fragmented territory

To this date, 3,211 of the planned PER dwellings have been built in addition to 4,961 of those for private housing, many of which have not yet been sold. In other words, the proportion of the re-housed population is almost identical to that of home buyers; the initial estimate of a PER population of between 10% and 30% is therefore no longer accurate and the re-housed population has taken on far greater proportions.

This new social configuration is ultimately reflected in the marked polarization of the demographic and socio-economic fabric, visible in the forming of distinct profiles and structured around the axis of social housing versus that of home buyers. There are worrying levels of indicators of instability among the re-housed population – a high unemployment rate, low incomes, unskilled work, dependence on state support –, low qualification levels, large families with a high percentage of dependent persons. In contrast, we find a high activity rate, high qualification levels and incomes in keeping with technical and scientific professions among the other population which has also an extremely young age structure, being largely comprised of young couples with no children.

Moreover, there is a marked contrast in the residential trajectory of the populations: on the one hand, there is a re-housed population whose incomes are too low to access the housing market that has been taken from the previous slum neighbourhoods to new models of housing; on the other hand, there is a population predominantly from the Lisbon municipality, who chose Alta de Lisboa due to its excellent accessibility and proximity to culture and leisure facilities.

A number of indicators demonstrate the social contrast between these two types of population: In general, and like other indicators, quite distinct levels of schooling are found among the population of Alta de Lisboa: 35.2% have no more than basic schooling (9 years) and 33.2% have higher education. Around 67% of residents of private housing have higher education in contrast with just 1.9% of residents in social housing. Moreover, it must be noted that almost 10% of the population in state housing can neither read nor write.

**Table 1. Schooling levels (enquired population and members of households aged 18 years or more) (%)**

|  | Alta de Lisboa | Private Housing | Social Housing | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Cannot read or write** | 5.1 | 0.0 | 9.9 | 6.2 |
| **Can read and write** | 5.5 | 0.2 | **10.1** | 12.5 |
| **Primary (4 years)** | 24.6 | 2.3 | **44.7** | 43.7 |
| **Preparatory (9 years)** | 11.1 | 3.5 | 18.7 | 0.0 |
| **Secondary (12 years)** | 17.6 | 20.9 | 14.4 | 18.8 |
| **Medium course** | 2.9 | 6.0 | 0.3 | 0.0 |
| **University degree** | 20 | **39.3** | 1.9 | 18.8 |
| **Post Graduate training** | 13.2 | **27.8** | 0.0 | 0.0 |
| **Total** | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: Survey to Alta de Lisboa inhabitants, "Ways of life and needs for equipment and services study".

The professional activity of the resident population of Alta de Lisboa is one of the most striking indicators in terms of the marked social polarization revealed. Special emphasis goes to: the very low percentage of unemployment (0.7%) among residents in private housing in relation to those in social housing (12.6%), as well as the large number of housewives (9.1%) living in social housing *vis-à-vis* 0.7% in private housing. Whereas only 3% of people living in private housing are retired and have no professional activity, this applies to 15.8% of

the population in social housing, clearly expressing the older demographic structure of the latter group of residents.

**Table 2. Professional activity, per type of developer (%)**

|  | Private Housing | Social Housing | Others | Total |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Owner of company with employees** | **10.6** | 2.0 | 10.0 | 6.7 |
| **Employed** | 76.0 | 47.1 | 10.0 | 62.1 |
| **Self employed** | 2.1 | 1.4 | 0.0 | 1.7 |
| **Student** | 3.5 | 0.9 | 0.0 | 2.2 |
| **1st time job seeker** | 0.2 | 0.3 | 0.0 | 0.3 |
| **Unemployed** | **0.7** | **12.6** | 0.0 | 6.1 |
| **Retired with professional activity** | 3.0 | 6.7 | 20.0 | 4.9 |
| **Retired w/o any professional activity** | **3.2** | **15.8** | 30.0 | 9.2 |
| **Housewife** | **0.7** | **9.1** | 30.0 | 4.9 |
| **Sick or permanent disability/invalidity** | 0.0 | 2.9 | 0.0 | 1.3 |
| **Other situation** | 0.0 | 1.2 | 0.0 | 0.6 |
| **Total** | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: Survey to Alta de Lisboa inhabitants, "Ways of life and needs for equipment and services study".

The low activity rate of the population living in social housing (52.2%), in contrast with that in private housing (89%), is an indicator of a framework of extreme socioeconomic vulnerability and immediately suggests that the daily lives and social needs of the two groups are diametrically opposed.

**Chart 1. Professional activity rate (%)**
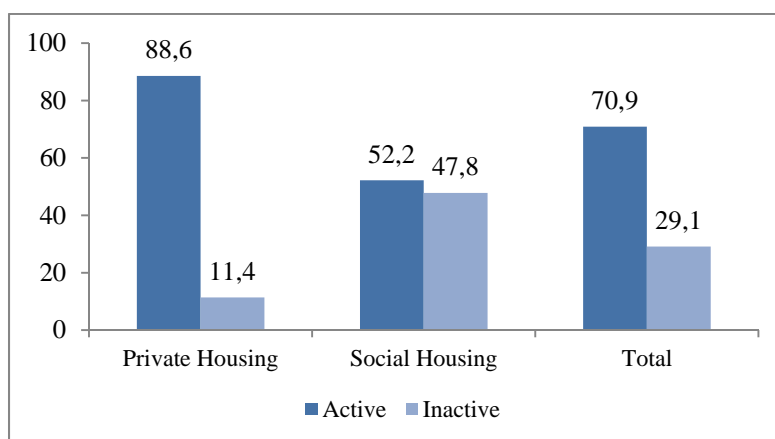


Source: Survey to Alta de Lisboa inhabitants, "Ways of life and needs for equipment and services study".

The fact that the most significant percentage in the distribution of active persons across professional groups is that of specialists in intellectual and scientific professions (23.9%), on the one hand, and unskilled workers (17.6%), on the other, also illustrates the high level of social polarization of the populations in the territory under analysis.

**Table 3. Profession, per type of promoter (%)\***

| Profession (Large professional groups) | Alta de Lisboa | Private Housing | Social Housing | Others |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Senior Managers and Officials in Public Administration, and Managers without specification | 9.2 | **14.6** | 2.0 | 20 |
| Specialists in Intellectual and Scientific Professions | **23.9** | **42.7** | 0.7 | 10.0 |
| Mid-level Technicians and Professionals | 7.7 | **13.5** | 0.7 | 0.0 |
| Clerical workers | 9.3 | 13.3 | 4.0 | 10.0 |
| Service or Sales Employees | 15.0 | 9.8 | **21.6** | 20.0 |
| Farmers and Skilled Agricultural and Fishery workers | 0.8 | 0.0 | 1.7 | 0.0 |
| Manual worker, craft and related trade workers | 13.0 | 1.8 | **27.3** | 10.0 |
| Plant and machine operators and assemblers | 3.5 | 1.1 | 6.7 | 0.0 |
| Unskilled workers | **17.6** | 3.2 | **35.3** | **30.0** |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: Survey to Alta de Lisboa inhabitants, "Ways of life and needs for equipment and services study".
Note: *Two members who contribute the most to the household income.

In the current context, this bipolarity is the cause of great social and spatial fragmentation in this territory. These two groups are simultaneously faced with significant physical proximity and social distance, and they are separated by their social profiles and their life styles.


### 3.    Convenience or coexistence?


**3.1. Favourable representations of social co-existence but mutual fears and feelings of insecurity**


In terms of representation, both populations have a favourable opinion towards social co-existence in their area of residence and make a positive assessment of the 'social mix' as a guiding principle for the social distribution of the groups within the area. While 49% of those surveyed mention that social mix is positive, 34% feel it is negative. This positive perception is mostly felt by residents in private housing as shown in the following graph.


**Chart 2. Opinion on "social mix" according to type of developer (%)**
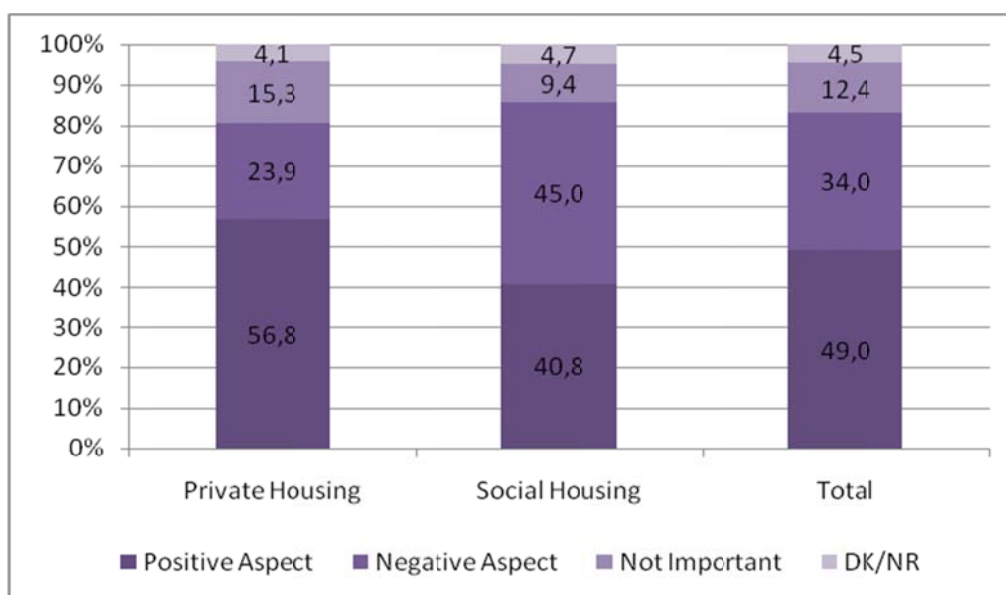


Source: Survey to Alta de Lisboa inhabitants, "Ways of life and needs for equipment and services study".


It seems that those living in private housing were not deterred from choosing Alta de Lisboa as their place of residence by prior knowledge of the existence of social housing in the area. Private housing residents were attracted to Alta de Lisboa by a combination of factors such as attractive price, the fact that it was a newly planned area, the quality of the housing and the easy access due to Alta de Lisboa's location, and these outweighed the proximity to social housing developments. However, it must be noted that most of those who

stated that they were unaware of this situation said they would not have chosen this area as a place of residence if they had had prior knowledge of social housing developments in the area.

**Table 4. When making the decision to buy a house in AL…**

| | | N | (%) |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Did you know about, or were you aware of the projects to build social housing?** | **Yes** | 158 | 82.7 |
| | **No** | 33 | 17.3 |
| | **Total** | 191 | 100.0 |
| **…Did you know there were social housing developments in the area?** | | **N** | **(%)** |
| | **Yes** | 159 | 83.2 |
| | **No** | 32 | 16.8 |
| | **Total** | 191 | 100.0 |

Source: Survey to Alta de Lisboa inhabitants, "Ways of life and needs for equipment and services study".

Social proximity or distance indicators, representations about social co-existence, the ways in which an area is shared or, on the contrary, the feeling that the area is exclusive, are found to be powerful indicators of proximity or distance and social interaction. Therefore, interviewees were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed with a number of statements. Most indicate disagreement both with the exclusive nature of this territory ('inappropriate' occupation of the territory by another group; services and equipment targeted mainly at others) and, as shown in the following charts, also with the possibility of creating areas that are for the exclusive use of one of the groups. Note, however, that the level of agreement with statements that suggest feelings of exclusivity and selectivity regarding the use of areas is much higher for social housing residents. The exception to this is a more marked agreement among residents of private housing both with the idea that residents do not patronize the same spaces and with the valuing/devaluing of each type of residence according to its proximity to the other.
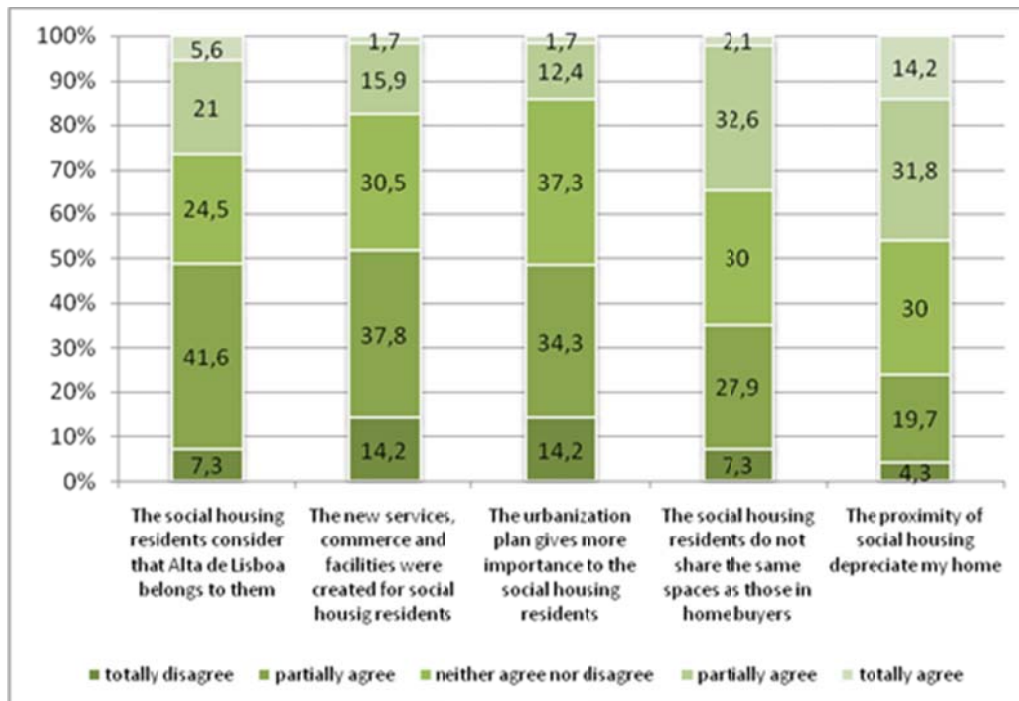
**Chart 3. Level of agreement with the following statements (Social Housing population) (%)**
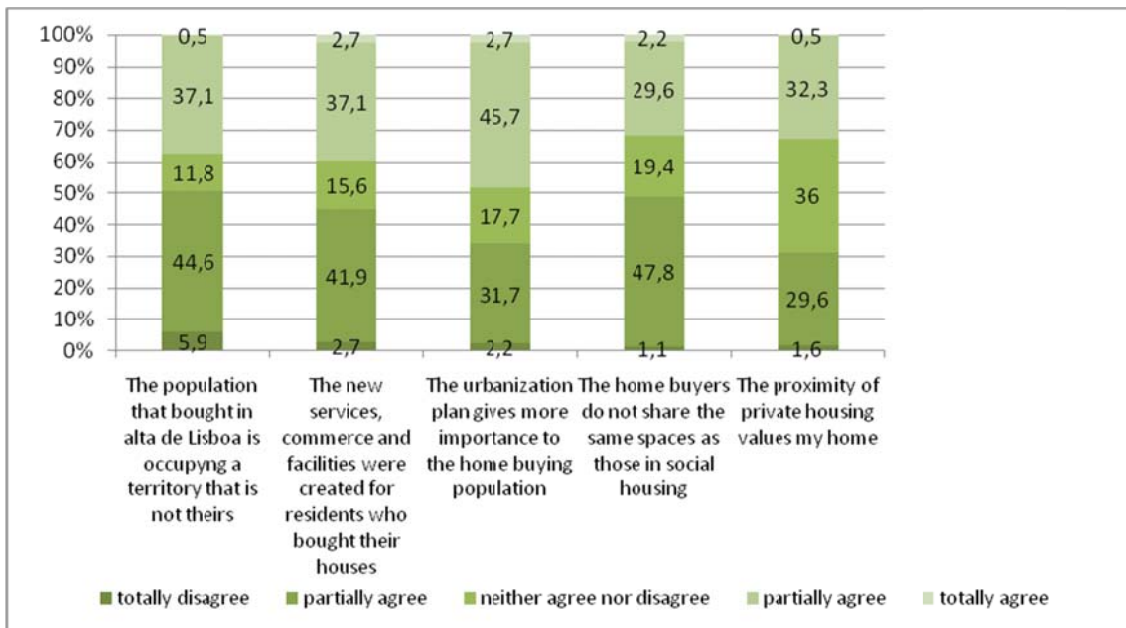


Source: Survey to Alta de Lisboa inhabitants, "Ways of life and needs for equipment and services study".

**Chart 4. Level of agreement with the following statements (Private Housing) (%)**



Source: Survey to Alta de Lisboa inhabitants, "Ways of life and needs for equipment and services study".

This apparent and pacific acceptance of the other and even the belief in the advantages of social co-existence clashes with the expression of mutual fears and feelings of insecurity. Both home buyers and the social housing residents in Alta de Lisboa see insecurity as the main problem in an approximation of these groups. In the case of social housing residents, these feelings relate to problems of drug use and trafficking, relationship with neighbours, and the possibility of muggings and burglaries; in the case of the private housing inhabitants, this factor gains more relevance due to their proximity to social housing. Despite their different scope and significance, this shared feeling of insecurity is, nevertheless, an indicator of the lack of social cohesion that is indispensable for social integration, especially regarding populations that are at disadvantage and the consolidation of residential spaces as living areas and places where roots are established.

All in all, despite criticism that basic facilities were not put in place, about the delay in the completion of works and the insufficient public transport network, the problems encountered have more to do with relationships (bad rapport and socialization between neighbours) than with facilities and services available or quality of the environmental and urban surroundings. This diagnosis is symptomatic of the lack of well-being, lack of trust and mutual fears expressed by both populations.

**Table 5. Identification of the three main problems/advantages of Alta de Lisboa,**
**by the total number of references and of interviewees**

|  |  | Per total references | Per interviewees |
|---|---|---|---|
| **Three negative aspects** | Feeling of insecurity, fear | 10.1% | 20.0% |
|  | Bad neighbour interaction and sociability networks | 7.7% | 15.2% |
|  | Lack of or insufficient public transport | 7.7% | 15.2% |
| **Three positive aspects** | Location (central/proximity) | 15.5% | 29.4% |
|  | Existence of green areas | 11.4% | 21.6% |
|  | Good access | 9.4% | 17.8% |

Source: Survey to Alta de Lisboa inhabitants, "Ways of life and needs for equipment and services study".

**3.2. Ways of life and appropriation of space: Centralization in the neighbourhood versus dispersion in the city**

The particularity of the ways of life of groups with such diverse and contrasting social profiles undoubtedly dictates the forms and reasoning of the appropriation of the space where they live. It is known that social groups with high economic, educational and cultural resources are able to disperse their time and daily activities across geographically distant spaces, whereas groups that are more disadvantaged in terms of these resources tend to centralize their lifestyle in the restricted space of their residential neighbourhood. This centralization versus dispersion inevitably produces consequences in the time spent in the neighbourhood, how facilities and services are used and the actual perception of this territory as a space of identity and belonging.

In fact, residents in social housing (particularly women) are those who spend more of their everyday lives in the territory; this is often the case among this type of population due to lower activity rates, less time occupied by employment, less mobility, and the concentration of their social life around the residential space. In contrast, residents in private housing leave the neighbourhood for significantly longer periods of time (due to the location and hours of work) and show a strategy of selective use of the facilities and services available in the residential area, dispersing their consumption, leisure and relational activities  across the vast city space.

The analysis of the way facilities and services are used is therefore an invaluable indicator of the level of centralization/dispersion of the ways of life. The residents in private housing concentrate their daily consumption in the residential area using local commerce and services and they take advantage of the territory's potential in its supply of green spaces and urban parks; on the other hand, sporadic purchases and non-material consumption (clothing, footwear, cultural and leisure activities) take place outside the residential area. In contrast, the social housing population reveals a marked dependency on the supply of facilities and services in the residential area both for daily consumption and education, child support, sports, health, etc. It should be noted that they are the main users of the health care centre, *crèches* and nursery schools and local schools.

A note on the use of educational facilities in the residential area for clarification purposes: Even though a not insignificant percentage (34.6%) of residents in private housing uses this type of local facility, it occurs mainly in private schools; when this population choses to resort to state schools, they opt in favour of other areas of Lisboa as opposed to schools in or around Alta de Lisboa. It is almost exclusively the residents in social housing who fill the vacancies in the state schools in Alta de Lisboa[3].

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[3] While 94.3% of residents in social housing place their children in state schools, only 37.7% of those in private housing do so and normally choose schools out of the Alta de Lisboa area.

**Chart 5. Nature (state/private) of the schools attended according to the type of developer (%)**
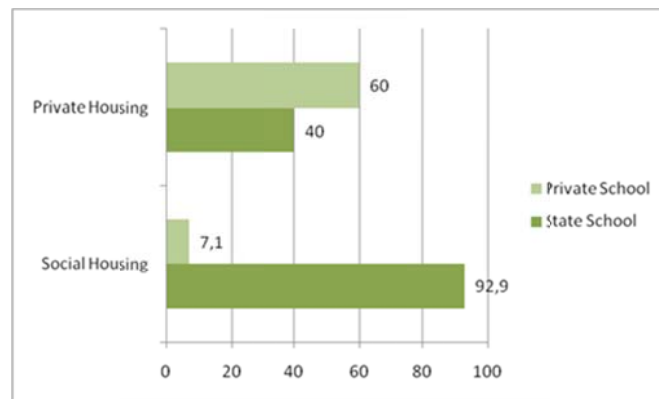


Source: Survey to Alta de Lisboa inhabitants, "Ways of life and needs for equipment and services study".

The planning of facilities becomes exceedingly complicated as a result of this contrast in the ways of life of the two populations. Their different needs, expectations, and housing and urban values make it necessary to provide more diversified facilities and services. The social housing population requires more input in terms of facilities for basic needs (education, child support, health and security) and, in keeping with their socio-economic profile and the structure of their ways of life, they depend on the public authorities to respond to these needs. The population in private housing is in a better position to use private service providers and their main demand is for facilities and services that respond to their leisure, sports and cultural needs. The latter qualify and distinguish their residential area and enable an urban way of life marked by the need for a different articulation between the spaces and work time, consumption and personal and family leisure.

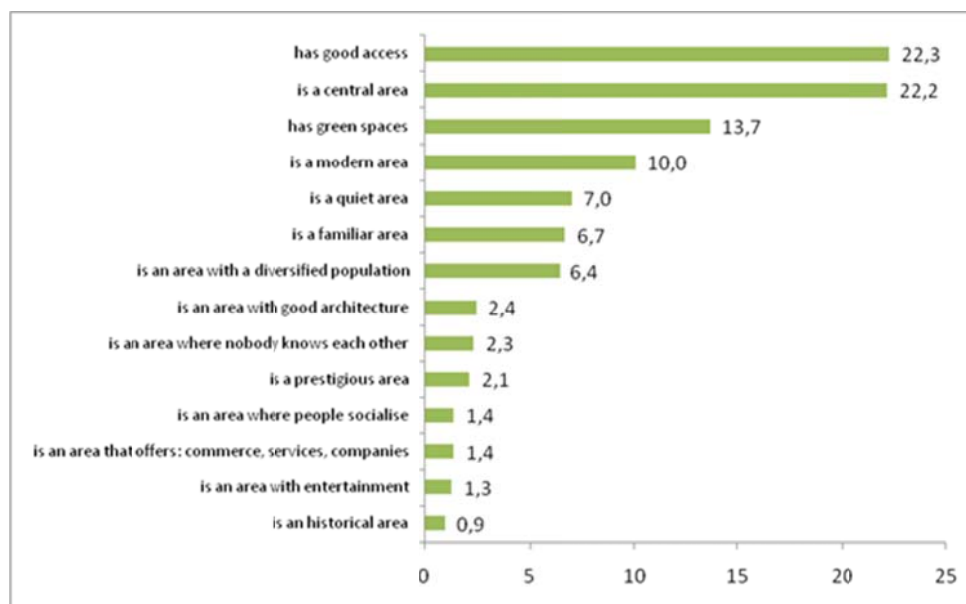**Chart 6. Use of the facilities according to the type of developer (%)**
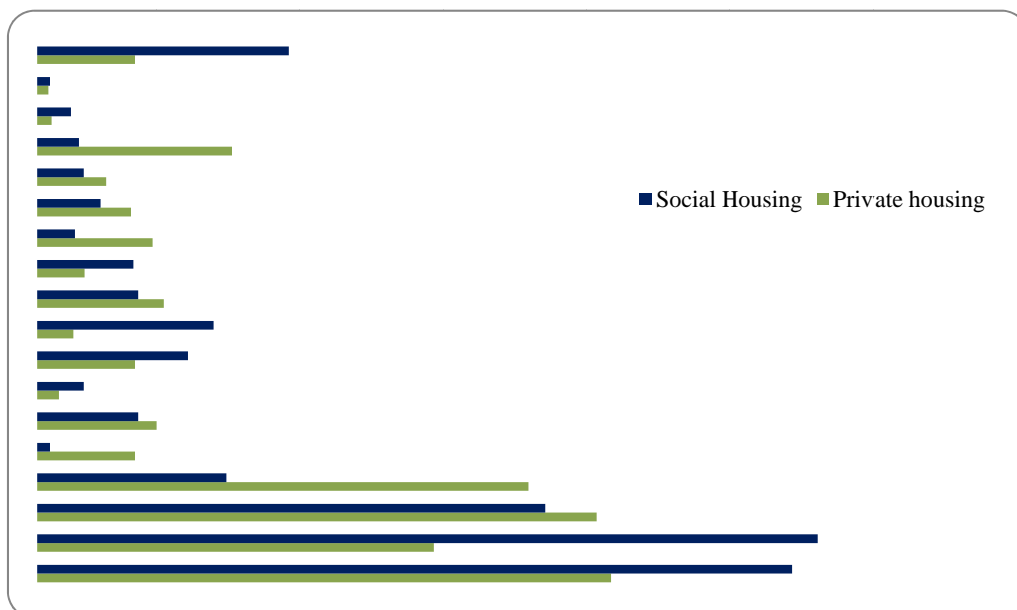


Source: Survey to Alta de Lisboa inhabitants, "Ways of life and needs for equipment and services study".

The contrasting ways of life are expressed not only in the reasons for choosing Alta de Lisboa but also in the attributes that are recognized and valued in this area. The key attributes that determine home buyers' decision to live here are that it is a new central area with affordable housing, good access and green spaces; these are also given as the main characteristics of this territory. If the reasons given for the decision to buy an apartment in this area result from a combination of the price/quality ratio of housing and the fact that it is a new area with good access, it can be said that nowadays there is a tendency to emphasize attributes that are related with the area's characteristics, namely its centrality and green spaces, which are simultaneously considered the most positive aspects. In other words, when choosing where to live, Alta de Lisboa fulfilled the aspirations for a new house with all the comfort and 'gadgets' that are disseminated in the advertising for housing models; in the current stage, it meets two requirements of an urban way of life specifically linked to the social profile and ways of life of the residents of private housing in Alta de Lisboa: centrality, guaranteed proximity to the workplace and the city's facilities and services, in particular those for the family (such as the aforementioned valorization of green spaces).

The same analysis is not possible in the case of those in social housing as they were not able to choose their place of residence. However, the attributes that are recognized and valued in this territory differ substantially from those mentioned above. As their lives are centred on the residential area, value is given to relational and identity aspects such as "being an area which is familiar", "where people socialize".

**Chart 7. Characteristics of Alta de Lisboa**

The structure of social relations is also fundamental to the analysis of the structure of lifestyles and the forms of relationship in the residential space. As in other dimensions, the residents' socialization in Alta de Lisboa is also distinct depending on the social group to which they belong. The relationship network of social housing residents is strongly connected to the neighbourhood and is established primarily between friends and neighbours in the residential area, as well as relatives. In the case of the population in private housing, social proximity is the predominant factor when establishing social relations even if that involves geographical dispersion; friends from outside the residential area are the main source of socializing, after relatives.

**Table 6. Relative importance of social networks established according to the type of developer (%)**

|  | Total | Private housing | Social Housing | Other |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Relatives** | 54.0 | 45.4 | 61.8 | 85.7 |
| **Friends living outside the residential area** | 25.7 | 39.6 | 10.5 | 0.0 |
| **Friends living in the residential area** | 18.6 | 17.6 | 20.4 | 0.0 |
| **Colleagues/school friends** | 16.2 | 19.8 | 12.6 | 0.0 |
| **Neighbours in the new residential area** | 15.5 | 9.0 | 22.5 | 28.6 |
| **Neighbours in the former residential area** | 6.4 | 5.4 | 7.9 | 0.0 |
| **TOTAL** | 100 | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Source: Survey to Alta de Lisboa inhabitants, "Ways of life and needs for equipment and services study".

## 4. One territory, two worlds

The coexistence of two groups in the same space but separated by their social profile, by their life trajectory, and by the structure of their lifestyles does not seem conducive to a territory of living together, of positive interaction, and of diluting the forms of stigmatization generally associated with those residing in social housing.

Although one of PUAL's concerns is to find ways of fostering the inclusion of populations that are vulnerable and excluded, the social mix does not yet promote new ways of socio-spatial organization, new social relations, or of sharing space. These two populations are physically united by the territory and yet separated by ways of life that place them in separate social worlds that are not tempered either by physical proximity or concerns about architectural similarity. On the contrary, the physical proximity seems to be of no consequence insofar as it is superseded by mutual processes of social distancing – perception of territories of exclusive use, perceptions of

the other as a threat and source of insecurity, feelings of dis-identification and mistrust – that produce symbolic walls and mirror a fragmented and highly polarized territory. They are fragmented in the sense of "a territorial organization marked by the existence of distinct territorial enclaves that have no continuity with the surrounding socio-spatial structure" (Barata Salgueiro, 1998: 225). Here also, and agreeing with the author, what defines the constitution of these enclaves is not so much the dimension but the type of relationship (or lack thereof) with the surrounding areas that are contiguous in territorial terms but without social or functional continuity.

The territory of Alta de Lisboa is thus configured as a mosaic of realities that touch each other but do not interpenetrate. The meeting takes place due to the use of facilities and services in the proximity but this does not result in interacting relationships. As highlighted by Rémy and Voyé (1981), this is a social relationship model that is not transformed into social interaction or, if transformed, does not take place between groups but within groups.

The major disadvantage is not so much in the coexistence of two separate worlds that are incapable of interpenetration, but rather the effects of not bringing about a process of real social miscegenation. Firstly, for the social housing residents themselves. Diluting a socially homogenous population with multiple disadvantages and marked by the stigma of living in degraded habitats could have a positive effect on their inclusion. But enclosing this population in 'enclaves' in the same territory to coexist with others, who are their social opposites, without fostering processes to blur this social contrast drastically, diminishes the positive effect of this principle. Secondly, the (unforeseen) proportion of this population and the visibility of its way of life in the forms of territorial occupation and relationship structures have a negative effect on Alta de Lisboa's image; it is understood to be a place with a large amount of social housing and has therefore lost the ability to attract its target groups (upper-middle and upper classes, especially young couples with high economic, educational and cultural levels) which has impaired its consolidation as an urban centre in the city of Lisbon.

**Figure 3. Private housing**



Source: Author's collection.

**Figure 4. Social housing**



Source: Author's collection.

## 5.   Some concluding remarks

### 5.1. Learning from past mistakes

Why is it that this territory has taken on a socially and physically polarized and fragmented configuration? Why is it that the intentions for social mix did not produce the desired effects? In the synopsis of the film *Vizinhos*, shot in this neighbourhood, the following question is asked: "(…) meanwhile, new residents arrive, unlikely neighbours, who share the same streets. But will living in the same neighbourhood make these people true neighbours?"[4]

**A much greater proportion of social housing population than planned**

One of the greatest obstacles of the territory is the existence of two types of population that are an absolute contrast from a sociological point of view – one belonging to the new middle class and the other with a social housing profile. For now this contrast is particularly evident given the high proportion of the latter, which highlights the associated stigma and even makes any modestly realistic integration strategy unviable.

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[4] Synopsis of the film *Vizinhos*[Neighbours]. Production, Picture, Sound, Editing: Tiago Figueiredo, *Viver na Alta de Lisboa* [Living in Alta de Lisboa]. Production (www.viveraltadelisboa.org).

**Figure 5. Private housing**



Source: Author's collection.

**Figure 6. Social housing**



Source: Author's collection.

**The facilities: factors of integration or causes of segregation reinforcement?**

One of the structural aims of the PUAL was to create an area of excellence in terms of the leisure facilities and infrastructures that serve the local population, but that would also become reference basic facilities in the context of the city and metropolis of Lisbon. It was believed that the envisaged network of facilities would be an asset to the integration capacity of the neediest population and a source of attraction for the upper-tier social groups that value the proximity of the cultural, sport and leisure facilities and cultural infrastructures. Much of this network did not get beyond the planning stage. Indeed, the lack of facilities was identified as Alta de Lisboa's fourth problem; the following were also evaluated negatively (due to shortage or bad quality): child support (especially

*crèches*), educational, sport, health and security facilities and also proximity services, cultural, social, and recreational areas. This draws attention to two different situations:

a) Failure to provide this type of facility for the social housing population, who depends on the state for its supply and its spatial proximity compromises any potential integration and reinforces the social segregation processes. This population is in fact more demanding in terms of basic facilities (education, health and safety);

b) Ambiguity in the private housing population's demand for public facilities: if available, would they use them (note the high percentage placing their children in private schools)? On the other hand, the private housing population makes a negative evaluation above all of the cultural services and resources, demanding more shops and sport and recreational activities/facilities. The lack of such resources and services accentuates the residential character of the territory, compromising Alta de Lisboa as an area of consumption, leisure and recreation, especially considering the profile of this population.

It is not only the existence of these facilities that is important, but their true capacity to attract and retain population whilst also acting as an interpenetration factor for the groups with such different social profiles and ways of life. Thus, not only does the absence of certain facilities compromise this objective, but the specific location of others seems to act as a reinforcement of segregation in this space. For example, when educational facilities (first and second cycle schools) are located in the vicinity of social housing developments, there is an immediate connotation with socially undesirable users, and residents of private housing do not risk sending their children there.

**Figure 7. Private school in Alta de Lisboa**



Source: Author's collection.

**Figure 8. Public school in Alta de Lisboa**



Source: Author's collection.

### An excessive "residentialization" of the territory

This excessive "residentialization" was built to the detriment of its functional diversification. This is visible in the bipolar exit and entry flows of the populations and it appears to incur some negative consequences:

a) Desertification during long periods of the day, creating spaces and times of absence that reinforce feelings of insecurity;

b) This monofunctionality of the territory removes its ability to be known as a place of consumption, whether for current or for future residents or even for possible future users of this space. In this regard, it is recalled that Alta de Lisboa serves daily consumption but not sporadic consumption or that of recreation and culture: most activities (especially those of private housing residents) take place in commercial or cultural spaces located in the city of Lisbon but outside the residential area.

**Figure 9. Excessive 'residentialization'**



Source: Author's collection.

**A territory that is disconnected, fragmented and discontinuous internally and in relation to the rest of the city**

This fact is due to the low occupation rates of buildings, expectant empty spaces and physical barriers resulting from unfinished works, the incomplete road network and access system; the bad state of repair of some buildings and public spaces, and excessive residentialization. This disconnection and fragmentation make it unattractive for potential residents and visitors, creating an idea of something unfinished; at the same time it becomes difficult to attract and retain shops and services in the territory, reinforcing its residential character and contributing towards hindering the consolidation of an urban centrality that could attenuate the current public image.

**Figure 10 and 11. Expectant empty spaces**





Source: Author's collection.

### 5.2. Having the strategic capacity to turn negative trends around

Whilst not an exhaustive list of what could mitigate or invert these negative processes, some proposals are made that could be fundamental lines of intervention in this territory:[5]

- **Socially diversifying the territory so as to fight the excessive social polarization**

Two types of strategy are required to do away with this contrast:

a) An indirect medium and long-term strategy to increase the number of private housing inhabitants, thus reducing the current proportion of social housing residents;

b) A direct short and medium-term strategy to establish model facilities (infrastructure and management resources) and social intervention which enables Alta de Lisboa to affirm itself outside the territory, so that it can also begin to attract other types of residents and users.

- **Functional diversification so that this territory can become consolidated as one the city's new urban centres**

On the one hand, the contrasting lifestyles within this territory require greater functional diversification based on the proximity of facilities and services for a population with limited mobility but also on plural supply that can provide the private housing population with the urban needs currently found in other areas.

This 'deresidentialization' process of the territory means that the residential mono-functionality must change to functional diversification and there must be a more dynamic use of the area during the day. This also entails the capacity to attract commerce, services, and companies capable of creating jobs and to generate consumer supply. These aspects are indispensable in order to appeal to new population segments (young singles and childless couples) that tend to seek town centres. This 'deresidentialization' process is vital to consolidate the territory as one of the city's new urban centres, showing the importance of establishing facilities that not only provide for local needs, but are also based on a logic that is transversal to the city by considering anchor facilities and projects that encourage urbanity. On the other hand, the territory must be seen as a place for consumption rather than simply as a stopping off place, thus enabling greater involvement with the surrounding environment.

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[5] These proposals were made within the scope of the abovementioned study: "Reprogramming of facilities in Alta de Lisboa – Study and planning of facilities".

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