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The consequential geographies of the immigrant neighbourhood of Quinta do Mocho in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

Margarida Queirós, Anna Ludovici and Jorge Malheiros

Introduction

For Lefebvre (1991: 12), ‘space considered in isolation is an empty abstraction’. Under a social-spatial dialectics, social practices produce spaces, and these influence social practices. So space is not neutral, neither a container of political life, nor a stage in which society acts (Soja 1996, 2010). There are significant differences regarding the privileged positioning of certain spaces in relation to the centres of power, that are contextually the richest in terms of social, cultural and economic opportunities. The production of space is therefore an outcome of a combination of exogenous geographies of power where political order and private property rights interact and impose from a top-down standpoint and also of endogenous geographies that are discriminatory and socially (re)constructed in a bottom-up perspective.

Lefebvre (1991) suggests that space plays a fundamental role to the lived experience of the world, comprising the triad composed by the conceived space (representations of space, abstract, symbols, codifications), the dominant space in society, the perceived space (spatial practices, characteristic spatial sets of each formation) and the lived space (space of representations of lived experience, of users and inhabitants). Each component of the triad represents a dimension of the social production of space (Pierce and Martin 2015).

A significant advance in the inseparability of power and space discourse has been proposed by Soja (1996). The author defined a spatial typology resulting in three spatial formations: (1) the firstspace, filled with material or physical objects that are subjects of measurement (for instance buildings, roads and bridges), can be mapped and has an exchange value; (2) the secondspace, reflecting the underlying plans, rules and codes, formulations defined by city planners, engineers, architects and others, as representations and paradigms of the places (ideological); and (3) the thirdspace, the space of users and inhabitants in which the material objectivity of the firstspace crosses the abstract creativity of the secondspace, filled with use values. So, the thirdspace is where tensions and conflicts arise, between the powerful and the less powerful, embodying human agency. The thirdspace is the one where ‘both exchange value and use value comes to life as social actors with multiple interests fight over the control of social space’ (Saatcioglu and Corus 2016: 236).
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According to Buitrago Bermúdez and Aguirre (2016), space defines the initial characteristics of its interactions through which it is possible to understand relations of power that shape the modes of socio-spatial production. If space is assumed as a social product (Lefebvre 1991, 2012), power relations determine its production, leading to processes of openness and closure that will generate distinct social behaviours (for example, hegemonic and/or counter-hegemonic projects). Reflecting Soja, ‘space is not a scientific object removed from ideology and politics; it has always been political and strategic. It is a product filled with ideologies’ (Queirós 2016: 155). Accordingly, space has to be considered both as a dynamic product and a process, a terrain for resistance and human agency among its different actors.

The process of production of space is mainly defined by the reasoning of the dominant power that generates an abstract (public, urban) space that is insured by capitalist rules and characterised by restrictions or limits to access (Leary-Owhin 2016), in which Lefebvre’s idea of ‘representation of space’ is dominant. However, the process of production of space is affected by other complex and contingent elements, which are forged and negotiated. The uses and practices reproduced in them also generate new ‘spaces of representation’ through the action of counter-hegemonic projects that are born under the initiative of civil society (such as grass roots movements), becoming spaces of resistance, between the exchange and use values.

Without adopting a lived space (or a thirddspace) perspective, expressing differential capacities, coherent or in conflict, it is extremely difficult to capture the levels of insight of human spatiality as does for instance the historical perspective. So space is ‘consequential’, not just a stage where social life materialises (Soja 2010). The production of space, therefore, remains a central theme in studies concerning the relation between social dynamics and urban planning. The producers of social space (urban planners, land developers and policymakers) assume its control and build its exchange value, while the users and consumers (civil society, residents, consumers, migrants and minorities) seek to increase the use value it provides. This process has an impact on urban landscapes, generates (un)just geographies and affects the ways people experience public space at different scales.

Contemporary neoliberal dynamics impact not only the formal and physical production of space, but also its symbolic production through the consolidation of new behaviours and socialisation practices. Public space is thus changed and conditioned in the possibilities of its fruition, being constrained and mediated by ideologies and norms mainly linked to consumption. This leads to the production of spaces of inclusion but also of exclusion and segregation. Conditioned by capitalism, space is transformed into a commodity – considering both the residential space per se and the involving public space – materialised in spaces traditionally linked to social living practices, such as traditional neighbourhoods. These transformations are likely to be more visible in city centres due to the higher levels of centrality and to the potential identified in the rent gap, and usually have a smaller impact on the peripheries and in rehousing neighbourhoods (Sobarzo 2006). This process generates an urban hierarchy of spaces and the production of socio-spatial inequalities, particularly in the dichotomy between centres and peripheries. The former is progressively at an advantage as it is transformed into a ‘high-quality consumer product for foreigners, tourists, people from the peripheries and suburban’ (Lefebvre 2012: 25), while the latter is at a disadvantage, as it is converted into ‘undesirable areas’, perpetuated through dominant discourses.

However, the progressive marginalisation, and a certain formal desertion of the undesirable areas, allows some peripheries to develop autonomous processes of bottom-up empowerment, gaining new meanings in terms of specificity and self-representation, namely the production of a sense of belonging or a spatial consciousness specific to neighbourhoods that differentiates them from the rest of the metropolis. In fact, if in the central areas the socio-spatial dynamics...
are strongly conditioned and promoted by the dominant order, logics of exchange value and consumption, in some peripheral neighbourhoods we can experience a way of life less conditioned by the representations of space. These spaces allow the production of informal, inclusive and spontaneous spatial practices and lived experiences, embodying resistance to the hegemonic power. In this sense, the space of appropriation, as lived space or thirspace, puts into relation the spaces of representation – the appropriate spaces of subjectivity – and the representations of space – the abstract spaces of objectivity (of the dominant power).

In order to elaborate on Lefebvre’s spatial triad (with a move towards a more contextual and agency-based thought of urban social space) and to illustrate its use as a powerful tool to understand the urban world, in this chapter we adopt the concepts of ‘lived space’ and ‘consequential geographies’ to emphasise that space is not just a container (Soja 2010). It generates an active outcome of coalitions between groups of interest revealing diverse stakeholders with different (sometimes conflicting) purposes producing human spatiality. In this way, by looking into ‘marginal’ neighbourhoods where informality and spontaneous social action apply, we explore the production of ‘differential space’ in a migrant neighbourhood of Lisbon’s immediate periphery: Quinta do Mocho (municipality of Loures – North of Lisbon) where communities of migrants from the PALOP (Portuguese-Speaking African Country) are over-represented.

We use Lefebvre’s production of space and Soja’s approach on the consequential geographies to understand the urban production of space by migrant communities in metropolitan areas. In Quinta do Mocho, recent public intervention is assuring better living conditions and creating a new image and therefore new representations of space. In this community, different counter-hegemonic spatial representations seek visibility and advocate for spatial justice, especially in the phase of the first occupation. These are bottom-up initiatives not always concordant and compatible between them – an emergent characteristic in the production of the lived space.

We use a mixed methodology that allows one to reflect on the triad proposed by Lefebvre from an empirical perspective. On the one hand an historical analysis was carried out, considering the genesis and the development of the neighbourhood. This is important in order to reflect on the relationship between urban planning and social practices, and on the consequences that the first has on the latter. Simultaneously, it was possible to observe how the lack of minimum survival conditions, such as housing, requires performances and actions that impact directly in the production of space, both physically and symbolically. Thus, the chosen neighbourhood functioned as an example of these opposing and complementary forms of acting within and through the public space.

In addition, this research is also the result of a reflection resulting from several previous projects carried out by the authors at different times and over the last 20 years. The methodologies used in these projects were mostly qualitative, carried out either through semi-structured interviews or direct observation – participatory and non-participatory. In addition, the permanent monitoring of judicial and political vicissitudes, which characterised the growth of the neighbourhood, made it possible to draw a sufficiently complete profile.

Quinta do Mocho in the LMA (Lisbon Metropolitan Area) context

The history of Quinta do Mocho illustrates a part of the complex process of territorial and social reorganisation that characterised Portugal and especially the metropolitan area of Lisbon since the 1970s. In the previous decade, an important internal rural-urban migration affected Lisbon. A process of concentration of investment, linked to manufacturing and the subsequent development of services, contributed to the progressive widening of labour supply, making the
city and its surroundings highly attractive to those who left rural areas of the country in the search for jobs.

The 1970s were marked by the April Revolution (1974) that put an end to the fascists-inspired dictatorship that lasted between 1933 and 1974, and also by the collapse of the colonial empire in Africa, a situation that resulted in a definitive break with the former political, economic, social and territorial organisation of Portugal. This rupture resulted in important migratory flows in the mid-late 1970s and 1980s, characterised by: (1) a significant increase in the urban population, mainly from the return of Portuguese from the African ex-colonies, to which should be added the return of emigrants and exiles from European destinations; and (2) a growing number of immigrants from the PALOP, followed by Brazilians, South Asians and Chinese (Malheiros 1996). This process generated a significant housing shortage that gradually worsened. The original neighbourhood of Quinta do Mocho is, precisely, a good example of an informal and bottom-up response to the strong demand for housing by immigrants.

In a context marked by low housing offered at affordable prices and great demographic pressure enhanced by the arrival of more than 300,000 returnees in the mid-1970s, Greater Lisbon saw the proliferation of informal housing responses that included shanty-neighbourhoods (barracas), self-constructed illegal houses (clandestinos) and a few examples of occupation of abandoned semi-finished buildings, as in the case of Quinta do Mocho.

Quinta do Mocho: representation of space, spatial practice and space of representation

Quinta do Mocho (‘The Owl Farm’), renamed by a law approved in July/August 2008 as ‘Terraços da Ponte’ (‘Bridge Terraces’), is located in the Municipality of Loures, which has a resident population of 205,054 inhabitants, bringing together a majority of white Portuguese with people from the PALOP, Brazilians and Indians, among others. It has about 20 social housing neighbourhoods (http://www.cm-loures.pt/).

According to the National Statistical Institute, in 1991, Loures was the third municipality in the Lisbon Northern Metropolitan Area with the largest total number of foreigners and with the largest number of people from African countries. During the second process of regularization of foreigners (from June to December 1996), the municipality of Loures accepted about 13 per cent of all requests received by the Regional Directorate of Lisbon of the Foreigners and Borders Service (SEF), with a bigger demand coming from Angolans and Guineans, in addition to Cape Verdians, Santomese, Indians and Pakistanis. This shows the ethnic diversity of the municipality, where already in 1995 the main ethnic groups (Africans, Gypsies and Indians) showed diverse geographical distribution patterns, a situation that led to segregation combining ethnicity and accessibility. Despite the identification of socio-spatial segregation patterns involving the various ethnic groups, several social housing neighbourhoods of Loures display a multi-ethnic character, and this is not considered as a factor of conflict, with social relations marked by bonds of solidarity and reciprocal support (Baptista and Cordeiro 2002).

The origin of the neighbourhood dates back to the second half of the 1960s when the Jota Pimenta construction company was granted permission by the Loures City Council to build four buildings of more than ten floors – a complex of 1500 private dwellings – to which were added ‘another 400 social housing’ (Malheiros and Letria 1999: 74). Despite the definitive approval of the project in 1969, the construction was delayed and then interrupted because of the lack of agreement between the builder and the political actors involved, and definitely blocked in the post-revolution period (after 1974). As Malheiros (1996) reported, in 1975 the land and buildings were declared of public utility and the project transferred to another construction company.
In the following four years, the situation reversed, but the passage from one construction company to another delayed the works, and in 1979 the land ceased to have public interest and the original company regained the property.

Bureaucratic problems related to property rights of property continued for another ten years, until in 1988 ‘the Banco Fonsecas & Burnay took possession of 2/3 of the property as a form of payment of bank loans contracted by the construction company’ (Malheiros and Letria 1999: 74). However, this situation did not provide a positive outcome. The approval of the first phase of the allotment (planned for 480 dwellings) was not carried out, and there was no authorisation to carry out the second phase of the project (planned for 1477 dwellings) by the Commission of Coordination and Regional Development of Lisbon and Tagus Valley and the General Directorate of Spatial Planning (Esteves 2004).

Throughout all these years some of the planned constructions were partially erected. These unfinished building structures, abandoned by the construction company, were gradually squatted by families from the PALOP. Many others later joined the 63 families surveyed in 1989. The Census of 1991 counted 296 families (1093 individuals), but the survey conducted in 1993 under the National Rehousing Programme (PER) reported 447 families (1495 individuals).

With the growth of the population of Quinta do Mocho, the Loures Municipal Council was forced to broaden and accelerate the process of resettlement of populations under PER (Decree-Law 163/93), in order to include all residents in Quinta do Mocho. Thus, in 1997, the Municipal Housing Division of the City Council of Loures made a last assessment of the Quinta do Mocho’s population that identified about 3500 people. The rehousing that took place in new social housing located in the immediate vicinity of the occupied unfinished buildings was completed in two phases (April 2000 and March 2002).

The original semi-finished buildings (see Figure 23.1) were demolished, and nowadays only the memories of the residents and a few photographs register the times they were occupied by migrants – that still call them ‘Mocho Velho’ (the Old Owl). In the following analysis that mentions the old demolished neighbourhood composed by the semi-finished buildings and the new

![Figure 23.1](image-url)
Consequential geographies of Quinta do Mocho

Malheiros and Letria (1999: 75) describe the ancient specific micro-pattern of ethnic-spatial organisation that existed in Mocho Velho:

in the shacks Cape Verdeans, the older inhabitants of the neighbourhood, some of them settled in the neighbourhood for more than twenty years; in the building corresponding to lots 1, 2 and 3, that displays a more advanced construction stage, the Guineans are installed; the largest part of Santomese are in the blocks 5 to 8, and the Angolans in lots 9 to 10.

The rehousing process led, in fact, to the construction of a new municipal neighbourhood located a few yards from the original occupied buildings of Mocho Velho; in place of these, luxury condominiums were built. The set of these two housing complexes – the social housing neighbourhood of Quinta do Mocho (see Figure 23.2) and the private condominiums of Terraços da Ponte – is today globally renamed as Terraços da Ponte. However, the new designation is not entirely consensual, as the original residents still use the traditional name: Quinta do

Figure 23.2  Terraços da Ponte, Quinta do Mocho. Source: Anna Ludovici.
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Mocho. The separation between Quinta do Mocho and Terraços da Ponte is evident from both a symbolic and a structural perspective.

Today the recent luxury condominiums, built in the former area of Mocho Velho, constitute an island of self-segregation. This division, physically materialised in the avenue that separates the two housing complexes and also in the different architectural typologies (municipal re-housing neighbourhood vs. closed condominium), is also expressed in the logics of self-representation that comes out from different ethnic and social compositions. Although the nomenclature Terraços da Ponte is extensive to Quinta do Mocho, the two areas are distinct in the geographical origin of the residents. While 92 per cent of the residents of Quinta do Mocho are native from the PALOP (according to the Sociological Study of the Resident Population in Municipal Districts carried out by the Local Intervention Office of Mocho, Loures Municipal Council in 2004–2005), Terraços da Ponte buildings are designed for a completely different model of dwellers, mainly white and wealthy, as it appears from some initiatives (see, for example, the ‘Association of Residents and Merchants of Urbanization Terraços da Ponte’ [AMCUTP], created in 2011, whose objectives are to ‘defend, preserve and strive for the improvement of the urban conditions, environmental and quality of life of its members’ [http://www.amcutp.pt/]).

However, in the rehousing process, the relations created during the coexistence in Mocho Velho were respected where possible, and this allowed the maintenance of a sense of solidarity bonds and a strong organisation capacity among the residents, which led to the maintenance and development of different organisations based on common culture and, sometimes, ethnic origin. The oldest association is the ‘Quinta do Mocho United and Cultural Association’, created in 1993, precisely to represent and advocate for the interests of residents in the access to housing and related services. Being one of the local organisations with a strong aim to support the daily needs of its members, it results from the fusion of the former four Resident Commissions constituted by the main ethnic groups existing in the neighbourhood to fight for better conditions of living (to demand for infrastructures such as basic sanitation, electricity and piped water). This association is related to other projects with specific goals and objectives (for instance to help foreigners in their demands for residence permits, certificates of residence and poverty) and is recognised and supported by the Office of the High Commissioner for Migration.

For the past seven years, Quinta do Mocho has been deeply affected by the massive intervention of the Municipality of Loures in partnership with the local associations. The new infrastructures and equipment existing in the neighbourhood allow the development of some commercial and associative activities for the residents, and the use of indoor spaces for leisure practices, educational and religious functions (whether for Catholics, Christians or Muslims). In 2014, the decision to nominate the neighbourhood for the European Urban Art Festival ‘Diversity Advantage Challenge’, with the project O Bairro e o Mundo (The Neighbourhood and the World) – through the creation of more than 30 murals painted on the residential buildings – was a turning point in the history of Quinta do Mocho. Today, the representation of a dangerous and inaccessible neighbourhood is being replaced by the image of an open-air art gallery with important artwork of famous grafitters, such as Vhils, Bordalo II, Odeith, Slap, Adres ou Pantônio. The Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation awarded this place with the award named Autarchic Good Practices for Hosting and Integration of Immigrants.

The rationalities of perception and representation of space as a socially produced object are reflected not only in the ways in which territory is materially organised and constructed – its morphology (Lefebvre 2012: 24) – but also in the social relations it produces. Led by the City Council, the rehousing process that took place in Quinta do Mocho physically shaped the place based on the Western housing models, namely those applied in social housing spaces marked by orthogonal street structures that optimise space and rows of repetitive four-floor box-style
buildings with rather poor construction materials. Nevertheless, this process of social integration attempted to respect the self-organisation and sense of belonging structured in Mocho Velho; as the original residents emphasise, the strategies developed at the time of occupation can be considered not only as daily survival practices, but also as instruments of community aggregation and solidarity, including party organisations and symbolic rituals. People from the first generations of immigrants reproduced personal forms of its main use as an extension of private domestic use. Simultaneously, younger people are more motivated to use the indoor areas dedicated to the associations (for sports and leisure), and they participate actively in the most recent intervention of the Municipality of Loures for the creation of the street art-gallery, also offering guided tours for visitors and tourists and other local cultural activities. And the transport company has overcome the stigma of the neighbourhood and has set up a bus route that crosses Quinta do Mocho, responding to the combined demands of the municipality and the residents.

According to Carp (2008), although physical places have social authority that affects socio-spatial practices in their environment, it is people who sustain and transform places through their interrelationship with space. Quinta do Mocho, in planning-related terms, underlines both the physical and the lived experience elements, since the contemporary main use of the place is quite conditioned by the public policies and the physical space these have produced. This is more evident among the younger population who grew up and adjusted to this spatial organisation, since informal uses of space are more evident among older people. Nevertheless, informal practices are by no means exclusive of the immigrants, as their offspring, the younger residents, are strongly linked to the local associations that have endowed specific cultural practices and products.

In Quinta do Mocho, spatial practices are not actually separable from representations of space or lived experience. We have observed that this mutual conditioning between space and practices is more evident by comparing the behaviours of the first wave of immigrants with the behaviours of their descendants and also of a few people that arrived more recently (Ludovici 2016). It can be seen that the first wave of immigrants, despite recognising improvements in the material conditions of the new social dwellings, is ‘pushed’ to reproduce informal practices of use of public space that reveal the subtler logics of the traditional territorialisation, in which the production and appropriation of space continues to be mainly a collective operation. Their ties with the daily practices were mainly developed in their country of origin, displaying the relevance that is given to the neighbourhood public space as an element that extends home and living practices. Consequently, informal practices such as hanging clothes to dry in the neighbourhood trees, cooking on the street pavement of the buildings’ entrances or producing ‘street living rooms’, especially on Sundays (that join several neighbours together who sit in chairs brought from home and do not use the public urban furniture) are visible and common in the supposedly rationally produced space of Quinta do Mocho. The tradition of developing their domestic dynamics not only in the private space, but also in the public space (which prolongs the first), is currently reflected in the neighbourhood’s soft informal practices. This was even more evident in Mocho Velho, where spatial/physical structures were more flexible and the transition from private domestic space to public common space was more blurred due to the lack of windows or the broken walls.

The relationship of the immigrants’ offspring, who grew up in Lisbon, to the spaces of the neighbourhood, is quite different. Despite maintaining a strong socio-spatial identity construction linked to the image of the country of origin, the second generation is mostly included in the dynamics of the destination country, via consumer and leisure practices. This different attitude is also confirmed by a sense of belonging to their own neighbourhood (and to a lesser extent to their country of destination). These different ways of construing the connection of the
various groups with the conceived space shows the importance of the relation between spatial planning and social practices within specific forms of socialisation and acculturation.

Therefore, if the space of the neighbourhood continues to be the main place for activities and representations for both generations, confirming for both a phenomenon of spatial segregation and ghettoisation, at the level of appropriation, the second generation experiences the public space through a more dynamic relation, that also involves a higher and more diversified practice of the urban space of Lisbon. In addition, the proactive presence of the local authority, whether through projects aimed at the ‘opening of the neighbourhood to the world’, or in projects exclusively developed within the community/local associations, contributes substantially to the dynamics of the neighbourhood’s territory and partly determines its appropriation (for instance, it reduced the phenomena of spatial segregation and ghettoisation among the second generation).

We assert, therefore, that the elements of the process of producing space that are associated with daily practices and complex social relations taking place in this rehousing neighbourhood characterised by a great cultural and ethnic variety are conditioned by different factors. The cultural identity of the country of origin, when it does not degenerate into inter-ethnic conflicts, can form the basis of ties of solidarity, which nourish and improve the sense of belonging and well-being. In addition, the need to fight adversity, as happened more explicitly in the days of Mocho Velho, also forges ties and leads to forms of collective action. But the construction of a sociospatial identity is not a static process, being shaped and re-shaped through the presence of the immigrants’ descendants, who grew up to identify more with the formal space of the neighbourhood and also bring to it new social dynamics from the host country. It is particularly for this group and in this dimension that the representation of space is more evident. Taking into consideration these processes, we may underline that there is a straightforward relationship between urban planning and social behaviour and that the daily practices – both the personal/individual and public/collective ones – need specific spaces to be realised.

Conclusions

In this chapter, we highlight the connection between conceived space/representation of space and lived space/space of representation/thirdspace, continuously interacting and redefining according to the norms, knowledge, identities and actions of the actors and their collective and individual use of urban space. Therefore, the spatial facets of the triad are not separated since via dialectical interrelations they produce a simultaneous space. Expressing differential capacities, in conflicted or coherent space, is where social life materialises.

This migrant neighbourhood provides insights into a latent conflict and presents the basis of a case for cooperation. In its origins, the place-making of Quinta do Mocho is a function of the formal development of the LMA within a suburbanisation process associated with the 1960s capitalist investment and the spatial concentration of activities that attracted labour and justified the expansion of new residential areas. If these dynamics have defined the original lines of space production, namely their destinations and uses, it is evident that the following decades showed how the informal action of its residents contributes to modify and redesign the urban landscapes.

The occupation of the old estate in the 1980s and the creation of Mocho Velho illustrates a narrative of conflict and resistance that is evident at different scales. At a global level, it is the result of the economic and political changes that included a long-lasting conflict in Angola and frequent military tensions in Guinea-Bissau, and the birth of new independent national states. At a local level, it expresses the creativity and resistance of immigrants in irregular situations,
showing that these people were capable of producing a living space that was able to use the weaknesses of the formal conceived space and fit into its interstices, not only institutionally, but also in physical and territorial terms.

At the end of this process, the final production of Terras dos da Ponte, involving the demolition of Mocho Velho and the construction of the present social housing estate, illustrates, as Pierce and Martin (2015) put it, a narrative of cooperation between the institutions that dominate/control space (the dimension of the representations of space or the conceived spaces that come from the technical knowledge and political power) and the practices/uses/appropriation of the space of its inhabitants in their daily routines.

In the case of the new Quinta do Mocho we may now identify different spatialities. On the one hand, older residents, mostly immigrants from the PALOP, show more contradictions in the uses of the neighbourhood spaces, blurring the distinctions between private and public spaces and reproducing some informal uses inherited from African territoriality. On the other hand, the second generation, mostly youth with an immigrant background, express cooperative cultural practices and an appropriation of the Quinta do Mocho space more in conformation with the contents of conceived space, showing how growing up and being socialised in a particular space contributes to shape people’s territoriality, and enlightening the effects of the public policies in the territory.

All things considered, the evolution of Quinta do Mocho/Terras dos da Ponte represents different phases of this complex process, where conceived space/representation of space and lived space/representational space intersect and influence each other in various ways with distinct levels of impact. The final rehousing stage determined a return to ‘normality’ via the restoration of the representation of space, arising from the regularisation of a process of clandestine occupation that culminated with the construction of the social housing neighbourhood. In this new space, where neighbourhood planning and architecture forms meet the other levels of formal reproduction (for example the school system and local policy regulations), lifestyles and daily practices have progressively become more homogenised, reflecting the consequences of daily involvement in these systems.

References


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