City Making & Tourism Gentrification Lisbon 2016

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Santa Maria Maior is a unique territory. It includes the most emblematic neighborhoods in Lisbon. It combines the most modern with the traditional. While we have the Michelin-star restaurants, the opera, and the theater on one of the hills, on the opposite one we have the intangible world heritage of Fado, the marchas populares, the grilled sardines out on the street.

Besides that, it is a cultural mixture of residents of diverse nations providing a very particular originality – especially in Alfama and Mouraria but also in Castelo, Baixa, and Chiado.

It is the combination of these factors that turns the Heart of Lisbon into the main tourist destination within the city. Its authenticity has been highlighted as one of the main tourist attraction forces.

But the unregulated tourism load is not always compatible with sustainable development. We find examples of this everyday in large cities such as Barcelona or Berlin, or in little Cinque Terre in Italy. In these examples, public institutions have already introduced specific policies for addressing the impacts of tourism on economic activity.

Mouraria is one of our examples of that sustainable development that is at risk. It is true that tourism has been – with real estate investment – a driver of development in one of the most emblematic neighborhoods in our parish. However, we must address its impact with particular attention. Analyzing the situation, paying attention to other examples, reflecting on its causes and effects, defining correct policies, and implementing them is always a good start.

This work, started by Academia Cidadã in order to study a process of gentrification that may be happening in Mouraria, is thus of great importance and significance. As such, the Parish Council of Santa Maria Maior is publically grateful for this voluntary entrepreneurship.

Obviously, we must also give special acknowledgement to professor Marc Glaudemans and Igor Marko for the brilliant direction of the Masterclass, which had the merit of materializing in real proposals after a week of work.

It is now our duty as public and private stakeholders to catch on this content and use it for the sake of Santa Maria Maior, of Lisbon, and even of Portugal.
Introduction: Tourism Gentrification & City-Making – A Wicked Challenge

Marc Glaudemans
Director Stadslab European Urban Design Laboratory, Tilburg

At the moment of writing this introduction, late August 2016, I am sure that Lisbon is witnessing another surge in visitors from all corners of the world. The global rise of tourism is starting to have a noticeable and lasting effect on cities on the tourist trail. Lisbon is clearly in that league; it has seen a huge increase of foreign visitors over the past decade, and tourism is becoming a real factor in understanding the urban development and urban future of Lisbon.1 This can also be stated more generally. Tourism may well become one of the decisive and disruptive forces that will shape cities in the early 21st century. Many European cities, such as Venice, Barcelona, Berlin and Amsterdam are suffering from excessive tourism, with overcrowding at the top sites and attractions.2 The ever-growing popularity of accessible platforms such as Airbnb and Booking.com is pushing the number of city visitors up year after year. In Lisbon the rise of tourism coincides with a slow recovery after the deep economic crisis that started in 2008. First, rigorous austerity measures – often forced upon Portugal by international institutions such as IMF and ECB – pushed many people into unemployment and poverty and made them look for alternative means of securing an income. Second, the exceptionally low interest rates and the unprecedented European Central Bank asset purchase program has caused a massive influx of virtually ‘free’ money and a search for profitable investments outside the financial sector. Both these economic factors together with the rise of tourism have resulted in a virulent cocktail with a huge impact on the city of Lisbon. How so? Well, first of all, the opportunity to rent a part of your apartment to foreign visitors created an attractive business model for local people to compensate their decreasing income due to the financial crisis. The revenues of such short-term rental proved to easily surpass the income of a regular job in a country with a median monthly income of only around € 1,000.3 In addition, the housing market in Lisbon is one of the most unbalanced in Europe. Due to historical regulations large parts of the rental housing stock in downtown Lisbon have had a rental freezing for over decades, resulting in € 40–100 rents for apartments in the city centre. This has led to a massive vacancy rate, since property owners can alternatively finance the maintenance of historical property from such meagre revenues. The property market in Lisbon, with its attractive urban scenery and beautiful apartments and historical palace-like architecture, suddenly became very attractive for foreign developers and real estate agents. Moreover, there are few restrictions on foreign property ownership in Portugal and transaction costs are generally low.4 All in all, these factors have resulted in an extremely strained situation in which the transformation of formerly regular housing into short-term holiday apartments and the buying up of prime real estate by foreign owners is significantly disrupting the housing market in the city. Local residents are pushed out and in some cases evicted from their houses and neighbourhoods in favour of an urban regeneration that serves the tourism industry or international real estate. In concordance with the changes in the residents profile also the retail profile of neighbourhoods transforms to cater for tourists rather than regular residents. The specific Lisbon case has furthermore resulted in a quite radical change in the use and shape of urban transportation. Traditional trams have become a tourist destination and essentially useless as a means of public transport. The huge influx of tuk-tuks in the streets of Lisbon may serve as a means of generating income for small entrepreneurs, but in actual practice they clog up the streets, they are noisy and their prices are far out of reach of local residents, who might otherwise actually have used them as a means of public

1 https://citiesintransition.eu/publication/we-all-are-tourists
2 http://blog.euromonitor.com/2016/01/top-100-city-destinations-ranking-2016.html
3 http://www.oecdbetterlifeindex.org/countries/portugal/
4 http://www.globalpropertyguide.com/Europe/Portugal/Price-History
With ‘wicked problems’ and come up with new and unforeseen solutions. In addition, adding the design component to city-making enables a wider participation of the community to be involved in the development of strategies that merge bottom-up with top-down approaches and interests. Urban planning and design in the 21st century will have to be more inclusive and multi-disciplinary, since we realize that the complexity of urban processes far outstretches the capacities of our disciplines alone.

Facilitating the dialogue between different stakeholders on the desired outcomes of an urban regeneration strategy is a valuable contribution that designers can make. The use of design as a visualisation and research tool will help stakeholders to understand the impact of certain decisions. In the Stadslab approach this is the main role of design. As a nomadic think-tank we will not be involved in the actual implementation of the urban transformation but serve as a catalyst to foster the dialogue and align stakeholders to adopt a common strategy or vision. The process and the outcomes of the Master Class reflect the approach. First participants were asked to truly engage and empathise with the local situation and stakeholders to grasp the range and extent of the issues at stake. This process included conversations with experts, representatives of local authorities, social workers, and residents and, of course, visitors and tourists. Even though this problem definition phase is necessarily brief and incomplete, it does create a sufficiently balanced knowledge base and personal commitment to start a design process. A creative and iterative approach of presenting, debating, and rejecting/developing proposals led to a series of seemingly unrelated city-making strategies, some of them spatial, others more social-economical or within the spheres of monitoring and regulating. Imagining and visualising the impact of these proposals in case-specific and real-life situations in Mouraria helped to fine-tune and improve the proposals and identify the role of the different stakeholders and the spatial or regulatory framework that could help to maximise their impact. Clearly, these Master Class proposals are semi-final products at most. All of them need further development and a rigorous confrontation with the local legal, cultural and political mechanisms. This is a process best taken over by a more local and embedded stakeholder or coalition of stakeholders (both public and private). The Master Class objective was to present this rich variety of strategies that could be applied and would contribute to a city-making process that is inclusive and ultimately aimed at a balanced development weighing in the stakes of residents, local authorities, businesses and tourists.

Realistically many more problems and obstacles are presented than can be solved by a single intervention. Yet, there is a strong desire by the municipality to create a vibrant place. The Master Class was an essential first step of a longer process of an urban regeneration strategy. The Master Class proposals are semi-final products at most. All of them need further development and a rigorous confrontation with the local legal, cultural and political mechanisms. This is a process best taken over by a more local and embedded stakeholder or coalition of stakeholders (both public and private). The Master Class objective was to present this rich variety of strategies that could be applied and would contribute to a city-making process that is inclusive and ultimately aimed at a balanced development weighing in the stakes of residents, local authorities, businesses and tourists.

There is no idealized end state to arrive at, and so approaches to wicked problems should be tractable ways to improve a situation rather than solve it. In addition, there is no template to follow when tackling a wicked problem; although history may provide a guide. Teams that approach wicked problems must literally make things up as they go along. Designers have a talent and natural inclination to operate like that and come to their proposals through an approach of rigorous iteration. Due to the system conditions can simulate. This is certainly the case regarding the understanding of complex urban phenomena. Global (urban) tourism is on the rise and we cannot foresee how exactly it will evolve in the future. Platforms such as Airbnb and similar ‘shared economy’ initiatives are still in their infancy and already they have massively disrupted the tourism and lodging industry. Ultimately it is the task of local and national governments to implement and enforce legal regulations to balance out the negative impacts of such developments and safeguard the accessibility of public resources such as affordable housing and public transport. Simultaneously, these measures should also accommodate and stimulate the positive effects of such developments to take place. Tourism can be a positive multiplier factor and result in financial benefits that can be used to improve the basic urban infrastructure that will also benefit the residents and local businesses. It is a certainty that there are no simple fixes or quick solutions for this complex reality. Cities, all around the world, will have to incrementally respond, anticipate and test new models and regulations and find out their impact on urban life. As indicated before, this issue will be firmly positioned within the realm of the ‘wicked problems’.

“A wicked problem is a social or cultural problem that is difficult or impossible to solve for as many as four reasons: incomplete or contradictory knowledge, the number of people and opinions involved, the large economic burden, and the interconnected nature of these problems with other problems.”

It might be a sobering conclusion for some, but solutions to wicked problems can never be true or false, only be good or bad. There is no idealized end state to arrive at, and so approaches to wicked problems should be tractable ways to improve a situation rather than solve it. In addition, there is no template to follow when tackling a wicked problem; although history may provide a guide. Teams that approach wicked problems must literally make things up as they go along. Designers have a talent and natural inclination to operate like that and come to their proposals through an approach of rigorous iteration. Due to the system conditions can simulate. This is certainly the case regarding the understanding of complex urban phenomena. Global (urban) tourism is on the rise and we cannot foresee how exactly it will evolve in the future. Platforms such as Airbnb and similar ‘shared economy’ initiatives are still in their infancy and already they have massively disrupted the tourism and lodging industry. Ultimately it is the task of local and national governments to implement and enforce legal regulations to balance out the negative impacts of such developments and safeguard the accessibility of public resources such as affordable housing and public transport. Simultaneously, these measures should also accommodate and stimulate the positive effects of such developments to take place. Tourism can be a positive multiplier factor and result in financial benefits that can be used to improve the basic urban infrastructure that will also benefit the residents and local businesses. It is a certainty that there are no simple fixes or quick solutions for this complex reality. Cities, all around the world, will have to incrementally respond, anticipate and test new models and regulations and find out their impact on urban life. As indicated before, this issue will be firmly positioned within the realm of the ‘wicked problems’.

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PERSEVERANCE

Say not that work is e’er ill-spent,
Say not that effort fails or seems;
Say not that he o’er labour bent
Is one in the world’s many dreams.

For not in vain with patient shocks,
With timely rush and quick’ning roar,
The ocean crashes on the rocks
And bounds on to the sounding shore.

They check, ’tis true, his rolling rush,
His sturdy beat they seem to scorn,
His surging waves with force they crush
And turn in spray his billows torn.

But days and weeks and months and years
He strikes and strikes and strikes again.
And dent on dent in them appears
That shows his weary, patient gain.

And years may pass or ages go,
Those eaten rocks will smaller stand;
Still he, with measured aim and slow
Shall bend his surging to the land.

Sure as the sun, and unperceived
As is the growing of a tree,
He works and works, nor is deceived
By sturdy from that men can see.

And when his object full he gains
With last and sounding, rending crash,
His mighty power he still sustains
And onward still his waters dash.

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# Master Class Program

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Day</th>
<th>Date</th>
<th>Time</th>
<th>Activity</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>FRI</td>
<td>15 April</td>
<td>20h00</td>
<td>Welcome Dinner</td>
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<tr>
<td>SAT</td>
<td>16 April</td>
<td>10h00</td>
<td>Lecture Paula Marques, Deputy Mayor Housing / Local Development, Lisbon</td>
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<td>Lecture Luís Mendes, Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning, University of Lisbon</td>
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<td>11h00</td>
<td>Introduction Igor Maro, marktplacemakers, London</td>
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<td>13h00</td>
<td>Lisbon Sustainable Tourism Tour</td>
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<td>18h00</td>
<td>Wrap up</td>
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<tr>
<td>SUN</td>
<td>17 April</td>
<td>10h00</td>
<td>Lecture Miguel Coelho, President of the Parish Council of Santa Maria Maior</td>
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<td>Lecture Filipa Bolatinha, Renovar a Mouraria</td>
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<td>12h00</td>
<td>Scripted Fieldtrip in groups</td>
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<td>17h00</td>
<td>Comparative study</td>
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<td>MON</td>
<td>18 April</td>
<td>10h00</td>
<td>Lecture João Seixas, University Professor at New University of Lisbon</td>
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<td>12h00</td>
<td>Lecture Igor Maro,</td>
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<td>14h00</td>
<td>Inventing Roles</td>
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<td>Wrap up</td>
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<tr>
<td>TUE</td>
<td>19 April</td>
<td>10h00</td>
<td>Creating future scenarios</td>
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<td>18h00</td>
<td>Wrap up</td>
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<td>20h00</td>
<td>Dinner</td>
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<td>21h30</td>
<td>Cine-Café “Bye bye Barcelona”</td>
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<td>WED</td>
<td>20 April</td>
<td>10h00</td>
<td>Studio - work in groups</td>
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<td>18h00</td>
<td>Wrap up</td>
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<tr>
<td>FRI</td>
<td>22 April</td>
<td>10h00</td>
<td>Final presentation preparation</td>
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<td>17h00</td>
<td>Final discussion</td>
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<td>20h00</td>
<td>Closing dinner</td>
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To structure the process of the Master Class on such a complex topic and a diverse and multidisciplinary team, we followed the working method of design thinking. This approach differs from an analytical scientific method, by identifying and investigating both known and still ambiguous aspects of the problem to discover hidden parameters and open alternative paths that may lead to a solution. Design thinking is typically iterative, and the process involves common characteristics, mainly: creativity, teamwork, user-centeredness (empathy), curiosity, and optimism (Faste, 1994). The process and the outcomes of the Master Class reflect this approach. First, participants were asked to truly engage and empathise with the local situation and stakeholders to grasp the range and extent of the issues at stake. The first stage was for them to go out and follow certain preconfigured routes through the neighbourhood of Mouraria and take detailed notice of the spatial environment from the perspective of a tourist. These notes then had to be reframed in a consistent and personal narrative of the spatial conditions on their routes. The next step was meant to meaningfully engage and empathize with the different actors. This process included conversations with experts, representatives of local authorities, social workers, and residents and, of course, visitors and tourists. Even though this problem definition phase was relatively brief and incomplete, it did create a sufficiently balanced knowledge base and personal commitment to start a design process. A creative and iterative approach of presenting, debating, and rejecting or developing proposals led to a series of seemingly unrelated city-making strategies, some of them spatial, others more social-economic or within the spheres of monitoring and regulating. Imagining and visualizing the impact of these proposals in case-specific and real-life situations in Mouraria helped to fine-tune and improve the proposals and identify the role of the different stakeholders and the spatial or regulatory framework that could help to maximize their impact. The Master-Class objective was to present this rich variety of strategies that could be applied and would contribute to a city-making process that is inclusive and ultimately aimed at a balanced development weighing in the stakes of residents, local authorities, businesses and tourists.

4

Master Class Process and Method

Marc Glaudemans and Igor Marko

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Clearly, the Master Class proposals are semi-final products at best. All of them need further development and a rigorous confrontation with the local legal, cultural and political mechanisms. This is a process best taken over by a more local and embedded stakeholder or coalition of public and private actors.

Design Thinking at work.

Marc Glaudemans and Igor Marko

4
Proposition I

Hey Mouraria, put on your glasses!

Michela Leoni, Patricia Weiss

In the context of an increasing tourism pressure and rapid social transformation in the neighbourhoods of the city, Mouraria still retains a special local character that could play an important role in supporting the balance between the different users of the area.

This proposal wants to leverage on what is already present in the area to strengthen its value as a neighbourhood and to create mental ownership in its residents and users. To do so, it is crucial for people to meet with one another, in order to know and accept each other to communicate and to generate ideas. People need physical spaces where they can meet!!

This proposal focuses on making existing opportunities for encounter visible, in terms of spatial occasions where people could interact.

The process consisted in identifying existing spaces with potential to become key spaces for interaction. These do not necessarily need to be traditional public spaces, but also those that are semi-private, or even private ones.

These spaces are then activated through acupunctural interventions (e.g., removal of physical and non-physical barriers, and addition of elements) as well as with temporary activities. By twisting the ordinary point of view through micro-modifications of the surroundings, and to show how spaces could be used for different activities, we aim to push people to see usual places in a new light and to become aware of their potential. This proposal could transform unusual urban typologies, opening them to possibilities for new functions.

By simply revealing existing opportunities, we do not want to impose a fixed recipes for the area, but we aim to activate. We aim to activate, but we aim to activate endogenous dynamics.
When we did surveys, we realized that there are a lot of good ideas and a lot of opportunities in this local area of Mouraria. At the same time, we noticed some certain lack of dynamics. During this week, we have heard of the story of the Portuguese king “D. Sebastião” and that people are literally waiting for his return. So we thought that this was a good starting point to develop an opportunities platform here in Mouraria. We want the people to realize that the king is in all of us.

To reach this we want to stimulate empowerment of the local people of Mouraria, therefore, we want to create communication between them and connect the people so that they can share ideas. To reach all of the different residents of this district we decided to create an online and offline platform.

As an offline platform we created a communication board where people can share their ideas, needs and offers, like someone who has a space to offer for social events. At the same time there could be a dance group looking for a rehearsal place. We tested this board in the Pastelaria, and noticed the interest of the people. The board can also be the place to promote events in the future.

As an online platform we started a community page on Facebook, called Namouraria. We realized that there are already things going on in Mouraria, but that it would be good to have one page which connects people and events in Mouraria. This page is open for everybody to publish ideas, needs and offers, like on the communication board. The page is already online, and reached more than 100 people.

These are two concrete examples that we have tested only in some days, so we believe it could be further developed and implemented.

Maud Muselaers, Marie-Charlotte Deyda, Brita Coco Obbens, Pedro Porto Coutinho Guimarães
Proposal III

Living Library

Magdaléna Švorcová

After the first day when we explored the city on our own feet and with our own eyes as tourists, we tried somehow to detach ourselves from all of our personal experience and emotions and had a completely different view on the city center and Mouraria especially. Therefore we decided to just approach random people in the streets of Mouraria, asking them the same things about this place:

- Name and place of origin
- Occupation: resident vs tourist
- Age
- Personal experience – How do they feel / live in the city quarter
- Mouraria in the nearest future

What we have found out is this:

It basically does not matter if you are a resident or tourist, retired person, mother taking care of her children or a homeless (ex-homeless) person.

We could feel that all of these people we stopped somehow felt the same feeling. They enjoyed their lives here – feel like home in Mouraria. Mouraria is a safe place for them – home – dreamland (for some of them they do not live here directly, but come here on a regular basis.)

Tourists enjoyed Mouraria’s vibrance, romantic atmosphere with lots of stairs (even though, they get lost here), and lots of hidden treasures. They really enjoyed the multicultural element in this part: all the world in one place.

We found out that residents, but also tourists, could identify Mouraria as a fundamental part of Lisbon – even though some tourists ended here randomly. Both tourists and residents are aware of a need for urban transformation – adaptation for the future – not to destroy this treasure of Lisbon.
Proposal IV

VAI - VEM Mouraria
Tuk-tuk as a win-win

Inês Almeida, Dominika Belanská, Nuno Pires Figueiras

What if not only the tourists, but also the elderly local residents could take a tuk-tuk to get to a grocery store, to church, to visit a doctor, or get to the closest bus stop? What if a mother with a child could "hop-on" and get a drive to cope with the steep streets of Mouraria?

Tuk-tuk cars ride the streets of Lisbon, providing sightseeing tours for tourists. In 3 years the business has grown to 600 vehicles. Apart from the business providers and drivers, the local people don’t have a direct benefit from the service, but have to bear the noise and presence of vehicles in streets. At the same time, there is a “gap” in the system of public transport, leaving the local residents without any public transportation in the heart of Mouraria. We see this as an opportunity for a win-win: the tuk-tuk providers will gain effectivity of their service, and the locals easier mobility. This will support, together with the upcoming change of regulation that by January 2017 obliges all tuk-tuks to be electric, to the conviviality of the tourism and daily life of the quarter.
Proposal V

Agency for co-investment

Inês Almeida, Dominika Belanská, Nuno Pires Figueiras

What if we flipped the usual real-estate chain and provided people who want to have a long-term residency or business, with an opportunity to co-invest into the vacant houses of Mouraria?

It is almost impossible to find a flat for sale or for a long-term rent in Mouraria. Buildings are bought by real estate companies, which refurbish and put their spaces back in the market, adding a significant profit margin for their service. Most of these ventures aim at a very specific target - either luxury or for touristic investment - not providing long-term housing solutions for lower and middle classes.

Due to this market development, the average prices of the rent rise rapidly, pushing out the original residents of the quarter. Along with them leaves the “soul” of the neighbourhood, and it is being replaced by an economy based on pleasing the touristic demand.

Building on the models of co-housing, we propose to set up an “agency” - a body or an organization - that would facilitate the common interest of diverse people - young families, workers, entrepreneurs, freelancers - who would become long-term contributors to the neighbourhood.

How could an “agency” assist a self-driven group of people in establishing a co-investment project?

The agency would embody the experience of self-organized, community-oriented and sustainable co-housing projects, which develop market alternatives that merge demand and provider roles, safeguarding the investors’ interests. The agency would collect and provide specialised know-how and offer it to those interested in setting up such projects in Lisbon. It could also actively promote this alternative, and provide platform where people can find like-minded fellows to co-invest together.

This non-profit agency would assist co-investors in facilitating the process of planning and decision making; help deal with project management, regulations, paperwork, and also serve as a legal entity which can give weight to the venture of collective of individuals, e.g. when applying for a bank loan.

Why co-invest?

• to get access to buildings market: usually only developers, promoters or individuals with a big investment capacity can afford such venture
• to save money: keeping the developer “out of the chain” means to cut profit margins related with real estate businesses
• to be part of the design and making: to decide about the characteristics of the place you’ll be living in or owning
• to be a part of the community: being an active participant and contributor to the neighbourhood, supporting local economy dynamic and social well-being

Inês Almeida, Dominika Belanská, Nuno Pires Figueiras
The Urban Wheel Canvas is a tool for collaborative planning. It is proactive in the sense that it builds the network necessary to implement a vision. This includes all stakeholders, the various opportunistic projects and investment goals. The Urban Wheel of Projects solves the issue that actors often do not know what is happening beyond their own backyards and how projects develop in time. In this tool all stakeholders, resources, opportunities and challenges have been mapped. The Urban Wheel of Projects is an interface of stakeholders and opportunities. It creates a network arena that orchestrates the required collaboration between all entities in Mouraria or any given territory. In the presence of such diversity of discourses the essence is to guarantee conditions for the transparency (visibility) and accountability of multiple interventions. The Wheel of projects offers an overview of time and interests giving sense to possible synergies in the most basic way: “after something, get something.”

Properties of the tool:
- Encourage networking and synergies
- Give visibility
- Allows multiple readings simultaneously
- Encourages all types of projects and investments - it is inclusive, soft and hard resources and ambitions have equal value.
- Gives perspective / widen scope
- Drives incremental processes
- Not bound to an individual responsibility
- Flexible framework: different contributors can come and go at any given time
- Unlocks narratives

Project: Made by Inês Almeida in for “EUROPAN 13 - Trondheim” Competition

Proposal VI

Urban Wheel Canvas

Inês Almeida
Proposal VII  
**Good Data for Good Policy**

Luís Paulo Faria de Moraes, Iago Rodríguez-Lestegás Tizon, Maria Estela de Moura Dantas Gonçalves, Marina Gaboleiro Carreiras, Anselmo Pinheiro Amílcar

The speed of current urban transformations, as well as the variety of involved actors, create a strong pressure on urban management. It is important to consider the diversity of functions and values of cities; it’s balances and imbalances to develop a planning strategy and a strategic city management. For this, it is important to know the realities, notably through the construction of supporting tools.

This proposal indicates a first approach of a model to monitor and evaluate urban vitality from a multi-scale perspective. A diverse set of interconnected parameters is monitored, which contributes to an integrated understanding of the urban conditions and enables planning control tools and strategic planning legislation.

Although nowadays there is a significant amount of data available to the public, sometimes these are not updated or unified. This compromises the chance of a reliable comparative analysis, inhibiting the decision-making process. So there is a need for a dynamic tool, which matches with the accelerated rhythm of city transformation and its diverse interdependencies.

The presented model compares existing and/or collected data of a certain area of the city. An informal diagnosis is essential for a city’s change, current state or protection. In this case five aspects of analysis are selected; housing, population, public transport, commerce and service, and public space. Combining quantitative and qualitative data, which are structured and parameterized, the possiblity of a visualization of the current state of the city with its various territories or neighbourhoods is given.

The shown example indicates a model of monitoring of the tourism capacity in Mouraria. The quantitative data, resulting from different sources, allows measuring the vitality and the feasibility of the city by its structural levels. The qualitative data allows integrating more subjective, short-term and “hidden” levels, having a much deeper understanding of the space.

Therefore the collection of indicators is proposed, which can be measured and evaluated in different areas at different scales in an interconnected way, allowing evaluating the progress in diverse areas as well as the efficiency of certain actions. The proposal targets the development of a methodology, which focuses on the evaluation of the relative efficiency inserted into a temporal sequence, and keeps down the absolute values and isolated variables.

In conclusion it’s an attempt to develop a new decision-supporting methodology, which benefits from operational data collection and analysis of urban spaces. It demands on the one hand open access and transparency of data and on the other hand a fundamental holistic understanding of the city.
QUANTITATIVE APPROACH

QUALITATIVE APPROACH

- satisfaction level with the neighborhood
- satisfaction level with dwellings
- new neighbors
- social equality
- interaction among residents
- interaction with newcomers
- interaction with tourists

Population density (Residents/km²)
- 0 - 1999
- 1950 - 19799
- 2020 - 24199
- 21151 - 27199
- ≥27501

Leased dwellings [%]
- 10.6 - 20.5
- 20.6 - 27.6
- 27.7 - 46.6
- 47.1 - 62.7
- ≥63.5

Regular-residence dwellings [%]
- 20.32 - 45.99
- 50.01 - 65.00
- 65.01 - 70.00
- 70.01 - 75.00
- ≥75.01

HOUSING
- ownership
- segmentation
- occupancy
- conservation
- tenancy regime

POPULATION
- demographic structure
- social structure
- social relations
- way of life
Gentrification is already an old and dirty word. Going back to basics, gentrification is a widespread pattern of middle-class residential settlement of older inner-city neighborhoods formerly occupied mainly by working-class and underclass communities. Gentrification is the process by which poor and working-class neighborhoods in the inner city are refurbished via an influx of private capital and middle-class homebuyers and renters, neighborhoods that had previously experienced disinvestment and a middle-class exodus. It represents a dramatic yet unpredicted reversal of what most twentieth century urban theories had been predicting as the fate of the central and inner-city. Simultaneously a physical, economic, social and cultural phenomenon, gentrification commonly involves the invasion by middle-class or higher-income groups of previously working-class neighborhoods and the replacement or displacement of many of the original occupants.

The underlying processes of gentrification and the material changes they produce seem to have been stretched over time and space. Contemporary gentrification has become increasingly complex because different actors and locations have become involved and the landscapes produced have changed. A series of transformations derived from a new political and economic context imposed by globalization generated a new form of gentrification significantly different from the one that was observed for decades, from the point of view of the protagonists and demands, as the modalities and supply structure. What was causal, marginal and local gets to be systematic and is truly global to all regions of the planet, as a significant dimension of strategy in the scene of contemporary neoliberal urbanism. The concept that was summarized to the issue of housing dynamics is now expanding into the tourism and retail under urban regeneration processes, which allows us to speak of tourism gentrification and commercial gentrification.

What can be done to resist or mitigate tourism gentrification in Lisbon? Some Policy Findings & Recommendations

Luís Mendes
Geographer, guest lecturer at the School of Education of Lisbon and permanent researcher at Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning of the University of Lisbon

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Why can we speak of tourism gentrification? In Lisbon, for instance, the flows of capital in the real estate market combined with the shift to tourism explain gentrification more than fully than do alternative accounts that focus on consumer demand or cultural preferences of a new middle class for upscale neighborhoods. Especially in the context of the financial post-crisis, the social and economic urban structure of Lisbon was profoundly transformed to embrace the growing demand of international tourism. Tourism in inner city of Lisbon is a kind of “panacea” that can cure all of its diseases. There has been some discussion lately about whether touristification is a kind of gentrification, since processes often share common traits with one another. So we understand “Tourism Gentrification” as the transformation of popular and working class neighborhoods of the inner city in consumption places, gaining markedly new middle classes and exclusively headed for entertainment proliferation and tourism sites, so that the recreation, leisure or lodging function begin to gradually replace the residential and commercial traditional functions, emptying the neighborhoods of their original population. Historically, the traditional center of Lisbon has been home to diverse groups of people. Over the past ten years especially, however, the property values has increased. This, coupled with the economic crisis, the financial austerity and the new law of urban rental (bulwark of a neoliberal turn in legal and urban policy frame) legitimized the “tourism panacea” in the city center. Escalating rents have pushed out the poor people and immi...
First, we need a more effective state, with capabilities for design, implementation and evaluation of public housing and tourism policies. In this field, it is necessary to strengthen local municipal government as regulator of the tourism development in the city. It is insufficient to only have a clear mission, strategies, objectives and adequate funding. State capacities (technical-bureaucratic and administrative capacity, legal capacity, the ability to tax infrastructure and capacity) are required for the regulation of political mobilisation to produce a city of the majority and the collective.

Second principle: promotion of urban social movements for protection to housing and the right that can combine with the struggle of the residents of the historic center (local neighborhood associations, activists, tenants associations, neighborhood committees, institutional / cultural or sporting associations, etc.). These movements must link up with other community, local and regional political organizations and, similar to what is happening worldwide, increasingly realize the capabilities and efficacies of networking and multiscale struggles. Only then these movements can win and extend its institutional bases in conjunction with the government and representative democracy.

The following measures are particularly important to maintain and secure the population in the neighborhoods of the historic center of Lisbon, one of the European cities with the lowest population density. Therefore, I propose these levels of action, from the general to the more particular:

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1. Critical innovation in the design and implementation of local processes of urban regeneration.

1.1. To continue an urban rehabilitation policy for the inhabitants in the historical district who value the right to housing, to the detriment of large and spectacular interventions of renovation, and restoration for disposal of public property and a sell-out for the benefit of foreign capital and investment.

1.2. Promote the temporary use of buildings and public spaces, in both public or private property that is accessible to families of affordable housing should be understood to include any housing public or private property that is accessible to families of affordable housing. This phenomenon is designated to benefit existing residents based on their needs and priorities, the risk of eviction or other adverse consequences for the existing community are less likely to occur. In order to ensure that there is a balance between the most vulnerable residents targeted on one hand and the community on the other hand, the Stadslab City-Making & Gentrification Lisbon Master Class 2016 proposes measures designed to benefit existing residents based on their needs and priorities.

2. Principles, policies and practices to prevent eviction and expulsion.

2.1. Basic protections for the most vulnerable residents in order to: i) keep people in their homes by pressures of the tourist potential use, preventing forced eviction carried out by promoters and investors in the real estate market; ii) ensure that the new potential use, preventing forced eviction carried out by promoters and investors in the real estate market, is designed to benefit existing residents based on their needs and priorities, the risk of eviction or other adverse consequences for the existing community are less likely to occur. In order to ensure that there is a balance between the most vulnerable residents targeted on one hand and the community on the other hand, the Stadslab City-Making & Gentrification Lisbon Master Class 2016 proposes measures designed to benefit existing residents based on their needs and priorities. This phenomenon is designated to benefit existing residents based on their needs and priorities, the risk of eviction or other adverse consequences for the existing community are less likely to occur. In order to ensure that there is a balance between the most vulnerable residents targeted on one hand and the community on the other hand, the Stadslab City-Making & Gentrification Lisbon Master Class 2016 proposes measures designed to benefit existing residents based on their needs and priorities.

2.2. Production and preservation of affordable housing. The stock of affordable housing should be understood to include any housing public or private property that is accessible to families with income below 80 percent of the minimum wage, for example.

2.3. Stabilization of population and existing communities. In order to avoid the rapid increase in the price of housing and homelessness resulting from sudden investment inflows in historically disinvested neighborhoods, the city should move towards a balanced development approach that involves continuous and regular investment in maintenance and conservation of housing but also the local shops, and other equipment and neighborhood infrastructure, that are vital community resources for the inhabitants in a daily basis. These measures should apply in all districts, but especially those whose population earns low or moderate income, and that reveal a capital divestment history.

2.4. Promote approaches based on non-market for housing and community development, from a collective and common/local perspective. The negative influence of speculation or any other form of easy profit generation based on property and devoid of logic and merely private interests. Encourage low-cost rehabilitations and the participation of various public bodies, residents, and stakeholders from NGOs, civil society and the private sector in urban regeneration processes, being closer to a local scale.

2.5. Planning as a participatory process. Promote civic participation and locally based associations. If the projects and plans are designed to benefit existing residents based on their needs and priorities, the risk of eviction or other adverse consequences for the existing community are less likely to occur. In order to ensure that there is a balance between the most vulnerable residents targeted on one hand and the community on the other hand, the Stadslab City-Making & Gentrification Lisbon Master Class 2016 proposes measures designed to benefit existing residents based on their needs and priorities. This phenomenon is designated to benefit existing residents based on their needs and priorities, the risk of eviction or other adverse consequences for the existing community are less likely to occur. In order to ensure that there is a balance between the most vulnerable residents targeted on one hand and the community on the other hand, the Stadslab City-Making & Gentrification Lisbon Master Class 2016 proposes measures designed to benefit existing residents based on their needs and priorities.

3. Taking concrete measures and initiatives to ensure the “right to housing”, instead of “tourism-led gentrification”

3.1. Combat property speculation and promote social rental market, controlled affordable housing units in the city center: a) Urban renewal property / municipal state owned buildings for use as a temporary residence for vulnerable populations; b) The municipality, which has a large real estate portfolio throughout the city, should redevelop it and mobilize it for use as leasing proprieties with controlled costs, regulating the real estate market, limiting the traditional residential rental costs, ensuring an affordable housing offer especially for the most vulnerable.

3.2. Reassume the municipal fiscal policy as an important tool for regulating effectively abandoning lodgment for speculative purposes.

3.3. Call for greater articulation between the Municipality of Lisbon and the platform of Airbnb organization towards increasing regulation, accountability and sustainability in the local housing sector for tourism, which go beyond the simple collection of tourist fee and accommodation charge.

3.4. Foster diagnostic studies with the support and main interest of the town hall, which monitor developments in the tourism real estate sector in the historic center and to study the viability of application of tourism capacity rates by section / neighborhood or block for housing tourism.

3.5. Sensitive the residents’ associations and apartment owners’ meetings to become involved in terms of collective commitment and democratic consensus which makes the creation of apartment accommodations / lodgings reliant on an authorization from the condominium.

3.6. Propose a referendum for the population of the historic neighborhoods on the subject of properties regulatory proposals for tourist accommodation, in compliance with the Organic Law 4/2000 of 24 August, which provides for local referendum under the relevant local interest matters that should be decided by local municipal bodies or parish and integrate within its powers, whether exclusive or shared with the Cantonal State.

3.7. Tourist Local Accommodation Law Review. Decrease Law No. 128/2014 of 29 August, which approves the legal regime of tourism accommodation, that makes more important contributions to the city’s economy, creating jobs and generating revenue to supplement the family budget, in order to ensure the city can be run exposed to uncontrolled and uncoordinated with the competition of an uncontrolled demand under the form of short-term renting.

3.8. Penalize speculative investment, creating new property taxes that aggregate penalties on unoccupied spaces.

3.9. Call for greater articulation between the Municipality of Lisbon and the platform of Airbnb organization towards increasing regulation, accountability and sustainability in the local housing sector for tourism, which go beyond the simple collection of tourist fee and accommodation charge.
exploitation of local accommodation establishments, as well as the Decree-Law No. 63/2015 of 23 April, which makes changes to its legal framework. This is designed to be more restrictive and regulatory, affecting, among other measures:

3.8. Apply a land use policy that provides for mixed use (residential, commercial, tourism, industry compatible with the local collective facilities) in a balanced manner in the scale of the municipality, district and block; application of a quota system for the different urban uses (for instance 1/3 residential use, 1/3 retail, services, tourism use and 1/3 public and collective amenities use) to guarantee a functional mix (given the specificity of the urban area concerned) essential to the maintenance of social and economic life the historic center, its cohesion, different ownership and resilience, instead of monofunctionality and economic hyperspecialization trend in the tourism sector that decharacterizes the historic districts and makes the social and economic fabric of the most city more vulnerable to the volatility of international tourism demand or a crisis in the sector.

3.9. Review the new law of urban leases in order to safeguard the rights of tenants housing (in accordance with the provisions of the Lisbon City Government Programme for 2013–2017);

3.10. Hold in the city, and especially in communities most affected by touristification, a significant part of economic gains, creating redistribution channels of benefits / income generated by tourism in the neighborhoods, directing them in a transparent manner, for social projects in the community.

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Dependent financialization, global crisis, and austerity.

Portugal requested to join the European Economic Community (EEC) in 1977 and became its full member in 1986. At that time, neoliberalism was gathering momentum before crystallizing, following the Maastricht Treaty of 1992, in the Economic and Monetary Union (EMU) that would accelerate the dependent financialization of Southern Europe. The abundant foreign credit that was received by the Portuguese private sector since the mid-nineties was not used to improve the structural conditions of the country’s economy. Instead, it was channeled by the privatized banking system towards the non-tradable sectors - i.e., construction, real estate, infrastructures - that were less subject to international competition, materializing in the combination of a backward economic framework and a modern globalized financial sector. As itboosted public investment in infrastructures, established public-private partnerships, and encouraged market-based homeownership, the State created the conditions for foreign credit to flow towards the non-tradable sectors, encouraged suburban expansion, and stimulated private indebtedness.

The real estate sector was until 2008 one of the most lucrative financial fields in Portugal - especially in the most populated areas of the country. It was profitable for the investors; it was profitable for the landlords whose properties' values kept growing; and it was profitable for the local governments whose budgets expanded as a result of building licenses and property taxes. The Portuguese real estate and financial sectors benefited from the demographic expansion that was caused in the seventies by the return of people from the former colonies; it benefited from the infrastructural modernization that improved the accessibility of suburban areas; it benefited from the population growth that resulted from immigration since the nineties; and it benefited from the easy and cheap access to credit that was brought about by the EMU and the Eurozone after Maastricht.

The macroeconomic situation changed dramatically in 2008, after the massive default on subprime mortgages and the collapse of Fannie Mae, Lehman Brothers, and the American International Group (AIG) in the United States. This event prompted a financial crisis that would soon spread all over the planet, encouraged by the removal of controls on capital flows and the disappearance of economic borders in the context of neoliberal globalization, soon interacting in the Eurozone with the neoliberal policies that had been implemented since 1991. Despite allegedly excessive public spending and borrowing being officially blamed for the crisis, the roots of the latter are not in the states but in the markets; the abrupt halt of private credit flows as a consequence of the crisis hit hard a financially dependent European periphery that would soon be forced to adjust.

In this context, austerity has generated enormous economic and social costs in Portugal and Southern Europe. Tax increase, privatization, social-protection reduction, price increase of public services, labor flexibilization, and wage reduction have been...
imposed, but austerity has been ineffective in its stated objective of reducing public debt. Its very formulation and implementation is grounded on a false narrative of the crisis that ignores the real causes of the recession and attributes it to an excessive indebtedness that in fact did not appear in Portugal until the outbreak of the global financial crisis in 20087. Furthermore, the economic crisis and the way this has been addressed by policy makers have generated dramatic impacts on Europe’s urban regions8.

From suburbanization to urban rehabilitation.

With the global financial crisis of 2008, credit stopped flowing towards the middle classes and the model of suburban development became obsolete. Lisbon’s Historic Center became then a space of opportunity for global real estate investment firms offering potentially high profitabilities in the international short rental and luxury markets. With thousands of abandoned dwellings and tenants paying extremely low rents, the rent gap of Lisbon’s Historic Center was enormous as the latter became attractive for real estate investment and gentrifying urban rehabilitation under the new paradigm of postcrisis urban development10. In 2011, the Lisbon’s Historic Center was transformed into a real estate playground with thousands of abandoned dwellings in a context of rising demand for rental units after the crisis of 2008. Furthermore, the former were not subject to any assistance by the public institutions in as a consequence of austerity, and evictions multiplied11.

In September 2009, the non-regular resident tax regime was implemented by the Portuguese government with the declared goal of attracting foreign high-skilled professionals and pensioners -and their wealth. Since then, this scheme has been available for those citizens spending a yearly stay of more than 183 days on Portuguese territory; or for the expatriate employees of the Portuguese State. Under this special regime, non-regular residents -including those who do not pay tax in the country of origin- benefit from a reduced flat personal income tax rate of 20% for a maximum period of ten consecutive years as long as the fiscal requirements are met throughout that term17. Furthermore, since January 1, 2013, any pension income generated outside the Portuguese territory even when not taxed in the country of origin is totally tax exempt under this special regime18.

in parallel, it was launched in 2012, the Golden Visa program awards the Portuguese residence permit and the right to move freely within the Schengen area to those foreign citizens making significant investments in Portuguese real estate property. It applies to investments on real estate properties worth more than 500,000 euro and acquired free of charges or mortgages after October 8, 2012 and before the application for the residence permit. The requirements of this scheme include a minimum stay of seven days during the first year and two weeks during the following periods of two years. The residence permit is issued for one year and then renewed for periods of two years. After five years, the permit becomes permanent and one year later the Portuguese citizenship may be issued. However, the properties may be rented and let for commercial, agricultural, or tourism purposes17.

Lisbon’s touristification and the local accommodation boom.

Boosted by the celebration of major international events and fueled by a successful marketing campaign, by the multiplication of low-cost air connections, by the political instability in Northern Africa, and by the attractiveness of Lisbon and its surroundings, tourism has experienced a remarkable expansion in Lisbon during the last years19. Lisbon’s tourism boom, added to the emergence and globalisation of online platforms, has encouraged the proliferation of local accommodation apartments and rooms throughout the city’s Historic Center.

The concept of local accommodation was given legal status in Portugal in 2008 with the objective of creating the framework for the formalization of an expanding global phenomenon of growing relevance in the tourism sector. The legal framework regarding this activity facilitated its exploitation through the simplification of the initial requirements; the reduction of duties regarding the provision of the services; the absence of licensing authorizations, or invitation taxes; the simplification of the online procedure of communication of activities; and the freezing of the penalty fees20. When the activity generates a yearly revenue of up to 200,000 euro, the simplified fiscal regime for local accommodation in force since November 2014 sets a reduced income tax rate of 15%21.

Foreign capital and real estate investment funds.

According to the global real estate services company Cushman & Wakefield,22 after the economic downturn in 2009, Portugal has become a competitive destination for foreign investors in the field of real estate investments. The legal framework regarding this activity facilitated its exploitation through the simplification of the initial requirements; the reduction of duties regarding the provision of the services; the absence of licensing authorizations, or invitation taxes; the simplification of the online procedure of communication of activities; and the freezing of the penalty fees20. When the activity generates a yearly revenue of up to 200,000 euro, the simplified fiscal regime for local accommodation in force since November 2014 sets a reduced income tax rate of 15%21.


3 http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat


5 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22


22 http://www.turismodeportugal.pt/Português/AreasAtividade/dvo/alojamento-local/Pages/;


24 http://www.portaldahabitacao.pt/


38 http://www.portaldahabitacao.pt/


Since their emergence when the Portuguese financial sector was absorbed by the real estate sector25, the number of real estate investment funds has been one of the major starting to be liberalized in the mid-eighties, the sustained expansion of real estate investment funds created between 2009 and 2013 have a total foreign capital of 2,104 million euro had been invested in Portugal through this program, with 90% of that quantity being absorbed by the real estate sector26.

Real estate investment funds enjoy a special fiscal regime, with open funds being totally exempt from paying the Local Property Tax and the Local Property Transfer Tax of their buildings, and closed funds paying half of the normal rates. Moreover, real estate investment funds created between 2009 and 2013 have exempt from paying both the Tax on Income and Gains of Collective Persons. Properties under refurbishment are exempt from paying both the Tax on Income and Gains of Collective Persons and the Local Property Tax27, while a reduced VAT rate of 6% is applicable to urban rehabilitation initiatives involving dwellings or public spaces located in urban regeneration areas or defined as of national public interest28.

For whose benefit? The benefits of Lisbon’s tourism boom and of the reactivation of the real estate market based on urban rehabilitation seem to have been much greater for investment funds and the mass tourism industry than for ordinary citizens – despite the fact of several local families obviously profiting from the local accommodation business. Added to the typical problems related to noise and congestion that are caused by mass tourism, the housing supply of permanent residence has dropped significantly in the Historic Center and by 11.5% in Lisbon, while it grew by 7.5% in Misericórdia. Meanwhile, São Vicente and Santo António lost 23.6% and 22.1% of their registered voters respectively during that period.

In spite of the jobs that have been created in the tourism industry, and in spite of the income that is enjoyed by those involved in the local accommodation business, the rise of real estate prices and the impossibility for many residents to find affordable housing constitutes a very worrying outcome of Lisbon’s tourismification. The city commodifies, its Historic Center becoming a product to be purchased by visitors on a daily basis. Meanwhile, transnational corporations and foreign investors transfer the product to be purchased by visitors on a daily basis. Meanwhile, transnational corporations and foreign investors transfer the surplus abroad, increasing dependency and perpetuating economic backwardness and structural flaws in a global context of increasingly volatile capital flows.

27 http://www.cmvm.pt/pt/Estatisticas/SeriesLongas/Pages/default.aspx
1. THE CITY, TODAY.

Humanity is inconceivable without its cities. I said Humanity, but could have said Future. Cities are today crucial systems in a world that must necessarily be more inclusive, more sustainable, and more cosmopolitan. However, some vital elements are changing today – and changing very quickly. Examples are new family types, new mobility modes, new labour forms; new urban requalification patterns; increasingly shared and unfolding uses; new ways of exercising government and citizenship; growing technological hyper-intermediation; new financial and real estate investments; new pressures on housing and on daily life. The current transformation rhythms – on experiences, prices, opportunities and rights – are much faster than those of the long era that previously “metropolized” and fragmented the city. Lisbon has become an exemplary case of this vertigo. A vertigo that because of its speed and of what is at stake requires large vision and attentive management. What is at stake involves much more than the great growth of tourism and local accommodation, much more than the highly desired rehabilitation dynamics, much more than the gains or losses of tangible and intangible heritages, much more than some dozens of historic shops. What is at stake is the glimpse of what the city will be – and not just its Historic Centre – in the near future. And how we will be able to manage that future.

2. THE TOURISM BOOM.

Urban tourism is experiencing an enormous expansion due to the combination of a set of very powerful factors that gathered momentum in 2011: the proliferation of low-cost travel, the online booking tools, the success of city marketing, the attractiveness of urban experiences. Lisbon enjoys a very high tourist capital for city breaks and city users, as well as for business trips and international conventions. It has magnificent features for an emotional consumption tourism: its human scales, its neighbour-hoods, the locals’ sympathy and tolerance, the Mediterranean culture, the bohemia, the sun and the beaches, the gastronomy. The number of registered overnight stays rose from 8.6 million in 2010 to 12.3 million in 2015, a trend expected to keep increasing in 2016. The weight of tourism in the Portuguese economy keeps growing and represents around 15% of the GDP, 15% of the exports, around half of total services exports. Despite the metropolitan region representing almost a quarter of the national overnight stays, it is already ahead of the Algarve in terms of guests and revenue. The number of beds registers an unstoppable increase, boosted by the creation of new hotels and hostels and by the continuous boom of local accommodation.

Attractiveness has always been an intrinsic part of Lisbon’s DNA, which is obviously an extraordinary capital that must be kept. But a qualified urban tourism must be based on a qualified city – and not the other way around. The pressures set by tourism on Lisbon’s urbanity are now very high, the tourist-to-resident ratio being among the largest in Europe. Barcelona, with all its pressures, has a lower ratio – because it has more residents per area. Also, I do not believe that this expansion will soon stabilize. The potential of tourism based on emotional consumptions is immense. The truth is that tourists do not mind that much to be surrounded by tourists. Jean Baudrillard explained very well the growing desire for simulation in a society lacking values and emotions. The tourist believes that is enjoying an identitarian or emotional experience, and that will work fine. The loss of residents and identity – despite the latter being a risky and always evolving concept – is not a problem for tourism. But it is clearly a problem for the city and its residents – whoever these are.

3. URBAN REGENERATION.

It is undeniable that Lisbon has experienced a remarkable improvement in its buildings, its public space, and its facilities. Ten Theses upon the Historical Centre of Lisbon

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The city has an increasingly cosmopolitan offering, especially in terms of consumption. More and more foreigners want to live in and be part of Lisbon. It is the realisation of a decade’s dream. There has been an extensive work for improving its governance, with the political-administrative reform and the new districts, with new policies on innovation and entrepreneurship, on inclusion and social action, on sustainability and ecology, on transport and mobility. A profound change, still with a long way to go (and not seem only by those who do not want to see it).

However, these successes should not numb the city—especially under the pressure of emerging new forces. It must be understood that many of the old logics are no longer what they used to be. Urban rehabilitation, however, does not necessarily mean the regeneration of human fabrics and city’s health improvement of the built environment, of public spaces, of the city’s heritage? Of course: this should indeed be a permanent way of life. But that might be insufficient to regenerate the city’s human experience. A city’s heritage is much more than palaces, churches, architecture and historic shops. It is mostly an immaterial culture sustained by human connections, by relationship- ships of all forms, by threads apparently fragile but containing an immense strength when together.

6. THE TAX HAVEN.

The benefits offered to non-permanent residents investing in Lisbon are impressive: they are exempt from paying taxes on their profits of the short-term rental market, by the vast profitability of the real estate market, and by the benefits enjoyed by non-permanent residents—all these measures launched for the intended urban and economic regeneration of the country. However, such pressures have resulted in a dramatic increase in the real estate market and financial speculation in the name of pseudo-residence and, as a corollary, in an unstoppable rise of housing prices in Lisbon. Only in 2015, the house price index increased by about 12%.

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The enormous differential that was created between the average prices, the potential for financial and symbolic valorisation of the real estate investments, and the benefits granted to foreign investors, have transformed Lisbon’s historic centre into a tax haven. This is an immoral situation in itself. Besides this, this situation is not even generating reasonable returns for the society and its residents. On the contrary, displacement and the incapacity of those who want to live and work in the city to enter the housing market as a consequence of the gap between their financial capacity and the tax-exempt foreign in- vestors, have led to a second immorality. Foreign investment must of course be promoted and we have excellent conditions to provide good and stable profitability but this must be done with ethics, and the community must feel that benefits from it.

7. URBAN ECONOMY.

Tourism and local accommodation are clearly stimulating urban regeneration and the emergence of some forms of businesses and services. Furthermore, they are a great source of income for many families and activities. But there are other families and activities whose rights and opportunities are being challenged by increasing pressures on rents, housing affordability, on daily life. The promotion of a healthy urban economy requires varied, dense, and conscious territorial Humus. Recognized works of notable urban scientists such as Alfred Marshall, Jane Jacobs or Edward Soja confirm that more quality and enduring productivity gains for an urban territory stem from the existence of diversity, density and proximity— of families, of activities, of options...
economic development to be accomplished. Inversely, territo-
rial mono-functionality is a particularly serious threat generating
high costs for the city in the medium and long terms, related to the
metropolitan sprawl and to the loss of diversity, of perma-
nence, or sustainable-development capacity. Not to mention the
casts -perhaps the greatest- due to simplification and trivializa-
tion of urban life.

8. THE DEBATE.

These changes have been debated in a very emotional and
increasingly harsh way. There is no doubt that Lisbon’s centre
and those of other Portuguese cities were abandoned and
degraded, and that such a situation was and still is negative for
essential parts of our cohesion, our economy, and our confi-
dence in the future. There is no doubt that we are finally being
able to switch to urban regeneration, and no doubt that both
service supplies and consumptions are much more cosmop-
olitan now. But are these arguments, however powerful, valid
enough for supporting that the ongoing radical transformations
might throw the baby out with the bathwater?

Many are excited about the city’s hype and a seemingly easy
route to success –perhaps the greatest- due to simplification and
trivialization is not smaller, especially when facing an uncertain
future.

The quality of a city is based on the density and quality of the
relationships that take place between people and activities -
even between those people and activities that are only occa-
sionally in the city. But the quality of those relationships requires
permanence, identity, and complicity, which take decades or
even centuries to appear as do as in ecological habitats.

The responsibility of not letting Lisbon’s historic centre to fall
apart was huge. The responsibility of not giving it to the ‘usual
trivia’ is not smaller, especially when facing an uncertain
future.

The maturation of a city requires much more than instant recipes.
It requires perseverance, democracy, and long-term vision. Tak-
ing care of a city, making it really intelligent, requires taking into
account what it truly is: a living organism needing to take care of
its basic elements, defending its rights and guarantees, building
safety and generating opportunities. Promoting truly diverse and
complex urban fabrics where inclusion, innovation and creativ-
itv take place: combining urban regeneration and tourist and
financial attractiveness, as well as with the expected growth of
a slowly shared economy. And defending, at its base, urban
experience with clear social and territorial rights -including the
right to housing and the right to the city. Sustaining, thus, what
Mario Cesarini poetized as a rehabilitation of daily reality.

The major European cities are developing various policies to
manage these powerful challenges. Five policy areas are sug-
gested here:

1. If tourism, local accommodation, and foreign investment use
the city, its public space and its heritage as main raw materials,
then a significant part of its benefits should be recaptured by
the city and its inhabitants. We must rethink the correspondent
legal and tax regimes. The famous tourist rate -interesting but
insufficient- should be used to improve residents’ quality of life,
and thus the latter will see tourism as a common good that does
benefit them. Additionally, we must end with the fiscal immorali-
ties associated with the real estate market.

2. Given the new pressures on the real estate markets, strong poli-
cies must be built in the support of affordable housing. Important
programs at the national level are currently under construction,
and the local government has announced its own new program
for affordable housing. However, more strength is needed. New
programs could be funded by the surpluses generated by urban
development, and even the sales of the city’s assets. The possibility
of first option in property transactions within designated urban
regeneration areas should be more exercised.

3. We need to extend the urban regeneration policies and create
strategies that qualify, diversity and densify each neighbour-
hood’s habitats. We need to elaborate programs that support the
environmental and social activities promoting neighbourhood life,
such as markets, schools, transport networks, co-working spaces,
libraries, local stores -beyond the historic ones. We also need to
fight on the decentralization of tourism activity in the city.

4. We must rethink urban planning, integrating the new uses on
both space and time, as well as the potentials opened by the
new technologies and online platforms in urban management.
Tourism activity must be well managed and regulated where
necessary, both in the city as a whole and within each of its
neighbourhoods. It is fundamental to separate the residential
and economic uses of the housing stock. And then, monitoring
and creating different tax systems and planning schemes for the
different space-time functions.

5. Urban policy should be based on knowledge and supported
by strategy. As professor João Caraça recently said, “identity in a
modern society depends not only on its heritage and culture; it is
also supported by a third important factor: the idea of the future.”
An idea of the future that is based on knowledge and built with
the participation of social movements and broad commitments.
An intelligent -not just smart- policy; defending the principles of
urbanity for intelligent lives and intelligent economies.

Even in a city as vast and metropolitan as Lisbon, the centre is
very important -exactly because of being centre. And for the
case, the centre of Lisbon: heart of one of the most important
cities in human history, with plenty of past and obviously plenty
of future.

Nuno Artur Silva wrote in The adventures of Alfeu Seems
(a quite known Lisboner BD from the 1990’s): “A city is made of the sub-
stance of which stories are made. And if the city, in its tangle
of hazards and fate, that creates their fictions as if it secretly
whispered the stories of its inhabitants in the streets where these
cross-paths.”
In the early 2015, we met Paul Kurstjes, a generous Dutch urban planner, during a European group visit in Lisbon. Then, we challenged him to help us with the increasing touristification of this city. That’s how we started a partnership with Stadslab and together we organized this Master class.

For a small organization like ours, without any financial support, to carry forward this adventure obliged us to spend a lot of energy. In counterpart, we learned a lot.

When we dreamed the Master class project in Mouraria, we aimed to start the debate about touristification and gentrification among citizens. With Stadslab we developed a model of hands-on work where stakeholders were involved and where proposals were created. In fact on the Master class, we had contributions of an NGO - Renovar a Mouraria - the University - Luis Mendes and João Seixas -, the decision makers - Urban Planning mayor, Housing mayor, District Mayor. Students and professionals shared their ideas with experts on Urban Design. Some anonymous citizens came to the open sessions.

At the same time, in open community sessions, we organized debates and films screening. Now there’s a true all over debate about gentrification in Lisbon. And this publication will take the discussion to new places.

During the Master class knowledge and experience were shared, ideas were invented and proposals sprung. That’s just a beginning, we know. Nowadays, the life of citizens, communities and cities are very challenged by real estate speculation and an unregulated massive tourism industry. Old and alive neighborhoods are getting full of hotels, rich residents and holidays houses. The city risks to be transformed in a touristic centre.

Facing this social transformation, we want to make people meet to recreate the participation of citizens in the government of the city. We want to build relationships to defend equality in the city’s occupation. We feel we are committed with the governance and the liveability of our places for now and for the next generations.

Afterword

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Stadslab is a knowledge centre and laboratory for urban design in today’s European cities, where participants take advantage of real time programs.