

Doctoral Program in Urban studies and Regional Sciences
Gran Sasso Science Institute, L'Aquila

**The line of colour.
Intersections
of race and space
in Lisbon.**

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GRAN SASSO SCIENCE INSTITUTE
Urban studies & Regional Science Doctoral Programme
Cohort XXXIII

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PhD Thesis submitted February XX, 2022

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

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ABSTRACT

The urgency of coping with the uneasiness of tackling race in Europe motivates this dissertation to explore how the racial and the urban connect. Scholars warn that a new era of conflicts played on racial lines is opening up hitting mainly the cities. As a result, race and the city are of increasing concern in public discourses. However, outside the US, the effects of race are often neglected or even denied. Although difficult to grasp, the race process has material and tangible effects that I explore in the case of a Southern European city, Lisbon. The research considers race as a thorny social issue, a controversial concept, and an embodied variable and analyses the materiality and experience of the spatial processes of racialization, mobilising mainly geographical and qualitative approaches. A spatial analysis approach provides a handy lens and allows for undermining power structures and acknowledging people's resistance. The theme of visibility is wholly mobilised in this exploration since it is intrinsically connected with how race works in the urban space. Indeed, the urban – as a subgroup of space in general – and blackness – as one of the possible race declinations – are interconnected in the visible realm. Consequently, the urban space plays a role in sustaining differences based on one's appearance and turns up as the active mediator of processes of racialization.

This contribution aims to enrich the contemporary debate by demonstrating how innovative spatial perspectives shed light on the urban dimension of blackness and enable reading space and race together at different topographical and topological scales. The theoretical premises – as well as some conceptual advances – were exposed in Chapter 1 drawing on a wide range of international literature about space and race, while Chapter 2 provided the contextual frame to the case study focusing on the geographical area of the European South. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 were devoted to the unfolding of three distinct empirical analyses: a detailed examination of urban policies (3), an interpretation of the “sense of place” of ten in-depth interviews with black women (4) and the content analysis of online urban images (5).

Lisbon case study is a dense and privileged site to probe the various and multifaceted ways in which race functions and performs at the margins of Europe and to rethink race-urban paradigms beyond the dichotomies between North and South of the world. It results in a city strongly marked by race mechanisms but also the scene of strong negotiations around race-urban matters. It is characterized by a self-representation of anti-racial and multicultural aspects while being in fact a deeply and historically racialized metropolitan area. In conclusion, this research pinpoints spatial configurations of racialization made up of material omissions in the urban core and erasures and displacements in the peripheries, to which it opposes different strategies of

tackling, ignoring or limiting the consequences of racialization through subtle but powerful subversive actions of black placemaking.

INTRODUCTION

« Race and city. Both terms share an anchor at the heart of common-sense discussions about the ways in which we live our lives. Both terms are the invisible centre of sub disciplinary studies in both social sciences and humanities. Both terms mean something, and yet when scrutinised more carefully they appear to expand to include everything or else melt into air as conceptually flawed caricatures of reality. » (Keith, 2005: 26)

How does race play out in the urban space? And how does the urban play out in explicit and subtle processes of racialization of human bodies? Although these questions go back at least as far as to Du Bois' (1899) pioneering work, they have remained bound only to specific urban contexts without encountering a great deal of interest within any specific line of investigation and analysis. Indeed, there is a twofold gap in the relative absence of cities in global studies of race and of race in global studies of cities (Picker et al., 2018). However, if we understand cities as both material and symbolic hubs of hegemonic and counter-hegemonic economic, political, social and cultural materialities, forms of knowledge and experiences, their centrality in the studies of race's functioning emerges as pivotal. Cities may indeed pose the general question of our living together in a more intense manner than many other kinds of places (Massey, 2005: 169). But in order to grasp the urgency of addressing the various and variable configurations of urban-racial intersections, and in particular the specific way in which they are entangled with each other in Europe, I will first focus a bit on clarifying the theoretical approach to the concept of *race* that I have adopted throughout this study.

RACE, CITIES AND THE EUROPEAN UNEASINESS

Race is certainly a thorny concept. It was denied as a scientific variable, subjected to sharp criticism and rejected as an analytical category. Here, race is considered as a contested social construction, an embodied experience and a material event. Despite the fact that it may be perceived as an unpleasant word and as an incoherent way of classifying people, race retains significance since we act as if it has significance and, consequently, its effects are *real*. Race affects opportunities, rights, privileges, identities and bodies of racialized people as well as of those carrying whiteness and perceived as "outside race" or "without race" (Goldberg, 2002, 2009). Race operates both as an imposed and inhabited sign (Hall 1990, 1997). However, in contemporary theory, race tends to be approached only as an epistemological problem, conceived as an issue related

to language and representation. It is usually formulated as an ideology, a narrative, and a discourse. It tends to be referred to as the cultural representation of people, not to people themselves. This often happens to avoid the risk of essentializing its concept, but incorrectly suggests a sort of transcendence of race. Some argue that we should simply stop thinking in terms of race. Others implicitly refer to race while using less controversial terms. And still others use race as an operational concept, while constantly placing the word in inverted commas. Curiously, this does not happen with other categories like, for instance, *nation*, *ethnicity* or *religion* although they have been subjected to systematic critiques as well. So, there is something about the term and concept of race that invites an extra scepticism, an extra distancing between the word and the bodies it wants to represent (Saldanha, 2006). But race – like other symbolic categories – does function, despite or thanks to, absence or lack of meaning. I believe that it operates both on an epistemological and ontological level. Through the dynamics of racialization, it produces meaningful and performative effects of truth and reality. I think that what needs to be overcome is precisely the *uneasiness* about the term. It is urgent to acknowledge the effects of race, exploring the challenges that pop up in considering it as a valid notion.

Throughout this dissertation, I do not use substitutive terms or inverted commas, I use the word race as it is and I try to pragmatically operationalize it as a concept. The way in which I mean race has no biological relevance, but it is also much more than a social construction. It is *a real immanent process grounded in social relations; anchored in material structures and embedded in historical configurations of power* that demands particular concepts and commitments. I assume its fluidity and variability as dependant on the geographical and historical context in which its mechanism is scrutinized from time to time. Gilroy (2000) asks: “if ‘race’ is a useful way of classifying people, then how many ‘races’ are there?” (Gilroy, 2000: 37). This question assumes a logic of grids, but the concept of race is not for taxonomic ordering, but for studying the movements between bodies, things, and their changing environment (Saldanha, 2006). When understood as an immanent process, it becomes clear that, though contingent, race cannot be transcended or erased; only understood in its local functioning. Race can be understood as a process of differentiation based on the visible aspects of our bodies (phenotype), as a chain of contingencies in which the connections between its components are not given but tend towards a sort of fixity and repetitiveness. Saying that race has no basis in biology, indeed, is different from saying that phenotype does not play any role in racial differentiation. Phenotype, admittedly, is a crucial element in the event called race. Nobody has a race, but bodies are racialized in space.

At this point, I briefly discuss three theoretical entry points within such material and embodied understanding of race. Focusing on race materiality – as well as on the experience of it – is a way to bypass the limits of its concept and

concentrating on the analysis of its effects. The exploration of race urban spatiality is the first effective entry for such reasoning. The argument is, in a word, to look at the urban space in analysing race. The spatiality of race is not about discrete separations between races. It can be as stark as apartheid, but it is mostly blurred and operates through something else. The spatialization of differences based on race happens in subtle ways and, once again, depends on the context. It is exactly race that appeals to that which is visible, of us, and it is our appearance that turns the urban space into a perfect *medium* of racialization (Picker, 2017). Indeed, the processes of racialization can effectively operate through the resources and constraints of urban spaces, which are both a field of action and an object of contention. The city constructs, identifies, and delivers the essence of social relationships – the reciprocal existence and manifestation of differences arising from or resulting in conflicts (Goonewardena, 2011). The concentration of asymmetrical relations gives rise to a spatialization of difference in which a central role is played by the different bodies and their visibility. The Goffman's theory and his emphasis on the eminently contextual character of social interaction (Goffman, 1971) is a second effective entry to examine, at a fine-grained level, race processes based on urban inter-visibility. Indeed, the way we appear makes us visibly different from each other. The city is a context where we are often exposed to each other's gaze and "architecture, together with urban planning and urban design, determines concrete boundaries and flows of visibility" (Brighenti, 2010: 139). The theme of visibility is intrinsically connected with how race works in the urban space since the events of visibility are equally embodied and material. The materiality of the encounter between things, materials, and bodies make cities similar to tissues that contain a constant push and pull of different practices of connection that simultaneously compete with and complement each other in a cross-patterning of stitch and weave. On that note, it is critical to highlight that urban space plays an *active* role in the processes of racialization. It is not a simple container but a *mediator*. Thus, the third fruitful entry is Latour's theory of materials' agency. "Inanimate 'things' can, through their relationships authorize, allow, encourage, permit, suggest, influence, block, render possible, forbid and so on" (Latour, 2005: 72). Following this perspective – even without embracing entirely the radical symmetry that Latour postulates between the social and the material – the importance of tackling the materiality of the urban as an active player in race processes emerges clearly.

Having said that, I try to contextualize this brief discussion in the European context. It may be argued that every social categorization – class, gender, ethnicity, and, of course, race – plays out differently in different contexts. However, in the case of race in Europe, exploring local ways of functioning appears somehow more demanding. Indeed, in the wake of World War II, Europe wanted race categorically to implode and to erase itself. Since the UNESCO Statement on race of 1950, race as a category of analysis for understanding the world has largely been institutionally and academically abandoned. From that moment on, claims for racial harmony have become part

of the national narrative of many European democracies. The word race was replaced by less politically implicated terms such as 'ethnicity' and 'ethnic groups'. Admittedly, the intention was to free future generations from the tragic effects of race, but in practice, it generated enormous confusion. On one hand, certain cultural values have started to be attached to the concept of race, and, on the other, it has nourished the idea of a post-racial Europe. The twenty-first-century post-racial ideology has found its most elaborate expressions in those institutional and urban domains where political indictments of race processes and racism are either regularly disavowed or casually identified as anachronisms (Hesse, 2011). Post-racial thinking seeks to disarm the idea of race by expanding it beyond the weight it can conceptually bear. It arises, indeed, not through the elimination of racial thinking, but through a discursive re-configuration that makes it increasingly difficult to locate race processes in European societies, except historically or exceptionally (Sayyid, 2017). However, despite all these attempts, race has refused to remain silent because, as we have already seen, it isn't just a word.

So, race in Europe is still an embarrassment. Used to insult and divide by far-right movements and denied by the ones that claim to protect the society from the historical legacies of its conception. If Europe had actually abandoned racial thinking this would have a polity that would recognize the homology between racism and colonialism and would be able to elaborate a vision of itself that was open to the possibility of a different kind of European identity. Moreover, European denial of race and the radically anti-relational presumption regarding its own colonial history (Goldberg, 2009: 155) render indefinite and irrelevant the colonial institution of race as well as its performativity and cause one to fail to understand how much contemporary urban Europe has been shaped by racial thinking. In most of the studies of architecture, urbanism and planning in Europe, race has been an invisible, unknowable quantity although it continues to wax, wane, and mutate as the critical engineer and arbiter of urban relations (Keith, 2013).

However, today something is changing. Scholars and policymakers are engaging in a deeper understanding of the urban dimension of race, far more than in the past. But race has not been established yet as a valid and fully 'operational' category of urban exploration and the scientific sophistication it requires has not been imported yet into mainstream planning, urban studies and architectural discourse. Race, like any other subject of inquiry, must be made available and must be developed (Lokko, 2000: 34).

« Due to both its variety and variability, as well as its self-dissimulating constitution, race requires social and urban scientists to reflexively and critically scrutinize its configurations, putting into historical perspective its differently located and configured mechanisms ways of functioning. » (Picker, 2017: 10)

In terms of analytical frameworks and methodological tools, investigating the urban dimension of race within the European context is challenging since there are not any official statistics on it, nor any other kinds of consistent data, surveys or more qualitative options to follow up on as points of reference. However, since the aim of this dissertation is precisely to explore *how* race does emerge and operate in a European urban space – that of Lisbon – I had to be creative and open regarding the empirical operations. In the following sections of this introduction, I first frame the relevance of the case-study by mentioning its historical, geographical and symbolic context, then I refer to the methodological operations that I have employed and, finally, I explain the structure of the thesis.

CONTEXTUALIZING LISBON: BETWEEN COSMOPOLITAN MYTHS AND RACIALIZED REALITIES

The choice of addressing a complex research topic such as the urban dimension of race through a monographic study on a case study has advantages and disadvantages. A considerable disadvantage is that it forces the vast majority of non-Lisbon readers to go through potentially uninteresting details of how race operates and emerges in its specific metropolitan area. The positive counterpart is that it forces the researcher to address the urban dimension of race and its local mechanisms as an articulate object of study, and therefore to recompose scientific knowledge developed in different disciplinary fields in order to explain the observable outcomes at the chosen case study scale to a wider public. Exactly because there are no direct means to acknowledge how generalized its findings can be, a monographic thesis should attempt to reach as high as possible within the theoretical comprehension of its research objects. Nonetheless, it is also possible to figure out several paths in using the findings of this thesis in future comparative research.

The argument of the thesis – the race-urban interdependence – is made up of two main variables: *race* as an operational category in contemporary European Urban studies and historically connected with the colonial past and *space* as a plural methodological category which includes ways to collect data on such a social issue. Race functioning in Lisbon may be compared with that in other European urban agglomerations that share some geographical, historical and symbolical traits with Lisbon. Much more will be discussed on these comparable aspects throughout the thesis, being aware that the history of cities often reveals the keystone of urban trajectories, but that, in other cases, it is the geography of places, the international location, the local policies, and the symbolic universes that explain the reasons for specific urban conditions and changes. Following the feminist reflections on the politics of positioning (Rich, [1984] 2003), there is no discourse on the urban that can ignore the context in which it is elaborated and cancel the partialities that derive from it.

Lisbon fits the category of a “semi-peripheral European city” (Roncevic, 2002) together with other cities of Southern European countries. However, due to its long colonial past and its geographical role as a fundamental hub on the Atlantic Ocean, Lisbon also belongs to another group. It can be considered an integral part of the most dynamic metropolitan areas of Europe that transcend geographical proximity and which are located somewhere else along the interconnections between the European “global” outliers (London, Paris, but also Istanbul) and other smaller European charismatic cities (such as Barcelona, Milan, Marseille, Bordeaux and Liverpool). Indeed, mainstream public discourses depict Lisbon as a cosmopolitan city (Eaton, 1998; Bäckström

& Castro-Pereira, 2012; Marques, 2012; Caldas, 2015; Mortagua & Mira, 2017). It is a matter of fact that the colonial tie with certain African countries is clearly visible in the demographical composition of the metropolitan area of Lisbon (Arbaci & Malheiros, 2010). Moreover, immigration over the last two decades has broadly diversified, including massive flow from Asia, Brazil and Eastern Europe. As the city has become a major world tourist destination in the last two decades, the multiple urban projects that have built up the 'Lisbon brand' in the context of international competition, generally focus on the affirmation of the cosmopolitan identity of the city (Caldas, 2015). The Government's program for the City of Lisbon 2013-2017, the Strategic Plan for the City of Lisbon 2010-2024 and the Blueprint document produced by the Department of Economy and Innovation of the City Council of Lisbon presented in 2013 are only a few examples of political programmes, discourses, visions and strategies for the city built around notions of openness, multiculturalism, interculturalism and cosmopolitanism.

« Over the last 20 years, a new lexicon has emerged in Portuguese political discourse as well as in sociological and anthropological debates referring to interculturality, multiculturalism, ethnic minorities, ethnicity, integration, and immigration policies. [...] Throughout this period, cultural diversity has also become commodified as an urban experience and as a business opportunity. » (Arenas, 2015)

The leading idea is that Lisbon is a city open to differences since its society historically contains differences. However, scholars have argued that cosmopolitanism is more than an urban condition of living in common with differences and with the "others" (Hannerz, 1990; in the case of Lisbon see, for instance, Oliveira, 2019). This kind of discourse by urban institutions has become one of the languages of the urban growth machine and its political configuration (Molotch, 1976). But as Saldanha (2006) cleverly argues "cosmopolitanism has to be invented, not imposed". Unfortunately, a significant amount of evidence points to the fact that Lisbon is neither cosmopolitan nor multicultural nor even an open city. A wide range of diverse people do indeed co-habit in its urban space, but the latter is fragmented and divided by internal boundaries of differences that work on various axes. Not only is a class axis clearly detectable that tends to exclude low wage inhabitants from the city centre, there is also a race axis that tends to marginalize black people to poor and non-representational urban areas. I argue that Lisbon is a *racialized city*. It is racialized due to its long colonial history as well as contemporary political and planning choices. In this section, I briefly summarize some specific traits that make Lisbon an expressive and relevant case for studying race-urban configurations and I introduce its metropolitan region as an appropriate scale for observation of the dynamics at stake.

The city of Lisbon was born in Roman times on the northern bank of the Rio Tejo estuary. The genesis of its expansion can be located on the hill where the Moorish Castle stands and continued with the gradual occupation of the other hills that dominated the estuary and the flatlands of the other river margin. Since 1255, Lisbon has become the capital of the kingdom of Portugal for its central position within the country.

« In the 1400s, Portugal was the first nation-state in Europe to establish trade relations with kingdoms and states along the West and West-Central African coasts. These commercial ties eventually became the foundation for an overseas empire in which the trans-Atlantic slave trade played a central role. »
(Arenas, 2015)

In this period the golden age for Lisbon had begun. Between the end of the 15th century and the second half of the 18th century, around half a million people from Africa were imported, as slaves, into Portugal, and then in Europe, passing through Lisbon. The city was the major port involved in the slave trade and slavery was such a well-established institution of the city that, in 1486, the Portuguese crown created the *Casa dos Escravos* [Lisbon Slave House] due to the increasing demands for labourers and personal servants for wealthy burgher families¹. In the middle of the 16th century, 10% of Lisbon inhabitants were Africans (Rodrigues de Oliveira, 1554; Vogt, 1973; Saunders, 1982: 84; Henriques, 2011: 20) and the number increased to 15% in 1773, meaning a deep penetration in the social fabric of the city (Lahon, 2004). Before the massive earthquake that destroyed the city centre in 1755, Africans mainly occupied three kinds of spaces in Lisbon: the neighbourhood of Mocambo², the main public squares and the dock areas. The neighbourhood of Mocambo lay in the northwest area adjacent to the centre and close to the river and had been formally dedicated by royal license to both freed and enslaved African residents (Henriques, 2013). The central public squares were the ones in which markets and other daily activities of the nascent Lisbon civil society occurred in which Africans were fully involved, including as itinerant musicians and troubadours (Pardue, 2018). And, finally, as for the dock area along the riverfront, it is where Africans contributed as central figures to the Lisbon economy by working in

¹ The Slave House had the task of receiving all incoming slave shipments from Africa, expediting their assessment, taxation, and sale to private parties or to royal agencies serving the crown's varied operations (Vogt, 1973).

² Mocambo was named after the *Kimbundu* (an Angolan language) word for 'hideout' and eventually became associated with *quilombos* [runaway slave communities] in Brazil and the greater Portuguese Atlantic world.

local fishing, where they served as labourers and porters for the burgeoning maritime commerce (Vogt, 1973).



FIGURE 1
CHAFARIZ D'EL-REY, c. 1570-80³
(SOURCE: COLEÇÃO BERARDO)

After the earthquake, the majority of these spaces physically disappeared or changed their dynamics radically following the city restructuration. Moreover, with the official end of slavery in 1773, African people also disappeared from official statistics, turning into citizens of the Portuguese empire, in the name of the law. This brief historical summary has the simple objective of highlighting how the African presence is anything but a novelty in the physical (and

³ Painting by unknown author which is inscribed in the lineage of painting at the time, especially in Northern Europe, centred on urban scenes. The picture focuses on a crowd made up of various social groups, where a large number of blacks stand out performing the most diverse tasks, transporting water or containers full of debris, unloading the boats accompanying the lords or being taken drunk to jail. Some scenes are unusual and surprising. A black man conducts a small boat, while his colleague plays the tambourine to sweeten the love affair between the two white passengers. An enslaved African - on the dance floor, on the left - is carrying a jar on his head and he is held by an iron chain that connects the neck to the feet while, at the ball, we can see a dancing pair formed by a black man, apparently wearing shoes, and a white woman, barefoot! And finally, in a lower right detail, a black man goes on horseback wearing the habit of the Order of Santiago (Henriques, 2013: 15).

symbolic) space of Lisbon. Its direct implication is to recognize that 'black spaces' existed inside the metropole early in modern history (Pardue, 2018).

During the 20th century, the presence of a black population in Lisbon is shown by the 1921 census, which contained the race question (Tinhorão, 1988). This period was marked by the emergence of several pan-Africanist and anti-colonial newspapers, organizations and associations that appear in Lisbon (Pinto de Andrade, 1997; Varela & Pereira, 2020). In 1923, the Third Pan-Africanist Conference was held in Lisbon – as well as in London – and included the participation of Du Bois (Geiss, 1967; Shepperson & Drake, 2008: 37). However the intellectual dynamism of black people in the metropolis was mismatched with the conditions of the majority of black people in the colonies, that remained under the Portuguese power over the second half of the 20th century.

« Portugal was also the last European power to relinquish its colonial possessions (Angola, Cape Verde, East Timor, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe) in the 1970s. Based on these facts, Portugal is arguably the European nation with the longest experience of 'colonialism' in a variety of configurations, historical moments, and geographical contexts. » (Arenas, 2015)

Recent and contemporary migratory flows towards Portugal are still inextricably linked to its colonial past (Pereira, 2013). Such inflows have been decisively shaping the country's human landscape, especially its capital city. Lisbon Metropolitan Area (also referred to as LMA) is the main concentration of resident population in Portugal and hosts approximately 3 million people (26,6% of total Portugal's residents). Last official surveys (INE, 2017) still indicate that the main immigrant group settled in the metropolitan area of Lisbon come from Portuguese speaking African countries (see right side on Figure 2). These countries are often referred to as PALOP countries, an acronym that stands for *Países Africanos de Língua Oficial Portuguesa*. This group of immigrants – that come from Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe – show a concentrated geographical distribution within the country with the major clustering in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (see the left side of Figure 2).

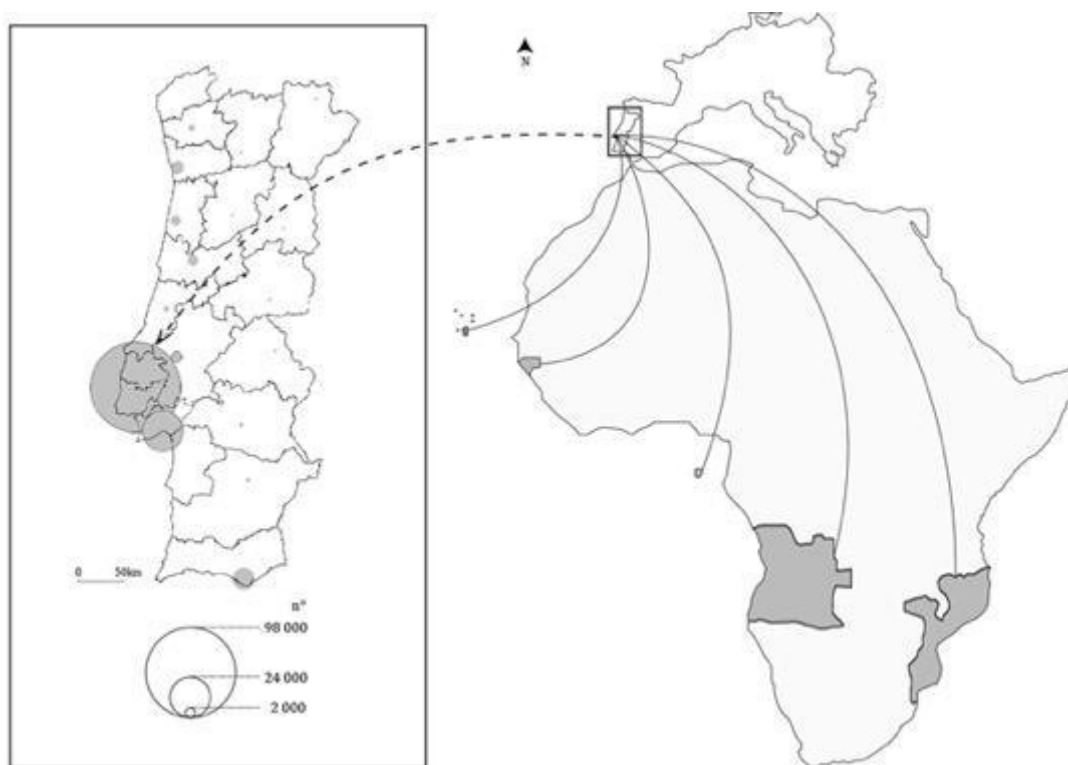


FIGURE 2
 ON THE LEFT SIDE, STOCK OF PALOP NATIONALS IN PORTUGAL (SOURCE: FONSECA, 2007: 5)
 ON THE RIGHT SIDE, PALOP COUNTRIES (NAMELY, FROM LEFT TO RIGHT, CAPE VERDE,
 GUINEA-BISSAU, SÃO TOMÉ E PRÍNCIPE, ANGOLA AND MOZAMBIQUE)

The territory of Lisbon Metropolitan Area is divided into 18 municipalities⁴. Internal imbalances – of population, territory, employment, GDP and socio-urban planning – are expressive on both banks of the river. A brief definition of LMA dynamics of growth, consolidation and reconfiguration of the last sixty years can be summarized as follows. Since the 1960s, the metropolitan region has been taking shape. Up to the 1980s, it consolidated according to a centre-periphery model with formal and informal expansion due to the immigration boom. Then, during the 1990s it evolved into an enlarged and fragmented metropolis through the massive planning of peripheral social housings and new urban infrastructures. Today, the constant urban flow links many parts of this metropolitan network that spread around the estuary of the Rio Tejo of which Lisbon constitutes the main centre (Figure 3).

⁴ Greater Lisbon, in the north bank of the river, comprises Amadora, Cascais, Lisboa, Loures, Mafra, Odivelas, Oeiras, Sintra, Vila Franca da Xira. The Setúbal Peninsula, in the south bank of the river, includes Alcochete, Almada, Barreiro, Moita, Montijo, Palmela, Seixal, Sesimbra, Setúbal.

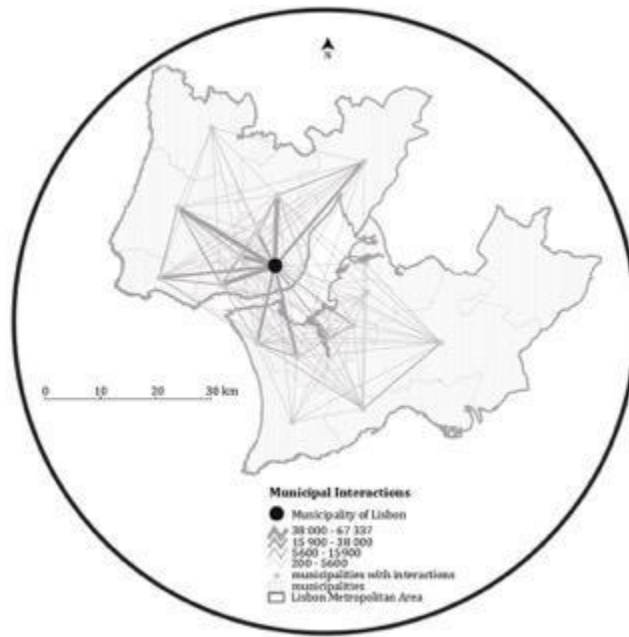


FIGURE 3
 COMMUTER MOVEMENTS:
 MUNICIPAL INTERACTIONS OF MORE THAN 200 INHABITANTS IN LISBON METROPOLITAN AREA
 (SOURCE: NATIONAL CENSUS 2001)

Today, LMA is one of the most African metropolitan regions of Europe. It boasts a rich black cultural scene and has become a nodal point of an Afro-diasporic network and of the so-called “Black Atlantic” (Gilroy, 1993). Actually, the official demographic statistics considered in this research – and all the available ones – completely overlook the number of descendants of African immigrants (EUMC, 2005: 8) counting only African foreigners. Though, as we have just seen, there is nothing particularly *foreign* about black Africans in Lisbon. Second and third generations comprise a vast number of individuals, but data from the Foreigners and Borders Service are far from portraying the increasingly quantitative weight of this group. The aforementioned lack of population data – as that currently available cannot depict the city black reality – was the first main limitation of this study: the category in question is not quantifiable, but only roughly estimable.

No sociocultural category is hermetic or comprehensive and, obviously, blackness does not mean any unified identity. Rather it can be considered both a racialized concept and the resistance to it. However, being well aware of this intrinsic complexity, I opted to use the terms blacks, black people and black folks, throughout this research, referring to African immigrants, Portuguese black citizens and other Afro-Europeans residents in Lisbon. In doing so, I emphasize one of the visible aspects of the difference that their bodies’ presence brings to the urban space. I focus on the phenotype difference –

defined by darker skin colour and other African somatic traits – instead of concentrating on other aspects such as the legal status by which they inhabit the city or their culture of origin, which are admittedly important but are unrelated to the objectives of this study.

Complexity is often productive. And my discussion on race-urban local configurations aims to show such complexity and demonstrate more generally *how* blackness is spatially inscribed in the city.

« To claim that Lisbon is a black city constitutes not only intervention in racial politics of urban space but also an intersection of migration and colonial history. Blackness in Lisbon is necessarily connected to the nationalist ideologies of racial mixture and colonial serendipity as well as the realities of labour exploitation, unjust urban policies and political disenfranchisement. [...] In the end, we find that Lisbon is a black city because there are significant black activities *in* the city and such expressions provoke us to think about blackness and Africanity *as* the city. » (Pardue, 2018; emphasis originally in the text)

In Lisbon, indeed, blackness can be found within peripheral neighbourhoods, in the streets, on the signs, inside the shops and inhabits common urban scenes establishing strong connections with other worlds. Certain kinds of blackness interrupt conventional Lisbon narratives and provoke residents – as well as external observers – to consider alternative claims to the city and, by extension, emergent urban geographies. One can choose to remain anchored to a luso-tropicalist⁵ and cosmopolitan dream, or instead, one can choose to see and acknowledge all these clues and try to understand power inequalities and daily conflicts. Lisbon black urban spaces, as local epistemologies and categories of explanation, end up launching the city in the transnational circle of black European cities bridled in the past and simultaneously cutting-edge. Certainly, all these considerations require an in-depth and articulated reflection.

⁵ The term *Luso-tropicalismo* was coined by the Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre and used to describe the exceptional nature of Portuguese colonialism. Any discussion of the trend must be based on a reading of Gilberto Freyre's *Casa Grande e Senzala* (Masters and Slaves), first published in Brazil in 1933. It was first published in Portugal in 1957, with six subsequent editions until 1983. The work's success indicates the circularity of the discourse that links Gilberto Freyre, the bibliography on ethnogenesis and identity in both Portugal and Brazil, and the Portuguese colonial ideologies.

HOW CAN WE TALK ABOUT SOMETHING WE ARE NOT ALLOWED TO TALK? ACTING BEYOND USUAL SHORT-CIRCUITS IN SOCIAL ANALYSIS

Analytically, there are two quite distinct issues in the study of race. One is a methodological matter: who has access to which scene, and with what outcome? But in addition to the question of access, there is the less frequently examined question of the very building blocks of knowledge construction, namely, whose questions get raised for investigation? The basic point is about objectivity, distance and comparative perspective (Duster, 2006). Indeed, an argument commonly used regarding race studies is the problem of researcher bias. Since race regards all of us, the researcher is also personally implicated, of course. The researcher, though, ends up somehow being trapped in one of the race pitfalls as if value bias arises automatically from his/her own racial profile without having any possibility of controlling them. However, if we understand race as an immanent process and a chain of contingencies and not as an essentialist and fixed notion, it will be admissible to consider that an attentive researcher may be able to handle and regulate his/her bias without activating racial stereotypes, or better, by being aware of his/her own unconscious racial bias.

One effective way of dealing with this problem is to self-report and to be as explicit as possible about one's value bias (of class, gender, race, amongst others). Throughout my research, I have adopted this behaviour. My preoccupation with exploring race functioning within the urban space is a combination of my training in architecture and urban studies together with my political perspective and private life. Indeed, I decided to engage in this research with a strong anti-racist motivating force. My first urge was driven by an early observation of inequalities based on race in certain Lisbon urban dynamics but, admittedly, I have also deepened my interest in this specific theme because I feel personally implicated in race issues. I am part of a multi-racial family, I have been in an interracial union for several years and today I am a mother of a little mixed-race daughter and a new-born mixed-race son. I deliberately choose not to hide my personal and political involvement in the research as I think that objectivity is a very respectable ideal rather than an achievable goal in any kind of research. Thus, I have tried to disclose and unpack the embarrassment of race, by directly facing its traps and through a passionate as well as paradigmatic research journey as an antiracist white European woman researcher.

The argument of complexity is also frequently used regarding issues about race. Race is a complex phenomenon and is hardly examinable, full stop. This is certainly true, but this attitude discourages research on race while maintaining the complexities of its functioning mostly unexamined or even hermetically sealed. Well, the challenge of this research is to go beyond usual short-circuits

in social analysis that are often limiting, instead of stimulating these kinds of studies. So, in designing the research, I adopted a pragmatic approach (Murphy, 1990; Cherryholmes, 1992). Mixed methods are strongly associated with pragmatism, particularly in studies that engage with multidimensional problems and contexts (Carmona, 2017; Cameron, 2011) in which critical aspects of the research are the problem being studied and the questions being asked about the problem. My biggest concern was with the application – what works and what does not work (see, for instance, Rossman & Wilson, 1985). Race urban dimension was the problem I set myself, and the main question I wanted to answer was: *how does race emerge and operate in the urban space of Lisbon?*

Thus, I drew freely on different philosophies and theoretical orientations and I chose different research methods, techniques, and procedures amongst the ones that best met my needs and purposes. I opted for multiple qualitative approaches using many research tools that reflect both deductive (objective) evidence and inductive (subjective) evidence. Indeed, the multi-faceted complexities of the research objective – exploring *how* race works in the city – required more creativity and risk in designing the mix of methods of inquiry. The result is a “pastiche” of qualitative methods. The compositional technique, indeed, blends different means, codes, interpretative frameworks and analytical logics together and it draws from different disciplines, namely architecture, critical urban studies, human geography, sociology, and urban anthropology. But the central point is clear and pragmatic. I conduct a spatial analysis to explore a social problem, I analyse space to speak about race.

The centrality of space, and especially of urban spaces, constitutes the fulcrum of the so-called ‘spatial turn’ in social science. However, it has often been reduced to discourse on space, on the use – and on the abuse of – spatial metaphors, which have seldom been accompanied by a greater knowledge of the dialectical relationship between social actors and material spaces (Cancellieri, 2012). A spatial analysis of the social – as well as a social investigation of space – demands, instead, the mutual interaction of social content and forms of space, on the one hand, and of spatial content and forms of society, on the other (Cremaschi, 1994: 9). It is a matter of facts that “the social and the spatial are so thoroughly imbued with each other’s presence that their analytical separation quickly becomes a misleading exercise” (Cresswell, 1996: 11). Here, I briefly trace the grounding theoretical approaches that I considered in designing the research focusing only on the aspects that I make use of from each author whom I mention, and not on their wider contribution.

Traditionally, social science debates have been articulated around the two notions of space and place. One of the great contributions of Lefebvre (1974) was to connect them, offering a critical framework for conceptualizing the dynamic process of socio-spatial dialectic. He suggests that space is a socially produced construct (social space) and that it is multiple, mobile and

transformative, constantly produced and reproduced. Place stems from the social production of space and contains “a great diversity of objects, both natural and social, including the networks and pathways which facilitate the exchange of material things and information” (Lefebvre, [1974] 1991: 77). This notion was adopted and widened in urban anthropology. In particular, I drew from the articulation proposed by Low (2003) that contrasts the social production of space – involving its physical creation conditioned by social, economic, ideological and technological factors – with the social construction of space – referring to people’s everyday experiences through social exchanges, memories, images and uses that give spaces meaning (Low *et al.*, 2005). Low proposed the integrated notion of “embodied space” (Low, 2003) by acknowledging the metaphorical and material aspects of the body in space – the body-space connections – with specific attention to race. In the fields of radical and human geography, instead, I follow the relational interpretation of space and place provided by Doreen Massey (2005). Places are magisterially conceptualized as spatial-temporal events, internally multiple and intrinsically incoherent,

« [...] as open as woven together out of ongoing stories, as a moment within power-geometries, as a particular constellation within the wider topographies of space, and as in process, as unfinished business. » (Massey, 2005: 131).

Curiously, many decades before in the bench of sociology, the micro-social analysis of both Goffman (1969) and de Certeau (1984) already contained – in different but complementary ways – a reflection about the spatial-temporal dimension of places and its relation to human actors and behaviours. Although in Goffman’s theory the contextual elements of human micro-spatiality assume greater importance than the fixed ones of space, the Canadian sociologist had already highlighted the inter-relationship between the context and the interactions that occur within it and through it (Goffman, 1969). Moreover, if one wants to take it further, Goffman foregrounded how the context regulates certain practices and the ways in which others perceive one’s practice, with an emphasis on the inter-visibility of actors. From a different perspective, de Certeau (1984) looked at the practices of spatialization – walking, steps, and other everyday minimal movements – as acts of enunciation through which individuals appropriate spaces and thus build the places of the city.

Thus, while Goffman’s perspective helps to think about the regionalization of space and how such things become normative, de Certeau poses the question of our living together and opens a set of political questions. Inhabiting and spatializing our differences in urban spaces do not have a determined a priori outcome. They can produce both esteem and stigma, both strengthen borders and make them more fluid, they can produce dynamics of social exclusion as

well as mechanisms of empowerment. There can be no assumption of pre-given coherence, of community or collective identity, rather the “throwntogetherness” (Massey, 2005: 141) of place demands negotiation in the constant and conflictual process of the constitution of the social.

Having this theoretical panorama in mind, I finally drew on Latour’s new materialism that offers a useful focus on materiality fundamental to grasp space multidimensionality. In particular, by proposing the concept of *interobjectivity*, Latour (1996) describes a relational process of events or actions that includes both humans and non-human actors. The author does not distinguish between actors and context stating that “objects are not means, but rather mediators” (Latour, 1996). He uses the concept of interobjectivity also in discussions on how each inter-action is never just local but part of a major actor-network. In other words, interactions are not framed within a certain scale but rather they are simultaneously local and global. Thus, Latour’s perspective helps to rebuild socio-material processes without missing the ‘matter’ of space whether natural elements or architectural objects constitute this.

In the schema that follows (Figure 4), I summarize these theoretical orientations and show how the interpretative frameworks that are derived from them have suggested certain methods of analysis. In the last row, I also indicate which operation has been the basis for each chapter. For clarity, I illustrate how one can read the schema by proposing the example of the first box and its connections. The adoption of the concept of space as a social construction framed by the Critical Urban studies area, drawing in particular on Lefebvre (1974), suggested three different operations: the collection of an extensive bibliography of the case-study urban trajectory, the analysis of the available data on population and socio-economic factors, and the mapping of specific urban spaces on which I wanted to focus on. The two first operations converge in Chapters 2, 3 and 4 while the latter operation, that of mapping, was at the basis of Chapters 3, 4 and 5.

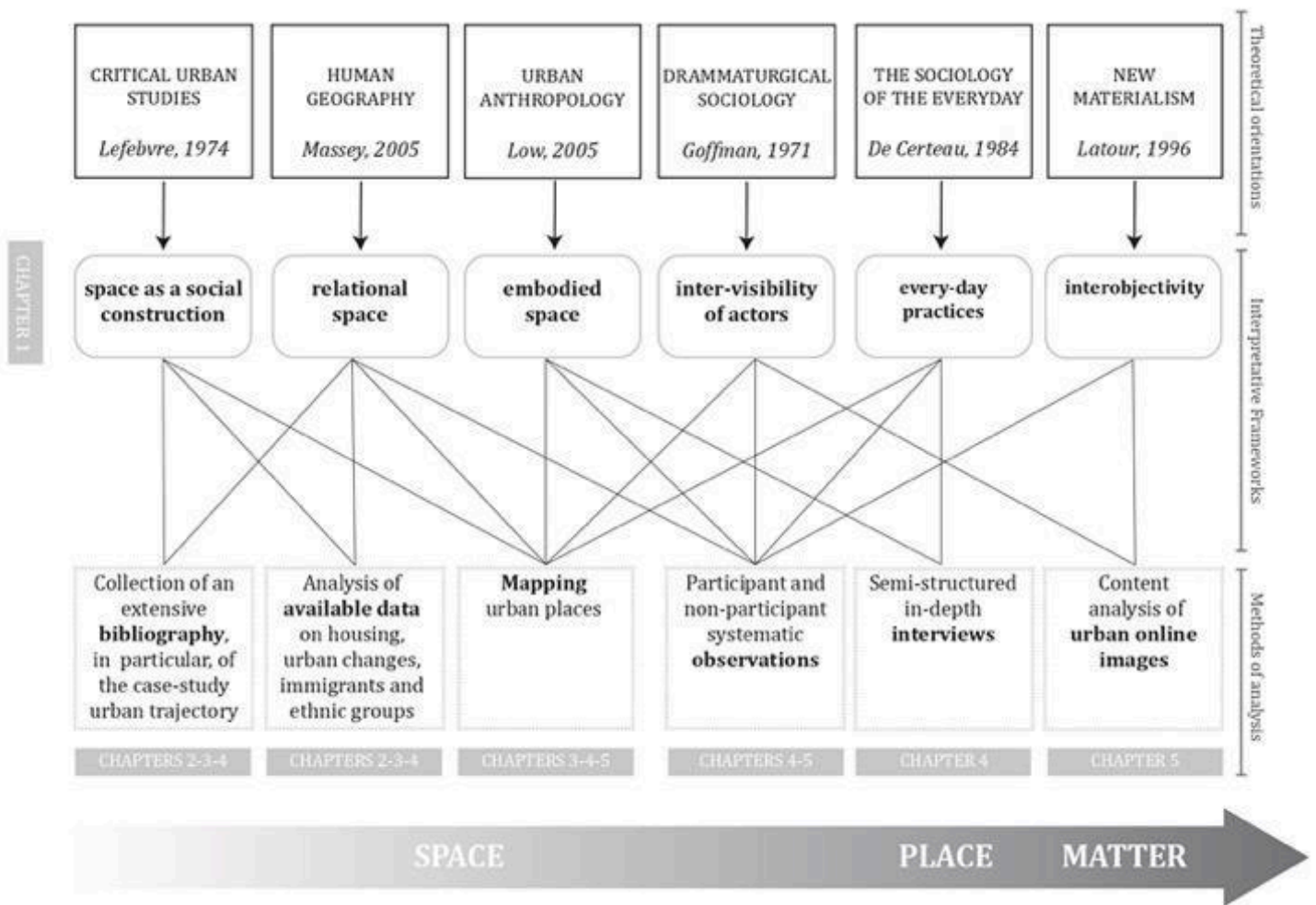


FIGURE 4
SCHEMA OF THE THESIS THEORETICAL AND OPERATIONAL SCAFFOLDING

By means of all these reflections, it is possible to propose a plural and multidimensional spatial framework that encompasses three different but interconnected dimensions: space, place and matter (Cremaschi, in print, 2022). Space is the relative positions of objects. Its notion helps to embrace the property of different configurations such as proximity, concentration, and order as well as their normative and political nature. Place refers to the affective dimension of space. It is the cultural representation of objects arranged in space through the everyday experience that actants produce and reproduce through their social and individual meanings. Matter is the active constellation of natural elements and architectural artefacts. This tripartite spatial approach enables race-urban connections to be addressed by focusing on space and without missing its socio-material aspects.

Race appeals to appearance in making race and visibility strictly interdependent. Moreover, visibility is also closely connected with space and ends up converging in the very same notion of the urban space considering that “the cityscape is integrally a site of visibility” (Brighenti, 2010: 126). Architecture is a powerful way of managing visibilities and, in this context, gazing – and above all glancing – acquire a crucial role in the navigation and exploration of the city space. So, *visibility* turns into the primary connection between race and space and, in particular, between blackness and the city. Indeed, when historically, geographically and symbolically inscribed in the context of the case study, blackness emerges as a visible – and even trackable – variable of local urban race mechanism. Its visibility and its disruptive peculiarity in a country mostly inhabited by whites – and imagined as white – becomes crucial in understanding race-urban configurations.

To resume: the processual, relational and material, understanding of race and the tripartite perspective of space linked to the critical notion of visibility is the ground on which I build the analysis. First, the theoretical orientations suggested an operational reconceptualization in terms of social theory of the question of race, then, the resulting operational frameworks combined in an original mix of qualitative methods for the empirical exploration. The research operations were diverse and complementary and provided the basis for the 5 chapters that make up the dissertation.

- I conducted an extensive collection of bibliography and a critical literature review on the urban trajectory of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon over the last sixty years. The time frame is not pre-defined but rather suggested by the study of the existing literature. The challenge is that of assembling an apparently inconsistent body of literature that explicitly or implicitly addresses issues of race and the city, reading and exploring a wide range of diverse quantitative and qualitative studies in order to construct a reliable literature background of the case study. Trying to explore the specific race-urban configurations, I focused on the relationship between urban transformations and social changes, on urban diversity literature and, in particular, on the ways in which geographies of inclusion/exclusion of immigrant groups and ethnic minorities have been framed by urban changes. From the revision of this body of literature emerged an interesting line of inquiry that prompted to collocate side-by-side the Lisbon case with other cities of the European South and as a first entry point for the analysis of race-urban configurations.

This first conceptual unit was an important basis for Chapter 2, it fully unfolds in Chapter 3, and supported some of the reflections developed in Chapter 4.

- I analysed the available data on immigrant groups (in particular, that about immigrants from Portuguese speaking African countries) and ethnic minorities (in particular blacks). This operation was necessary since in Portugal there are no public statistics on race and not even any other official figures on it. Thus, in order to have an approximate idea of demographic numbers and other fundamental parameters – such as access to public housing, health and citizenship – I include this data since they implicitly refer to race. The analysis of secondary data was critical for a deeper comprehension of the Lisbon case study, for its collocation with other European cities, as well as for the first empirical exploration of the urban-race connections.

The analysis of data enlightened Chapter 2, it was mostly expanded in Chapter 3, and also informed Chapter 4.

- The operation of mapping by tracking presence and high visibility of black people across the Lisbon Metropolitan Area was the longer and more extensive research operation. It resulted from my own experience of more than six years (2014-2020) living in the city and was used as a method of critical visualization of race mechanisms but also as a tool of dialogue and interaction. Firstly, I used a pre-printed paper map of the metropolitan area drawing on glossy sheets adding the details over time. Then, I transposed all the information onto a digital version of the map using the online application Google My Map. Trying to represent the complex social practices and dynamics at stake, I mapped – and I was helped to map – a number of different urban elements such as formal and informal residential areas, public spaces, transport routes and knots, as well as shops, spots and places of memory related to the black presence in the city. Indeed, the digital visual work that emerged is an attempt at including experience in the mapping (different temporalities, relations and narratives).

The mapping operation was the groundwork for the empirical part of the dissertation to which Chapters 3, 4 and 5 are dedicated.

- Participant observation went hand in hand with the mapping operation and I did not assume a specific period dedicated to it. Participant observation lasted the six years in which I resided in Lisbon living both in the city centre and in the suburbs. It was often accompanied by systematic notes that later informed all the research reflections. I annotated the places and situations in which race was apparently operating as a critical variable in the urban dynamics. I also constantly shared my hypothesis with the people involved recording their feedbacks. Non-participant observation, instead, was developed in specific places of the city – namely, a public square, an urban route, three urban gardens and nine social neighbourhoods. I dedicated a specific

time-frame to this operation – from June 2019 to February 2020 – by going repeatedly, at different times of the day, taking notes about urban elements, presence of people and any relevant dynamics, but without entering in direct contact with the context and people, involved.

Participant and non-participant observation gave fundamental details for the development of Chapters 4 and 5.

- During my fieldwork I had more than fifty formal and informal conversations with people living across the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon whom are involved in social movements and associations with special care in questions of race and urban justice (among others it is worth remembering, *SOS Racismo*, *Habita*, *Djass*, *FEMAFRO*, *INMUNE*, *Mir Ativa*, *Moinho das Juventude*, *Radio Afro Lis*). Among these conversations, twenty-five of them were prepared in advance and were shaped as semi-structured interviews; they took place on different occasions such as cultural events and public conferences between June 2019 and December 2019. Then, ten of these respondents, all black women of different ages and social profile, participated to individual sessions of in-depth interviews in a small cafe that lasted an average of 2 hours each for a total of more than 20 hours of recorded material. During these sessions, I asked the respondents a few questions leaving them to make free associations. Without a rigid schema and with few and open questions, I tried to stimulate respondents in developing biographical urban narratives calling together memories and everyday experiences. This allowed me to gather an immense amount of unexpected information and to rearticulate my interventions over time. I also asked respondents to sketch and try to visualize some of their answers on a pre-printed map of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon. I made every effort to make each of them feel comfortable during the interview sessions. In the small cafe we were almost alone – a few times my little daughter accompanied me. I also always declared the main objectives of the interview at the beginning. Arguably, the full and enthusiastic participation of all the interviewees to these in-depth sessions was driven by our sharing of a similar sense of social and urban justice, of our being women, and of communicating in a common language (Portuguese). My familiarity with Lisbon black suburbs as well as my personal involvement with a Lisbon black family opened up a number of connections between us that my whiteness, admittedly, would otherwise have limited.

The oral material of the in-depth interviews – totally transcribed and then translated into English – and respondents sketches were the basis on which Chapter 4 was developed.

- The operation of consulting digital urban images such as the ones publicly available on Google Street Views (GSV) or the satellite photos on Google Maps (GM) began as a complementary visual aid to my direct observations and the constant mapping working. However, in March 2020, with the enunciation of the first lockdown in Portugal due to the COVID-19 pandemic, I started using the virtual tool in a more consistent and strategic way and a number of interesting chances emerged. For instance, in GSV there is an option called Time Machine that provided photos of the same spots taken in different years, making it possible to visualize urban changes over a decade or more. Another important feature of this digital tool is the access to users detailed photos of exteriors as well as interiors. GM satellite maps provide photos of urban areas that are hardly understandable only through walking by them. Thanks to that, it was possible to measure the extension of urban gardens as well as to understand some metropolitan road network dynamics. The content analysis that I conducted was as simple as a detailed description of the architectural and urban characteristics of the images, of all the visible human and non-human elements and articulations. In particular, I analysed a historical public square characterized by the presence of black people (i), the urban changes which occurred between 2009 and 2019 along a symbolic metropolitan street of which the northern border was fully occupied by black informal settlements that were completely demolished (ii), a few social neighbourhoods with a majority of black population (iii), three informal urban gardens run by an old generation of black folks (iv) and, finally, a wide range of graffiti that represent black personalities or refer to the global and local black struggle (v). Admittedly, the use of the virtual tool worked out adequately since there was an embodied experience of the places I analysed and a previously assembled supportive knowledge about them. Through this operation, the objective was to increase the objectivity of the analysis without falling into petty value judgments while inhibiting personal bias, limiting myself to a detailed and historically informed report.

The content analysis of urban online images was the ground on which Chapter 5 was expanded.

FLASHBACK: ON THE SINTRA RAILWAY LINE

It was on an early Tuesday morning of November 2014 when I stepped onto a wagon of the *Linha de Sintra* [Sintra railway line] to come back to Lisbon, that my whiteness, and in particular, my white-specific way of living the city, struck me. It was five in the morning. I was on that train by mistake, the day before I had gone to visit Sintra, one of the most touristic spots near Lisbon. I was with a black friend of mine and due to an unexpected conjunction of events we had lost the last train to come back the night before. When the train left the Sintra station at five in the morning it was almost empty. We were sitting in the first wagon, on the seats on the left, facing the rest of the train, and we were totally hooked on our chatter.

*Portela, Algueirão, Mercês, Rio de Mouro*⁶. It was only at the fourth stop that I realized something around me. All the passengers that were coming onto the wagon were black women. There were also some black men, but the overall astonishing majority were black women. I was able to see almost three wagons from my seat and the passengers were *all* black women. Some of them were chatting, a few were listening to music, and some others were reading or were speaking on the telephone. *Cacém, Massamá, Monte Abraão, Belas*⁷. Most of them were older than me, but there was also some young black girls, in their twenties or thirties. I started questioning myself, indeed, I was definitely the only white woman there. *Amadora, Reboleira, Damaia*⁸. Nobody was staring at me, but it was clear that I did not know why I was on that train, and also why the astonishing majority of people inside it were black women. My white innocence was surfacing. And I did not have even a language to name it. When the train stopped in *Benfica*, black women passengers started get off on mass while only a few others waited for the following stops. The closer we got to the centre, the more the train became filled with the common mixed articulation of people of different genders and races that I was used to seeing in Lisbon.

The experience on the Sintra Line struck me profoundly. I started questioning how was it possible for that particular train to be so astonishingly characterized in terms of race and gender. Which urban dynamic was in act producing such a sharp scene? So, I started looking around the places I crossed and I lived. At my university, in the centre of Lisbon, I saw very few black students, two in an

⁶ They are the names of the subsequent train stops on the Sintra railway line.

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ *ibid.*

entire course of a hundred people, for instance. They were part of an international Angolan exchange program. However, all the university facilities and cleaning apparatus was done by black folks: security, cleaning, and gardening. I started linking the facts. I recalled that train at five in the morning from Sintra to Lisbon, full of black women. Admittedly, they were going to work, to clean my university, to clean other offices and public buildings. Over time, continuing my urban inquiry, I also understood that they come from a number of “black neighbourhoods” that lie along the Sintra Line. Curiously, almost all the names of the train stops coincide with one or more of the black neighbourhoods of that area.

Incredibly, something that I later found on the web confirmed my first impression. Tapping on Google the words “Sintra line” the first result that pops up on my screen is a *Tripadvisor Forum* that dates back to 2012. A user, a white user from United States – at least from what the photo and details of the account show – opened a discussion about safety issues. The user writes:

« I have been to Sintra several times *but due to the Sintra Line's bad reputation, we have been taking taxis from Lisbon*, which is quite costly. This time we'd like to take the train to save money. Is it safer if we use the train at the rush hour? Are Saturdays quiet on this line, and therefore less safe? Thank you » (Tripadvisor Forum, user's comment, 2012⁹, emphasis added by the author)

The user's message opened a long discussion in the forum. Twenty-nine replies full of racial content and petty opinions. Users repeated over and over that they were informed of the *danger* of Sintra Line due to its passage near problematic neighbourhoods. Some of the users share in the forum their decision to take *alternative transports* such as rented cars, taxis or private touristic means to get to Sintra. Others even comment their pain for people who have to use the train every day. Something was mismatching in my mind. That day on the Sintra Line, I saw wagons full of people that were going to work, nothing to do with *danger*. I was surprised. A forum on the web shows me clearly that certain urban trajectories were racially defined within the metropolitan area. An entire train line turns out to be considered dangerous and black – or worse, dangerous *because it's black* – while a number of taxis and private cars take white tourists to visit Sintra.

Is the webpage virtual reality betraying something that happens in fact? Are they processes of urban racialization undergoing in Lisbon? Do racialized

⁹

https://en.tripadvisor.com.hk/ShowTopic-g189164-i1529-k5556237-o10-Sintra_Sintra_Municipality_Lisbon_District_Central_Portugal.html (accessed on June 22nd, 2021).

borders specifically and unequally mark the city? Are black and white urban places interchangeable or is there a differentiation of values between them? These were some of the questions that popped up in my mind. I decided to investigate more, and so I did.



FIGURE 5

SKETCH OF SINTRA RAILWAY LINE

THE TOURIST DESTINATIONS OF LISBON AND SINTRA ARE AT THE ENDS OF THE LINE WHILE, IN THE MIDDLE, THERE ARE VARIOUS BLACK SOCIAL NEIGHBOURHOODS [UPPER ROW: COOPALME, CASAL SÃO BRAS, VENDA NOVA; BOTTOM ROW: PINHAL, TAPADA DAS MERCES, BURACA]

STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

As stated above, my argument is that race and the urban are strictly intertwined and even mutually dependant. Firstly, they are interconnected at different topographic and topological scales. The intrinsic urbanity of race renders their connections both macroscopic and microscopic. They connect at the global as well as the local level passing through all the other possible scales of observation. Topologically, they are also interconnected at different scales. Race and the urban, indeed, intertwined in all the dimensions of space, place and matter. Second, race operates on a specific axis within the city. It is not structured along the spatialized income axis (centre/periphery, for instance) but responds to a more complex articulation of marginalization processes. This structure occurs in a two-way scheme: there is no race and something *after* that structures it in the urban space but race and its process are mutually constituent. Third, as race produces specific places, it is also produced by certain places. The everyday urban experience of racialized people is a critical ground on which to assess this mutual relation. Finally, the materiality of both race and space doubly interlocks them together through the interaction of bodies and objects and their visibility in space.

I will demonstrate these statements in the following way. In Chapter 1, I argue that the complexity of race concept does not imply the impossibility to build scientific knowledge on it, but rather requires one to adopt a paradigmatic and critical approach as well as a relational and material perspective. In other words, when faced with a complex phenomenon, what one can do is offer a well-documented interpretation of the phenomenon. Exactly because it is refutable, this would allow one to scientifically compare one's conception of race-urban interdependence against other conceptions. Chapter 1, indeed, is devoted to outlining international debates on race-urban configurations considering how gradually they took space within European Urban studies and to explain why a tripartite approach to space can be an effective framework to analyse processes of urban racialization.

In Chapter 2, I will show how race-urban configurations are dependent on the specific historical, geographical and symbolic context in which they are analysed. By acknowledging all the lines of interference and influence, the horizontal lines of geography together with the vertical lines of history, that converge in the space-time of contemporary Lisbon, it will be possible to delineate specific mechanisms of race functioning typical of an area of which the city is integrally part, the European South. This region still lives gloating itself with a false myth of being a territory naturally open to differences, socially porous and permeable since it is located in-between various dichotomies such as south and north, white and black, rich and poor. However, the objective of

Chapter 2 is precisely to refute the truthfulness of this myth by trying to dispel it through a historical reconstruction of the dynamics that have led to a specific character towards race and to explicit forms of urban racialization. Common political moulds that shaped the urban trajectory of Southern European metropolises, as well as similar patterns of migration, provide the basis for understanding how blackness emerges as a critical urban variable. However, I advocate looking at Portugal and, in particular, at Lisbon as the disruptive element of the group since it is intrinsically connected with other worlds around the globe and historically bound to specific conceptions of race and blackness.

The main hypotheses of the thesis are analytically explored in Chapter 3 and then empirically tested in Chapters 4 and 5 in which I jump into the scale of experience and materiality. In this second part of the dissertation, I employed the tripartite spatial approach so space, place and matter are focused on distinctively in each chapter. Chapter 3 expands on the geographical aspects of space, Chapter 4 on the affective dimension of place and Chapter 5 on its material thickness.

In Chapter 3, I analyse the residential geography of black people within the Lisbon Metropolitan Area resulting from the housing policies implemented over the last 60 years. The empirical support for such an exploration is a revision of official statistics and reports about PALOP immigrants and their descendants and an exhaustive literature review through which I identified three main phases that marked the evolution of the housing policies. The nature of the policies implemented and the socio-urban consequences that involved black populations are investigated distinctly and three neighbourhoods of the metropolitan area are taken as emblematic examples for each phase. The spatial dimension considered in this chapter is that of urban geography with the relative positions of objects and subjects and critical spatial configuration examined. Marginality emerges as a condition of black people's residential structure across the metropolitan space and marginalization as a consequence of various processes of urban racialization triggered by specific housing policies and political choices.

In Chapter 4, the embodied experience of race will emerge from the biographical accounts and urban narratives of ten privileged witnesses. The voice of black women residents in Lisbon described from a marginal, subjective, but also choral, perspective, describe the ways in which race and the city intertwined in their pasts and continue to braid into their current life. I analyse how their individual sense of placeness and place(less)ness intertwining with black people's general trajectory across Lisbon urban space. The subjective fragments will interlace with the historical black urban outline acquiring a social validity. The fable of the open, friendly and cosmopolitan Lisbon vacillates under the burden of their denouncements of urban inequalities based on race and gender. However, their accounts open up one's eyes to the

possibility of tasting a little bit of an 'other' Lisbon and acquiring an alternative and more articulate point of view of the city.

In Chapter 5, I explore the materiality of race through a fine-grained analysis of different predefined urban places through the use of Google Street View online images and Google Maps satellite photos. The selection of places was made through an attentive study of different options due to the long work of mapping by tracking black presences and to the extensive bibliography about Lisbon urban trajectory. The chosen places are those in which race-urban configurations are visible and refutable. The trajectory of the exploration follows a specific logic: presence or absence, to emplacement or displacement, to recognition or lack thereof. Urban racialization emerges as a process that works in different and subtle ways as omission, erasure, displacement and replacement, while resistance to this process can effectively translate into practices of emplacement and place making.

So, I first analyse the architecture, human presence and other symbolical material objects of a central square historically linked to the city's black presence. I read the urban changes of a fundamental metropolitan road that acts as an edge between two municipalities by comparing images that date back to 2009 to the ones taken in 2019. And I explore six social housing neighbourhoods with the majority of population being black located in marginal areas of the periphery and after I focus on one of them. Then, I consider critical forms of urban resistance to racialization as the practices of creation and maintenance of informal urban gardens – focusing on three, in particular, managed by an old generation of black folks – and the expressions of black politics and struggle visible in the graffiti that animate a number of Lisbon walls.

General conclusions close my dissertation in the attempt to summarize how every piece of this 'pastiche' has informed the whole reasoning and how this concatenated trajectory can apprise future research. The main difficulty, indeed, relates to the problem of articulating the complexity of the phenomenon in focus – race process – and the different (topographic and topologic) scales of observation since we are not used to exploring such a wide and sociologically debated issue through the analysis of the urban space and by mobilizing a spatial approach.

The argument of this thesis establishes a dialectic relationship with recent collective scientific endeavours that advocate material and embodied conception of race maintaining theoretical attention to structural elements of the urban as well as to a relational and material perspective. While the first two chapters appeal to a theoretical approach, the latter three offer an analytical reading and an empirical exploration. While space is present in all of them, place emerges in the fourth part and matter in the fifth one. Chapter 1 tends towards a social theory of race-urban configurations. Chapter 2 considers the

historical, geographical and symbolical frame of the case study to define an area of comparability and specificity, yet introducing Lisbon as the carrier of a more complex system of global inter-influences in terms of the urban dimension of race. Chapter 3 proposes a first analytical entry to the case study by focusing on the marginality of black people within the whole urban geography. Chapter 4 and 5 advance an empirical reading of the problem by mobilizing the tripartite spatial approach focusing on the embodied experience of race (Chapter 4) and on its visual materiality (Chapter 5). Neither the first theoretical part nor the analytical and empirical ones aspire to be of an exhaustive and consistent nature. They are configured as distinct thematic knots of the same rope. They can even be considered separately from each other, but taken together, and exactly in the order in which they are presented, they offer the possibility of reading the problem of the urban dimension of race from (topographic and topologic) scalar points of observations. First as a problem of theoretical formulation, then as a question of bodies and objects in space.

The relevance of this dissertation lies in the understanding of the material and geospatial entanglements of a Southern European city. It provides also a thorough pragmatic approach to a hidden dimension hardly explored through traditional data and methods. An original scientifically proven path is proposed that can be stretched vertically and horizontally. It can be pushed deeper – adding knots to the rope – and it can also be re-proposed in other contexts. It is a logic trajectory that, essentially, proposes the unpacking of complexity through a fundamental category, the spatial one.

CHAPTER 1

A spatial lens

ABSTRACT

The aim of this chapter is to introduce the theoretical ground of the dissertation drawing on the key points of the international debate about race and the city. I provide an overview of the possible interconnections between a critical, processual and material reading of race and space by highlighting the emerging opportunities of crossing this literature with the field of European Urban studies. Race spatial dimension is explored here through one of its possible significant lenses, that of blackness. Race and blackness can be considered as interconnected socio-material systems, with a common origin in colonial thinking, a biological excuse, and genetic implications with profound consequences in today's urban space. Indeed, in analysing black people's urban experiences is possible to shed light on wider race spatial processes. The urban space plays a role in sustaining differences based on our appearance and turns up as the material and active *mediator* of racialization. The focal point between blackness and the urban lies in their appeal to visibility, a critical category that I fully mobilize. Finally, I analyse the pioneering research that introduced inspiring perspectives on race and blackness in European Urban studies and I trace the blind spots that seem to undermine the progression of a fruitful debate in the European context.

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER 1

Race and the city are of increasing concern for European scholars and policymakers. A few years ago race would not be an acceptable analytical term in so many fields thus it is not surprising that the Urban studies and Planning research area followed the rule. Even today, there are political contexts and analytical traditions that seem incompatible with this notion. However, certain circumstances have pushed European scholars to acknowledge and finally contribute to the contemporary debate. Three main factors have acted as forces pushing in this direction:

- the institutional claims from public bodies such as the European Commission against Racial Discrimination and the UN Working Groups of Experts on People of African Descent, amongst others;
- the global exchange and influential flow of scientific knowledge mainly from North America, Brazil and South Africa;
- the upsurge of anti-racist movements that have recently spread across the primary European urban contexts and a radical increase in the political involvement of black people across Europe.

The principal objective of this chapter is to provide an overview of the possible interconnections between a critical and material understanding of race and the urban space by highlighting the emerging opportunities of crossing this literature with debates in European Urban studies. Thereby, the aim is to address one of the more critical interdisciplinary blind spots hindering the advance of urban studies on race in Europe. In other contexts, such as the US for instance, a social analysis that omits the notion of race would seem improbable. Race has even been indicated as one of the fault lines on which to reconstruct the interpretation of the change in progress in urban Europe, but research that take it as a valid analytical tool are still few. Working on a spatial framework to study race mechanisms within urban contexts is a challenge for researchers that aim to explore such a theme. But looking at the *spatiality of race* may be more challenging than expected in a context, like the European one, in which race seems to be “absent” or at least “un-measurable” and “un-placeable”.

Before starting this exploration, it is worth making some further clarification on the terms used: race, blackness and urban Europe. As we have already seen in the introduction, race is considered as a chain of socio-material contingencies through which people are categorized and separated into different, hierarchized groups. Blackness emerges as a political variable often interlaced with race functioning but also as *a visible tracker of race processes in the urban space*. In practice, blackness provides a possible significant lens through which to explore

race's urban dimension. Indeed, just as a coin has two sides, race and blackness stand as interconnected socio-material fluid systems, with a common origin in colonial thinking, a biological excuse, a genetic implication, and with profound consequences in today's urban space. In other words, analysing black people's urban experiences sheds light on how race works in the city. Lastly, the expression 'urban Europe' refers to the urbanized part of Europe mainly made up of capital cities and their suburbs. Unsurprisingly, these are also the areas of Europe where racialized people – immigrants, foreign-born and the so-called minority and ethnic groups – mainly converge (EUROSTAT, 2016).

As I have already said the main theoretical assumption is that the urban space – understood in its threefold aspects – space, place and matter – is not just the background of race processes. It plays a role in sustaining differences based on skin colour and turns up as the material and active condition in which these processes are inscribed. Indeed, without denying the existence of race dynamics in rural spaces, it is undoubtedly in the cities where differences and inequalities based on race acquire visibility and, thus, a political weight.

Focusing on race and the city, blackness and its urban dimension, as intertwined elements that shape our contemporaneity, a number of questions arise. This first chapter aims to contribute to the contemporary debate by remaining on a theoretical level and trying to answer to three main clusters of inquiry:

- *How the international debate about race and the city has progressed and which are the critical knots?*
- *Can a spatial analysis shed light on race dynamics? Which kind of spatial approach has to be implemented? Which are the conceptual race-urban connections?*
- *Is it possible to identify any European specificity and contribution to this debate? And how, and with which outcomes, has the urban studies area embraced debates on race? Are there adequate means to address race dynamics in Europe with a spatial approach, and what are they?*

The chapter is structured in three sections each referring to one of the clusters of issues mentioned above. In the first section, I introduce the key concepts that emerged in the international debate about race and the city, mainly dominated by the US conceptualization. I trace the rise of the Black Geographies academic line as the research area that engages with a critical understanding of race and blackness in spatial analysis. The second section is dedicated to understanding how a spatial approach can illuminate racial dynamics and which kind of space concept has to be mobilized in order to grasp the different topological and topographic scales in which race operates. The third section focuses on how European specificities about race issues have been developed in the academic

debate and explores the rise of a recent and interdisciplinary stream of studies called Black Europe. I also analyse the pioneering researches that introduced a critical perspective on race and blackness in European urban studies. In the conclusion of the chapter, I identify the theoretical achievements as well as the gaps within the literature considered. I try to highlight the arising challenges in order to effectively engage in research on the urban dimension of race in the European context mobilizing an exhaustive as well as a meticulous spatial framework while maintaining a critical and material understanding of race.

RACE AND THE CITY: RETHINKING THE NEXUS

The brief review that follows intends to delineate the background of the current international debate about race and the urban to understand the broader panorama in which European urban studies are implicated. Moreover, I address the body of global philosophical literature to draw on the theoretical assumptions that ground my research. The aim is to identify the key concepts in order to effectively theorize the interconnections between race, blackness and the urban space.

RACE AS A PROCESS: RACIALIZATION OF HUMAN BODIES

The very first overtly engaged academic movement in the analyses of race is the movement of Critical Race Theory. As a line of inquiry, it began in the mid-to-late 1980s within American law schools, but it has rapidly spread beyond that discipline soon containing a strong activist dimension (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001: 3). It sets out not only to determine how society organizes itself along racial hierarchies but also to change it. From this point of view, race does not correspond to any genetic reality, is not objective, neither inherent, nor fixed. It is a fluid concept continually shaped by political pressures and informed by individual lived experiences. It is a changing, structuring and politically charged social force regulating social systems (Picker, 2017: 8).

Critical Race Theory draws upon the influential works of several black intellectuals, but it owes its greatest intellectual debt to the work of Du Bois (Twine & Gallager, 2008). In his pioneering book *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899), indeed, Du Bois provided a sharp critique on how white power frames and reworks racial categories and urban boundaries (Rabaka, 2007). Today, although combined with different souls and lines of understanding, the core of Critical Race Theory researchers consolidates around a few key points: the social construction of race and its historicity, the ordinariness of race and its intersectionality with other forms of oppression, the role of white power in structuring our knowledge and the capability of white power in continually reconstituting itself (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

Thus, in an attempt at undressing the concept of race of its essentialist premises and its scientifically invalid arguments of a genetic hierarchy, how can a critical understanding of race turn into a practical lens of analyses of the urban space and the social inequalities that inhabit it? Theoretically speaking, a first step is assuming that race operates as a *process*. Race *is* a process. It is a chain of contingencies through which bodies are categorized. Racialization is the process of race. It is race itself. The process involves changes and on-going practices that attach racial meanings to people. The origin of this kind of race

processual conceptualization lies in Racial Formation Theory that has been introduced by the American sociologists Michael Omi and Howard Winant (1986). Then, it expanded into many more disciplines and lines of inquiry. Racialization is defined as “the extension of racial meanings to a previously racially unclassified relationship, social practice, or group” (Omi & Winant, 1986: 111). Racialization, as they intended, is historically and structurally rooted in the capitalist societies and produced and reproduced in the contemporary societies without people being always aware of its occurrences. Murji and Solomos (2005) remark that these are processes in which race appears to be the key factor in the way they are defined and understood (Murji & Solomos, 2005: 3). In other words, racial dynamics are visible only when outcomes are examined based on race, and when the concept of racialization is fully used in the analysis (Yee, 2008: 1110).

It is no coincidence that one of the more interesting spatial analysis that includes a critical conception of race and looks at racialization processes comes from the South African philosopher David Theo Goldberg (1993, 2009) since South Africa was home to the most recent history of racist arrangement that involves a rigid structure of space. Exploring the location of socially racialized and marginalized people throughout South Africa and the West (Europe included), Goldberg (1993) considers the double role of space: passive – reflecting social relations of power – and active – that refines social relations of power (Goldberg, 1993: 185). The socio-spatial dialectic proposed by Goldberg illustrates how racialization is inherently *spatial*. In the spatial delimitations of racialized relations – relations between knowledge and power, rationality and exclusions, identity, opportunity, and availability – it is human bodies, racialized human beings, that are defined and confined, delineated yet (dis)located (Goldberg, 1993: 187).

In this sense, the Cameroonian philosopher Achille Mbembe (2019a, 2019b) goes further and deeper by proposing what he defines “the current process of borderization of human bodies” (Mbembe, 2019a). Borderization is the process by which “certain spaces are transformed into uncrossable places for certain classes of populations, who thereby undergo a process of racialization” (Mbembe, 2019b). In other words, the border is no longer understandable as a particular point in space. It turns into a mobile, portable, omnipresent ubiquitous reality: the skin itself transforms into a border. Indeed, a point that emerges as missing in the social constructionism of Critical Race Theory is how race attaches to our appearance – our skin, in particular.

Critical Race Theory provided an extraordinary push toward a pragmatic approach to race by claiming the social construction argument, but conceptualized as such the risk is to lose a fundamental aspect of race: its materiality. If one conceptualizes race as only a social construction the risk is that by absorbing all the fluidity of the modern concept of society itself – neither static nor constant, which changes over time and space – race remains

inevitably elusive and equivocal. Though, race as well as its process has a material dimension that involves all of us. It does not only live in discourse, rather its intrinsically linked to our bodies' aspect. Without disregarding the effect of its representations, my argument here is for an acknowledgement of *race materiality*.

In the last years, a 'material turn' in social science has been gradually affirmed philosophically and then spread across a range of disciplines such as geography, urban studies, architectural theory, anthropology, history to name but a few. I will deepen this perspective especially in Chapter 5, but what is important to theoretically define at this point is that, from a material perspective, race can be conceived again as a chain of contingencies in which the connections between its constituent components are not given but tend to repeat *and in which phenotype does matter* (Saldanha, 2006, 2010). There is no essence of whiteness as well as of blackness, but there is a relative fixity that inheres in most of the possibilities of its many elements in flux. Whiteness, for instance, emerges in the repetition of associations between paler skin, property and privilege, while blackness seems to exist only by virtue of what it is not.

BODIES IN SPACE: BLACK GEOGRAPHIES

Bodies and space have been the paired focus of important reflections (Sennett, 1996; Thrift, 2008) to which a race-conscious lens has given key directions for critical interventions (Linke, 1999; Brahinsky et al., 2014). One of the most comprehensive and insightful of these interventions comes from the recent branch of studies called Black Geographies (McKittrick and Woods, 2007; Allen et al., 2018; Hawthorne, 2019). They draws upon a couple of different, albeit interconnected, lines of inquiry that emerged in the US during the 1980s from the link between the activists of the black movements and university circles: Black Radicalism and Black Feminist Theory. In contrast to other kinds of studies in which racialized subjects are mainly seen as 'lacking space' or are treated as 'victims of space', Black Geographies engage with the contribution of racially marginalized people in the theorizing and production of space (Allen et al., 2018). In other words, they advocate for a reading of black spatial experience as not reducible *only* to racism, violence, and death (Woods, 2002).

Indeed, among spatial analysis that includes a critical understanding of race, the themes usually addressed are residential segregation, enclave development, redlining, mortgage discrimination (Schein, 2002) and typically "the black subject emerges as an external and spatial entity, a product of global relations that was brought into consideration as an effect of universal reason" (Simone, 2010: 268-269). On the contrary, Black Geographies merge the material and the symbolic and question (critically) dominant sociological theories by privileging black world-making practices in all of their multiplicities (Hawthorne, 2019) and focusing on how "a black sense of place, [...] produced by and through

processes of racialization” (McKittrick, 2006: 27) can (re)shape geographies and views on spatial relations. Three main key aspects represent a radical shifts compared with other lines of inquiry. Black Geographies is grounded in a critical perspective of its main discipline, that of geography (1), it overtly engages with blackness (2), and it is inherently plural (3).

spatial (1)

Black Geographies upend the traditional canon of geography. McKittrick (2006) gives Black Geographies their name and foundational mantra: “black matters are spatial matters” (McKittrick, 2006: xii). The main contribution is precisely the understanding that processes of racialization are always and thoroughly spatialized processes (Jackson, 1987; Kobayashi, 1990; Dwyer, 1997; Pulido, 2000; Zelinsky, 2001; Anderson, 2002; Berry & Henderson, 2002). In other words, the production of difference is tied into the production of space. Thus, shifting the lens of analysis to real (black) bodies in space, Black Geographies ask how the analytical tools of critical human geography can be used to engage with the spatial politics and practices of blackness (Hawthorne, 2019).

black (2)

The use of “black” in the expression Black Geographies is a provocation of the discipline itself. Such an emphasis, indeed, counters long-standing trends in the discipline of geography. It is a call to centre those subjects and experiences that have been systematically excluded from the mainstream spaces of geographical inquiry. It echoes the concept of blackness as elaborated within Black Radicalism (Robinson, 1983). From this perspective, blackness is a political category produced in the struggle by those facing racial oppression in order to resist the work of race. Franz Fanon, James Baldwin, Toni Morrison and Angela Davis (to name a few) recognize the systematic nature of racial oppression experienced by black people and focus on the colonial frames in which this domination is inscribed (Andrews, 2018: 111). Blackness is the last call for unity among racialized subjects. It is conceived in opposition to whiteness, or rather in opposition to the (white/colonial) systems of power.

plural (3)

Black Geographies owe the foundation of their pluralism to Black Feminist Theory. Exploring the interconnections among systems of oppression (Collins, 2000: 18), black scholars and activists (mainly women) have illustrated the marked insistence in Black Geographies scholarship on the analytical inseparability of race, gender, sexuality, and capitalism. A book such as *Sister Outsider* (1984) by Audre Lorde, for instance, has been ground-breaking in critically acknowledging the interlocking nature of oppression. Integrally adopting this viewpoint shifts the entire focus of investigation from one aimed at explicating elements of race, gender or class oppression to one whose goal is to determine what the links are among these systems, and embracing their inherent multiplicities. Recognizing and accounting for the pluralities of black

spatial creation, Black Geographies offer multiple routes “towards a new or different perspective on the production of space” (McKittrick & Woods, 2007:5).

In practice, the studies that refer to the inspiring framework of Black Geographies bring attention to what could be called the spatio-racial contract, “a tacit agreement that keeps racial hierarchies safely untouched, until the injustice of their racial logics and implications is unveiled, examined and opposed” (Murji & Picker, 2019).

LOOKING AT SPACE TO SPEAK ABOUT RACE

Writing at the intersection of race and geography, scholars of Black Geographies have utilized multiple geographic concepts of space, including references to landscape, territory and place. Surely, mobilizing a spatial approach to race issues implicates a reflection on space which is, however, a hugely debated concept not only in geography but also in many other disciplines such as urban studies, architecture, sociology, environmental psychology and anthropology. Here, I delineate some fundamental and classical reflections on space to get to a plural and multidimensional perspective that seems to be the most appropriate to adopt in studying race spatial dynamics.

WHAT KIND OF SPACE?

Without sifting through the traditional epistemological debate about space, I follow a comprehensive and tripartite spatial approach that simultaneously comprises the concepts of space, place and matter. In this perspective, matter is intended as the constellation of material objects, space as their relative position and place as their cultural representation (Cremaschi, in print, 2022). Space, place and matter are thus distinct but intertwined spatial domains, not scales. By integrally adopting this triple understanding of space, my hypothesis is that racialization unfolds in all these three spatial thicknesses. For this reason, it is worth dwelling here a bit on this consideration.

In social science, there are two strong traditions of long-debated theorization about space and place. The great contribution of Lefebvre ([1974] 1991) was precisely to connect them and put them in a dialectical relationship (in line with the critical prevailing tendency of that time). Indeed, in *The Production of Space* ([1974] 1991), Lefebvre transforms geography and critical engagement with socio-spatial theory through its simultaneous, multi-dimensional theory of (social) space that he means as practised, imagined and experienced. In a nutshell, for Lefebvre producing space means generating places. However, Lefebvre's stance left an often-invisible gap between the theory of spatial production and the methodological investigation of instances or elements within the processes of production (Pierce & Martin, 2015).

Contemporary theorizations of place, particularly those following and expanding upon Massey (2005), integrate very different kinds of 'objects' into a synthetic, hybrid understanding of social/geographical phenomena (Pierce & Martin, 2015). Massey (2005) sees places as bundles of space-time trajectories of various objects: human beings, other lives, networks of social relations, physical objects, the built environment of cities, etcetera. A relational

perspective on place (Pierce et al. 2011; Pierce & Martin, 2015) surely provides a flexible conceptual scaffolding for the recognition of the political-economic dimensions of place without focusing only on the socio-spatial dialectic. A place-oriented approach permits exploring places – or place-making processes – as elements in a heterogeneous whole without either requiring an engagement with a single and unitary object of analysis, or demanding a specific epistemic stance.

Moving from examining or theorizing the production of space to examining relational place(s) is indeed a fundamental conceptual shift. It appears necessary and compatible with calls within Black Geographies to develop and apply new methodologies (Bledsoe et al., 2017; McKittrick, 2006; McKittrick & Woods, 2007) and offers a means to theoretically, politically, and empirically imagine and design alternative bundles that produce places. However, it is not enough. There is something missing. Something else of the spatial sphere needs to be theorized and included: the matter of space – or land, earth, natural elements and human artefacts, architecture etcetera. Space has a physical mass too. Its material aspect has to be acknowledged together with the relational properties (space) and meanings (place). At this point, Latour's new materialism can be of fundamental support.

Latour's perspective – and, in particular, its Actor-Network Theory – is very explicit in terms of the powers of materiality. The theory proposed has been accurately described as the “semiotics of spatiality/materiality” (Kärrholm, 2007). Although in Latour's work places are often treated as the product of a network rather than as an integral part of a network (see, for instance, Latour, 1997), to the interesting discussions that he made on material objects – such as doors, keys, and sleeping policemen – one could just as easily add discussions on spatial objects – such as pedestrian crossings, hills, rivers, monuments and town squares (Kärrholm, 2007). The advantages of this perspective are several. First, it opens up a possible way of investigating the meaning of materiality through the roles spatial materials play in different spatial networks, where some functions might remain constant whereas others change.

The same material object might thus be a different ‘actant’ in various spatial productions, in various places, implying a plethora of potential roles for every material (Law, 2002; Law & Singleton, 2005). Thus, in discussing space as matter, we can apply a non-polarized and non-hierarchical strategy. That is, hierarchies and axialities might well exist, but they are the product of contingent and situated power relations rather than a point of departure. It has been pointed out that although Latour's perspective emphasizes the importance of a “sociology of the missing masses”, it has actually never, in detail, been used to study the interaction between human beings and material objects (Dant, 2004: 81). But it is fair to say that Latour and his followers focus on networks rather than on space, which is seen as entangled in a whole range of different

and even conflicting networks and traditionally studied in isolation in different disciplines.

Focusing here on the urban and architectural research angle, I try to go deeper into this line of inquiry by using a three-fold conception of space. By this I intend again a framework that comprises together spatial materials (matter), their relative positions (space) and their cultural meanings (place). When I speak about the three spatial dimensions, I am not referring to different topographical scales of references. Indeed, scalar relations in architecture are traditionally conceived as hierarchical and have relied on a sequential mode and proportional relationships (Koolhaas & Mau, 1995). Yet, if we reflect on our experience of space, scale will appear as a multiple, folded and nested category. The lived experience of space ends up confounding the causal tendencies typical in architectural and urban research and practice. On the contrary, topology's concern with continuity and connectivity allows for a way of recognising such spatial experience and supports a reconceptualization of spatial scales (Awan, 2016a).

Thus, we can say that the triple notion of space proposed here encompasses an intrinsic *topological scale* to acknowledge the space-time-power connections at work in a specific site at a certain moment. So urban spaces can be intended *nets of local, global, as well as past, present and future, material and immaterial relations* in which fixity can emerge from flux under certain conditions. However, considering urban spaces in this three-fold spatial complexity (space, place and matter), as deep, networked and perforated, and as results and drivers of social processes is challenging, particularly with regards to research methodology. The analytical challenge posed is exactly that, to make "something" of the tracings of varying lengths and duration of material, immaterial, cultural and immanent spatial relations (Amin, 2004: 34). As far as the methodological frame of this research concerns, I simply follow by suggesting: *what if we mobilize this triple spatial approach to analyse race?*

CONNECTING RACE AND SPACE

Both race and space vary across time and location, involve political contests over their meaning and emerge from the interplay between materiality and social constructions. Moreover, racial and spatial processes can be seen as co-constitutive and dialectical in nature. The making and remaking of space are also about the making and remaking of race. In the first section, I began with an overview of the range of ways that race-urban connections have been conceptualized and defined over the last decades within the international debate. Then, at the beginning of this second section, drawing on a variety of historical reasonings on space, I proposed a specific spatial approach that I consider more appropriate in order to analyse race. At this point, I suggest a combined framework for considering how the threefold spatial approach

illuminates the relational, critical and material understanding of race and vice versa.

What has become increasingly clear is how spatial theory can offer racial theory a unique lens for examining the complex processes by which racial difference and inequality are organized and enacted in the urban contexts. Recognizing the analytical overlaps between spatial theories and racial theories allows us to think more clearly about the *spatialization of race* and the *racialization of space* (Lipsitz, 2007). The main purpose of this theoretical stretch is that of operationalizing the spatial approach to the analysis of race processes. Indeed, race and space can be conceptualized in similar ways. As resumed in the schema of Figure 6, race and space do share three critical dimensions: a relational aspect, a cultural meaning and a material thickness. Moreover, the link between them is strengthened by one of the main characteristics of the urban space – that of framing visibilities of objects and subjects. Indeed, the relational, cultural and material dimensions of both race and space, become readable across the urban world due to their appeal to visibility. Analysing race urbanity emerges then as a possibility of tackling race in a context that allows its legibility.

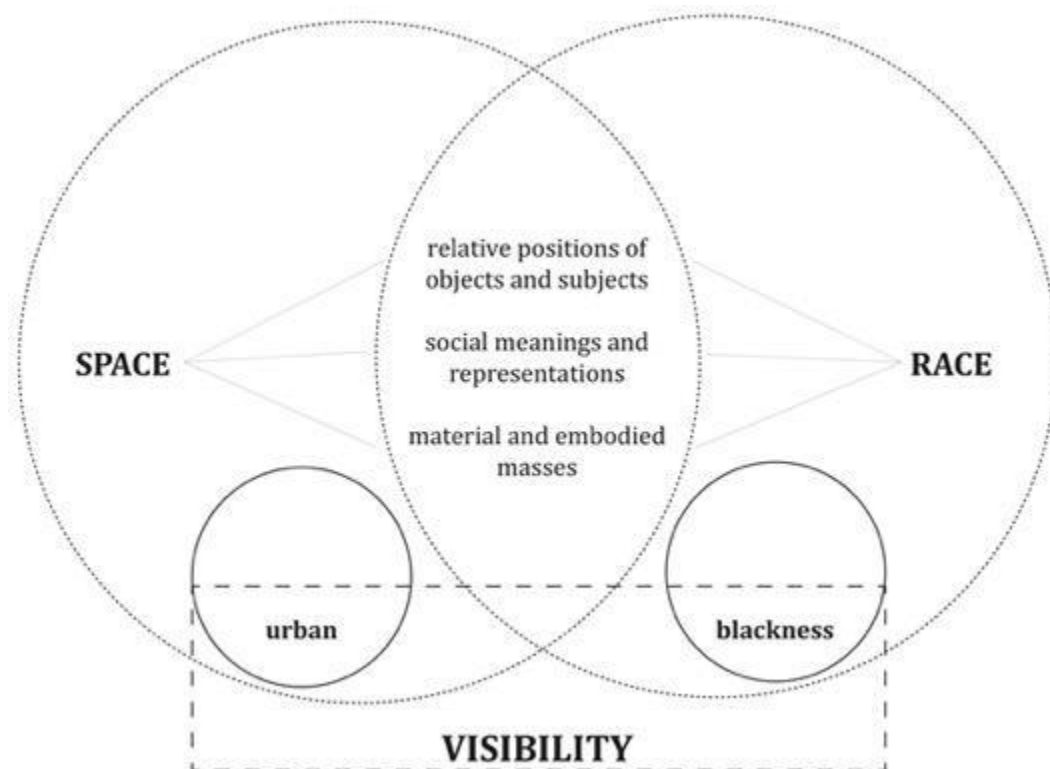


FIGURE 6
SPACE-RACE COMBINED FRAMEWORK

THE URBAN DIMENSION OF RACE TODAY

A vast amount of multidisciplinary literature depicts the realities of injustice and life disadvantages for racialized people in cities and, more recently, also the way in which racialized people resist inequalities *through* urban practices. Today, these themes are extremely current since the conditions of our contemporaneity seem to increase differences instead of diminishing them. Margaret Wilder (2020), the executive director of the Urban Affairs Association (UAA), in the editorial article of the Journal of Race, Ethnicity and the City (JER) recently launched, writes:

« In the spring of 2020, urban populations and landscapes across the globe were shaken to the core by a series of sweeping and devastating crises, notably the novel coronavirus (COVID-19) pandemic and countless racial justice-related protests and riots [...] The dual crises of a pandemic and mass social unrest revealed the ugly realities of persistent patterns of discrimination, violations of civil rights, and unequal access to opportunities experienced by marginalized racial and ethnic groups. In each instance, public calls were made for (a) better analyses of racial disparities to “explain” the differential lived experiences of racial and ethnic groups, and (b) policy proposals to address inequalities. » (Wilder, 2020)

Although these calls have already been responded to, at least partially, by scholars, the perception of limited knowledge suggests a continuing gap between research findings and the translation of insights into public debates, strategic policies, and actions. The attempt is to link the real world with the world of research exactly about the urban dimension of race. Indeed, the complex urbanized dimension through which race marks and assigns different values to certain lives are central to the scope of this new journal (Beebeejaun & Modarres, 2020) and other similar calls.

Wilder (2020) goes further and identifies five critical limitations of current social science inquiry on race: the obfuscation of race in intellectual discourses, the regionalist character of the research on race, its marginalization within various disciplines, the limitations of traditional research methods, and the shortcomings of research disseminated only to academic audiences. Correspondingly, she suggests a few innovative paths which I mention because they match some of the principles that inspire this dissertation. There is a call for comparative perspectives to build a coherent body of knowledge to simultaneously address the local and global ways in which race emerges and

operates in urban contexts. Indeed, US debates and in general Anglo-Saxon discourses have been central in pushing forward our understanding of race through examining and elucidating the dynamics in operation. However, the importance of engaging with wider contexts, from outside the Anglo-American world, is becoming critical in order to expand our understanding. Finally, new theoretical frameworks and innovative methodologies are requested in order to overcome the weakness of traditional methods.

Thus, firstly, my choice to mobilize a specific spatial framework to analyse processes of urban racialization makes an attempt at abandoning conventional approaches. Secondly, the collocation of the analysis in Europe, and especially in a city of the European South, meets the necessary widening of horizons. I make use of the theoretical achievements produced within the US academic context but I am also aware that the European urban reality is distinctly different to the North American one. But it can certainly be useful to reflect on both of them. Admittedly, the urban racial dynamics also seem to be somewhat different and this investigation aims precisely at achieving new and contextualized conclusions. What may seem more generic, at first glance, is the concept of blackness, which I fully mobilize too.

The notion of blackness carries heavy baggage – maybe too much for the notion to have any *operative* use. Whenever blackness is analysed, imagined, seen or talked about, it appears self-explanatory and tends to close down rather than open up new considerations.

« [...] there is something of enormous potential within the experiences of actual black bodies and the various notions of blackness that shroud, mark, reveal and define these bodies. This potential is hard to come to words. It seems immediately qualified by histories of all kinds. But there is something left over that can potentially be called upon, put to work, that is both connected to black urban experiences but detached as well. Something that moves across territories and situations as a manoeuvre to gather, cull and distribute knowledge that cannot be pinned down. A resource to go with the 'curse', and that belongs to no one in particular. » (Simone, 2016)

There is certainly something generic in blackness and maybe even in its urban dimension. As well as there being something generic and common among cities around the globe. For that reason, a big challenge for researchers interested in the topic of the spatial dimension of race and, in particular, of the urban dimension of blackness is to articulate the results of the analysis to achieve a global perspective while maintaining a local routing (Picker et al., 2018). Indeed, there is also something very specific about blackness in a given city and

in the lived experience of blackness at different points on the globe. In the US blackness is one thing, while it is something else in Asia, not as much of a thing in Africa and something different in Europe. This is the reason why, in the third section of this chapter, I explore the specificities of blackness in the space-time of urban Europe.

THE SPECIFICITIES OF EUROPEAN NARRATIVES ABOUT RACE

The key points of the international debate about race and space, blackness and the city, highlighted in the previous sections form the ground of theoretical assumptions on which this study is developed. The discourse upon a specific spatial perspective, to which section two has been dedicated, adds more definite details to the analysis. At this point, I deepen the understanding of the particular European stance on these issues to delineate the context in which my interpretative framework unfolds. The question is: *how was the discourse about the urban dimension of race and blackness handled in the European context?* The ultimate aim of this section is to understand how European critical urban studies has contributed to the debate and at which point we find ourselves at in this time.

THE BLACK 'OTHER' IN EUROPE

In order to answer the above question, it is important to look at the historical context in which race – as a term, a belief, a social fact, as a process and as a material and embodied experience – emerged in Europe. There are three major avenues in the historical articulation of race within the European context: anti-black racial thinking (1), anti-Semitism (2), and Muslim phobia (3). This triad has dominated the historical conception and comprehension of race at least since World War II (Goldberg, 2009: 193). As far as this study is concerned, I concentrate on how race is historically embedded in relation to black people in Europe, overlooking anti-Jewish and anti-Muslim articulations of race. For that, it is crucial to understand its colonial roots.

One of the traces that make the colonial legacy in Europe visible, and thus debatable but not deniable, is the great presence of black people. Slogans echo: “We are here because you were there”. The phrase was first used in the 1970s by postcolonial immigrants to remind Britain of their historical, economic and social ties, and in drawing attention to its colonial past. In November 2005, French activists again used the saying during the three weeks of urban rioting in the Parisian banlieues, and again in 2020 in the demonstrations that spread across the mayor cities in Europe after the murder of George Floyd by a white policeman in the US.

The European countries involved in the colonial project in Africa – England, France, Germany, Belgium, Holland, Sweden, Denmark, Italy, Spain and Portugal – have had different trajectories of occupation, exploitation and relationships with local populations. And today they respond to the presence of black people

from Africa and their descendants in their European territories in different ways that vary from exclusionary racism to compulsory assimilation (Hesse, 2009). However, subtle lines of resemblance seem to hook the historical relation between colonists and colonized people, between invaders and invaded, between the exploiter and the exploited, and they reverberate today on the power relations between the (white) dominant group and the (black) others.

Colonial practices – as the expansion overseas, the occupation of African lands and the exploitation of African resources and bodies – went hand in hand with the upsurge of various forms of European nationalism and the creation of racial discourses in Europe. In this sense, the insights – anticipated by the French philosopher Fanon (1952, 1961) and by the Italian anthropologist De Martino (1962) and then reframed and crystallized within the major branch of Postcolonial Studies – help one to unravel the European tangle of racial thinking.

The process of ‘othering’ black African people was an essential means in admitting, and officially sustaining, the violence and death perpetrated by colonists in African colonies (Kilomba, 2008: 16-23). The construction of the other in opposition to the self was a fundamental tool in maintaining colonial order and in making it persistent in articulating current relations of power. The descendants of colonized people living in European cities today have created well distinguishable (mostly black) groups, recognizably different from the national ones. And, despite the overcrowding of several non-white groups in the position of “others”, the condition of blacks as the “others par excellence”, is not only linked with the colonial past but with the neoliberal redefinition of current power relations between Europe and Africa. In the contemporary era, the black subject continues to be in the existential predicament of not having the will to live but to survive (Fanon, [1952] 1967).

So, the potential of the “post” dissolves in the logic of the “still” and the present appears to be inexorably absorbed into the past. The redefinition of racial principles is embedded in the urban contemporaneity iterating the dependence that binds the south to the north, the periphery of the world to its (symbolical) centre. Indeed, locating the postcolonial in the contemporary European urban frame (Yeoh, 2001) sheds light not only on the continuous work of colonial forms of knowledge in defining people as well as on the colonial structure inherent to certain physical arrangements, especially the built environment (Roy, 2016). However, the impact of colonialism on urbanism and urbanization in European metropolis remains one of the most significant gaps in our knowledge (King, 1989; 2009). Among European urban studies a widespread silence still prevails about the history and legacy of colonialism on the structures of our cities, and urban racial dynamics are still among the least acknowledged social phenomena.

Race is still considered a thorny term in Europe and in order to manage the embarrassment, it is usually replaced by other words which are less emotionally charged – ethnic/minority/diaspora groups, descendants of immigrants, to name but a few. Studies using ethnicity as a conceptual framework, for example, tend to obscure the racism that continues to mark certain bodies and experiences and to force cultural identities that are more imagined than real. Even in many studies about the African diaspora in Europe, questions on race are still being ignored. Instead of exploring diaspora subjects as racialized subjects, these studies have focused on immigrants' integration into Europe or their transnational connections with their parents' countries of origin (Rastas & Nikunen, 2019). Admittedly, using an African diasporic framework for analysis on black people in Europe can be useful in order to acknowledge the transnational characters of blackness. However, the association of blackness *only* with diasporic experiences renders certain other kinds of black subjects and their histories invisible. Indeed, they overlook the diversified ways in which one can be black in Europe today, ways that are not always necessarily linked to an African origin. The concept of Black Europe that I am about to explore in the following lines, among other things, tries rightly to maintain the two aspect of blackness, the racialized as well as the transnational one.

“BLACK EUROPE IS IN THE AIR¹⁰”: NUMBERS, SPACES AND CITIES

There is an increasing volume of work and social media focusing specifically on the black presence in Europe. Some publications focus on the history of black people across Europe while others address current issues. Early references on the debate about being black in Europe can be found in the first collective publication featuring complex theories on race in the European context. The *Empire Strikes Back* (1982) has spotlighted the issue of race in Europe as contextualized within the history of colonial imperialism and as distinct from the US debate, which had been prominent until that moment. Breaking the ice, this seminal work provided an analysis of the exclusion of blackness from the construction of the European identity, in general, and from British national identity, in particular.

First or not, “race critical works never develop in complete isolation” (Essed, 2009). Indeed, a *fil rouge* connects the emergent black European critical writings throughout Europe over time, from the French anti-colonialist writings by Césaire and Fanon – which emerged between the 1950s and the 1960s – to the antiracist and multicultural English studies by Hall, Gilroy and other representatives of British cultural studies – which appeared from the 1960s onwards – who have brought questions of racialized identities and blackness in Europe to a wider academic audience (Rastas & Nikunen, 2019). In other

¹⁰ Essed, 2009

countries, such as the Netherlands and Germany, women have played a fundamental role in developing black feminist activism and research on blackness in Europe during the 1980s (Kilomba, 2008). In the Southern countries of Europe, eventually, a critical understanding of race was timidly and belatedly admitted in the academic circuit only in the early 1990s, in Italy and Spain, and finally, in the late 1990s, also in Portugal (Essed, 2009).

The number of different languages in which knowledge is exchanged in Europe may be one of the reasons why cooperation among researchers and the full recognition of this research field has occurred so slowly. Furthermore, unlike research focusing on the recent migration from Africa to Europe, black European studies have not only been inspired but also even carried out, to a considerable extent, by researchers based in the US (see, for instance, Hine et al., 2009). Nevertheless, the volume of black studies research undertaken in European universities as well as the collaboration among researchers in Europe seems to be on the rise from the early 2000s.

From the Black European Studies Conferences (BEST) organized in Mainz in 2005 and in Berlin in 2006, researchers from different European countries have created more spaces for research and discussions on the situation of black people across Europe and on understanding how the black and African presence has influenced European societies. In doing so, they have inspired many networks and research programs. Among others, the cycle of AfroEuropeans Conferences that took place in Spain (the University of León in 2006 and 2009, the University of Cádiz in 2011), in the United Kingdom (the University of London and Open University in 2013), in Germany (the University of Münster in 2015), in Finland (University of Tampere, 2017) and in Portugal (University of Lisbon, 2019) and the one that was expected to be held in Brussel in 2021 (but which has been postponed due to the pandemic). These events became an important forum for academics, artists and activists engaged with Black Europe and with blackness in Europe. But, what are we talking about in referring to Black Europe?

Black Europe is “a descriptive category with essentialist undertones but flexible boundaries” (Essed, 2009) that offers a different framework of thinking about Europe, a new theoretical concept and a methodological perspective. As a *framework*, Black Europe aspires to an exhaustiveness (Brown, 2009a) and can be effectively used in order to grasp pieces of the black European puzzle and to join different critical voices. As a *concept*, Black Europe brings to the fore the phenomenon that Goldberg (2006) calls “Racial Europeanization”. In other words, one comes to an awareness of the (negative) representations, which are given to black people in the moment one envisions Europe as a white continent. This unrealistic belief – of a European racial (white) homogeneity – is exemplified by the fact that the founding documents of the European Union, from the beginning and throughout recent decades, make no mention of colonialism and postcolonial migrations even by name (Nimako & Small, 2009:

9). Finally, as a new *methodological perspective*, Black Europe sheds light on the “striking similarities” (Small, 2018) among the everyday experience of black people across Europe. Looking at Black Europe as a whole, rather than focusing on the peculiarities of each nation, reveals, for example, the ambiguous visibility and the endemic vulnerability in which black people find themselves across Europe (Small, 2018).

Defining who black Europeans are is not an easy task. An initial definition may be “all people of African origin living in Europe”. However, from a critical and material perspective, as we have already seen, blackness is not just about African ancestry. It is about racialization. In other words, you do not have to be African to be racialized as black, furthermore you do not need to have dark skin to be racialized as black (Small, 2009). Awareness of the intrinsic fluidity of the notion, as well as of the material embodiment and appeal to appearance, a cross-textual definition of black Europeans is proposed here in integrating different institutional statements. Black Europeans refer to “black people born or raised in Europe or with an EU citizenship” (ENAR, 2013: 8) as well as to people racialized as black in Europe, and “descendants of the African victims of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, [...] Africans and their descendants who, after their countries’ independence, emigrated to or went to work in Europe” (Kasanda, 2003, Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent).

In view of the above and in a paradoxical attempt at making taxonomy of something intrinsically unclassifiable in the name of clarity, the plurality of the black population in Europe can be exemplified in six main categories:

- generations of offspring of black people already in Europe in early modern times (for a historical account see, for instance, Blakely, 1997 and Henriques, 2011);
- descendants of black people that were forcibly taken to Europe during colonial times;
- black people who were connected to European countries through colonial ties and that migrated to Europe after the independence of their African countries;
- recent black refugees seeking political asylum;
- black students and workers attracted by educational and job opportunities;
- African children adopted into white European families.

To label individuals and groups who are as heterogeneous and unconnected as the above with the labels of ‘Afro-descendants’ or ‘Afro-Europeans’ is

problematic as well as in naming them 'blacks'. However, the reference to blackness allows, at least, one to recognize that this myriad of different people shares some phenotypic resemblances. Indeed, the only common experience among black people in Europe is their exposure to a certain degree of systemic discrimination and their embodied participation in race processes – regardless of country of origin, citizen status, socio-economic conditions, gender, age or level of education. It is their potentiality of coming across processes of racialization *through* their bodies. The association of migration trajectories with the European black kinship – common in many disciplines and implicit in the expression Afro-Europeans or Afro-descendants – cut away a number of black realities (Brown, 2009a), which are instead constitutive of Black Europe. While blackness – as a descriptive category and an embodied experience, as a racialized process and the resistance to it – is increasingly acquiring a critical political significance across Europe (Blakely, 2009).

Numbers of Black Europe

Officially the percentage of black Europeans within the total population is under 2%. However, the estimate of the quantitative weight of black people in Europe is intrinsically approximate because the data-gathering criteria differ from country to country. Scholars and journalists have advanced an estimation today ranging from more than 7 million to as many as 15 million. The lower estimate is closely based on census data and restricted to people of sub-Saharan origin (Blakely, 2007), while much higher figures are reached in estimates by independent researchers as well as by other governmental and non-governmental organizations, depending on the categorization and methodology used in harmonizing data. The inconsistency of data collection on race across European countries, the deliberate rejection of any such categories by many governments, the varying categorizations of black people across Europe, the variable self-definition of blacks in Europe – that vary both across time and space – and the presence of uncountable illegal immigrants results in the whole number being less explicative than any other articulation of black people in Europe, as, for example, their spatiality within the European continent.

Spaces of Black Europe

Where is Black Europe? What is the spatiality of black people across Europe? Theoretically, Black Europe extends and exceeds the geographies of the European continent. Its constituent locales can articulate with other extra-European locales through family roots and ramifications, as we have already seen. On the other hand, Black Europe can also be very 'local'. Thus, we can say that Black Europe lives at the intersections of Europe/non-Europe, inside/outside, immigrant/citizen (Hesse, 2009). What is undeniable is that the trajectories of its members are affected by larger historical processes of race, racism, colonialism, independence and resistance (Brown, 2009a). The overwhelming majority of black people – over 90% – live in just 12 European

nations (Blakely, 2009; Small, 2018). The highest presence is in France and United Kingdom. In France around 6-8% of the total population of the country is black, though estimates vary considerably from 3 million to 5 and a half million. In the United Kingdom estimations are explicit and the categories of Black/African/Caribbean/Black British comprise 3% of the total population. It is interesting that black presence is also quite significant in smaller countries such as Portugal (2%), the Netherlands (1,8%), and Italy (1,3%). This is probably due to a distinct mix of colonial legacy, economic power and geographical position. In counter tendency, however, Germany has a lower percentage (1%) – of a total population of over 82 million only around 820.000 residents are of Sub Saharan African origin up to grandparents – which can be explained by various historical factors (Third Reich, WWII) and because the categorization by grandparent's origin is certainly non-exhaustive in grasping the number of black and Afro-Germans.

Cities of Black Europe

Apart from being geographically located in few countries of the European continent we also know that black people are overwhelmingly settled in urban areas¹¹, including mainly capital cities (Small, 2018). In England, more than 60% of black people live in and around London¹². Similar percentages exist in Paris. In the Netherlands, the majority of black people live only in Amsterdam and Rotterdam. Most black people in Germany are settled in Berlin and Hamburg (Koschollek & Santos-Hövenner, 2012: 8-15). In Sweden, they reside in Stockholm, in Portugal, they live in Lisbon. This urban trend was recently confirmed by the huge and massive participation of black folks in demonstrations spread across several European cities – London, Paris, Berlin, Amsterdam, Rome and Lisbon – in May and June 2020 after the murder of George Floyd¹³. The protests have not only highlighted the urgency in addressing the racist structure of power and changing it, but they have revealed the increasingly active and politically charged presence of black people in European cities. Moreover, the presence of demonstrations in the main capital cities of Europe points to the fact that a certain urbanity is intrinsic in being black in Europe. In other words, *urban spatiality* is crucial in understanding how black Europe inhabits the European territory.

¹¹ There are some exceptions of course as for the case of southern Italy where many Sub-Saharan African migrants live also in rural areas especially that of Puglia (Melossi, 2021) and Calabria (Galeazzi, 2017) working as seasonal labourers in the agriculture sector.

¹²

<https://www.ethnicity-facts-figures.service.gov.uk/uk-population-by-ethnicity/national-and-regional-populations/regional-ethnic-diversity/latest#ethnic-groups-by-type-of-location-urban-or-rural> accessed on April 19th, 2021

¹³ Haddad (2020), Mapping anti-racism solidarity protests around the world, Aljazeera <https://www.aljazeera.com/news/2020/06/07/mapping-anti-racism-solidarity-protests-around-the-world/?gb=true> accessed on April 19th, 2021

The concentration of the black population in big cities around Europe is still to be explored as an object of study. At this point of the discussion, the need emerges to engage with the unresolved and largely neglected relationship between global/regional/national/local/urban configurations of blackness. Indeed, in order to uncover the very urban conditions of possibility for race and blackness to emerge and powerfully operate, it is necessary to consider the global aspects of blackness in Europe and simultaneously focus in-depth on its local urban mechanisms – whether analysing black London, black Paris, black Berlin, black Amsterdam or black Lisbon. The black urbanism is still to be interrogated leaving aside diasporic, migration or cultural discourses and flowing into a processual, critical, material and embodied conception of race and blackness as well as into a multidimensional conception of the urban space.

RACE IN EUROPEAN URBAN STUDIES

The double lack of critical reflection on space in Black European Studies and of race in European Urban studies reveals that, while on the one hand, the interest in such topics is undoubtedly increasing, accurate research is still to be designed in this sense. However, there are relevant exceptions. A restricted number of scholars overtly focused on how the racial and the urban connect, enmesh and fuse into one another across cities in Europe and achieved notable results. Here, I overview five examples of studies that include a critical understanding of race in their spatial analysis of cities around Europe that have somehow inspired and informed my research since they are overtly engaged, from different perspectives, with the urban dimension of race. Keith (2005) sheds light on the power of urban representations, as well as Almada (2020) even if from a different perspective. Fassin (2013) and Gressgård (2017) focus on the violence exerted in racialized neighbourhoods by police and by politics and Picker (2017) addresses the key role of planning in creating racial boundaries.

In his book *After the cosmopolitan? Multicultural cities and the future of racism* (2005), Keith explores the limits of the multicultural city and the mutability of racism. He considers racist meanings to be intimately connected to the notions of the urban that permeate the European culture and urban representations of race to be characterized by ambiguity and ambivalence, contradictions and slippage (Keith, 2005: 72-73). Focusing on the city of London, the author argues that urban spaces such as the ghetto, the inner city, or the *banlieue* may occupy territories that are spatially and politically marginal but symbolically central to the psyche of the metropolis (Keith, 2005: 74). Reconsidering the politics of the urban plan, it is also advanced that architectural practice became increasingly implicated in envisioning the future of the city in a manner that takes one back to older literature about the interplay between closeness, distance and the politics of the stranger in the city. In particular, there is a twofold metaphoric

equivalence between some of the key longstanding debates in contemporary urbanism and race thinking: in these seemingly distinct rhetorical worlds, there is a homology in the replicated tension between the city of strangers and the regulated metropolis, and between the recognition of difference and notions of racial equality (Keith, 2005: 168).

In a distinct vein, Almada (2020) mobilizes Fanon's concept of "colonial compartmentalization" (Fanon, [1961] 1968: 36) to analyse academic and public authorities' discourses and urban representations on a specific neighbourhood of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, Cova da Moura. Almada (2020) uses the concept to approach Portugal's contemporary colonial legacies and to depict the objectification of the neighbourhood and its identities, anchoring in three dimensions: spatial representations, bodies and territorial belonging, values and behaviours. He uses the concept of discursive 'épidérmisation' (Fanon, 1952) and in particular, the one of "epidermização do crime" (Almada, 2020) meaning a process of covering a crime with an epidermis reason as one of the ways in which racialization unfolds. This concept is understood as a process of imposition of racial categories, based on the unequal power relationship, between the dominant group and the dominated, imposing definitions and representations on the latter, reducing them to black skin, classifying them as inferior through the construction of racial hierarchies used as a blocking device in social relations, attribution of social roles and social spaces (Almada, 2020). This study also suggests an interesting declination of the term periphery that is not understood as a matter of geographic location, but from a Fanonian perspective, means the spatial consequence of a hierarchy of racial and economic differences.

An ethnography of urban policing in the *banlieues* in Paris, which began right before the 2005 riots, was conducted by Fassin (2013) who explores the relationships between law enforcement and housing projects and, in particular, between police and racialized youth (Fassin, 2013: 53). He adopts the notion of "situation colonial" proposed by Balandier (1951) in order to grasp this controversial relationship. The colonial legacy clearly emerges both objectively considering the immense majority of black people among housing inhabitants (mostly from former French colonies or French overseas territories), and subjectively in the representations by the police that described the social housings as the "jungle" and their residents as "*savages*" (Fassin, 2013: 53). He argues that the segregation of these groups is markedly higher than it would be if it were simply the consequence of their socioeconomic level. Thus, it is not only explained through a class factor – as it is often delineated – but also through racial discrimination in housing which adds up to employment discrimination and, more broadly, to discrimination of access to most resources (Fassin, 2013: 45). A specific mix of discriminations that, the author reminds, must be understood qualitatively as well as quantitatively (Fassin, 2013: 163).

The work of Gressgård (2017), instead, revisits the notion of necro politics. In particular, the author explores how necro politics often operate in the ordinary processes of urban resilience governances, outside emergency and exceptional situations, rather involving a kind of everyday racialized death-politics in the normal operations of city governance (Gressgård, 2017). Focusing on the city of Malmö, Sweden, the author conducts an analysis of racialized security politics issuing from the breakdown of representational and topographical boundaries between inside and outside, us and others. This essentially violent order produces a constant situation in which citizens are forced to co-exist with and resist dangers and threats. Her thesis is that this kind of governance turns into a slow death in zones of ordinariness that becomes part of the everyday life of some fringes of society such as racialized youths living in segregated neighbourhoods (Gressgård, 2017).

Finally, in *Racial cities* (2017) Picker, before focusing on the condition of Romani people across minor cities in Europe, draws a whole picture on how planning – and its colonial legacy – has been underpinned by a logic of racial exclusion. In particular, he defines racial cities as cities in which “racially connoted material (political, economic, spatial) and subjective (representational) structures ensure the perpetuation of racial segregation” (Picker, 2017: 141). From his perspective, racial cities can be racist cities and simultaneously “race-less cities” since in contemporary Europe race and its effects are often silenced and invisibilized. The silence of race, disaggregated into the twofold phenomena of racelessness and depoliticization, is functional to the persistence of racial segregation intended as not the mere spatial separation of groups that are racially deemed, but rather as the imposition of a unequally partitioned spatial order (Picker, 2017: 23). Ultimately, the author suggests abandoning the accommodating idea that racial segregation is the least detrimental alternative of planning and starting to focus on the ways in which it is purposely and constantly enacted, sustained and reinforced, as the best means of maintaining social order, hygiene, and civility (Picker, 2017: 143). It is also advanced that emphasizing the racial dimension of urban structures and dynamics, and not their multiple racist outcomes directly (for instance, policies, discourses, districts, settlements, etcetera) can serve to highlight the logic behind certain socio-spatial concentrations, separations, isolations and segregations, as well as their historicity.

The themes addressed in the studies mentioned above – urban representations, police violence, politics and planning – suggest the possibility of articulating a few (comparable) issues. In my opinion there are a number of relevant key points, but also a few limits, that need to be overcome to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the ways in which race emerges in cities around Europe. The implicit reduction of racial geographies to the analysis of residential segregated areas and the exceptionality of the emergence of race are two of these blind spots. Indeed, a common thread among the cases considered, is the theme of police violence that occur in racialized places. It seems that the

racial and the urban, in Europe, tend to only be considered as connected in exceptional situations, actually, violent situations where there is a direct confrontation between racialized people and police.

My point of departure, instead, is that race operates within the ordinariness of everyday life across various and different urban spaces, including, for instance, centres as well as peripheries – either geographical or symbolic – and that the *unexceptional* ways in which race emerges are more relevant and need more reflection than the extraordinary ones. Moreover, in light of what has been said so far, one of the designations that I proposed at the beginning of this chapter, that of urban Europe, has proven to be useful for a regionalist understanding of race, but vague and almost pointless if one needs to understand the local mechanism in which it operates. Thus, proceeding towards the exploration of the Lisbon urban context, it seems extremely important to reduce the geographical lens and to understand if it is possible to speak about race specific mechanisms in cities of the European South, to which Lisbon geographically, historically and symbolically belongs. It is exactly on this point that the next chapter expands.

CONCLUSIONS OF CHAPTER 1

Race and the city configure as central themes in the current global conflicts as well as in local ones. Scholars around the world are writing increasingly about these related issues and an extremely interesting international debate has flourished in the last decades. This first chapter is the theoretical entry of the dissertation and it tended towards a new theory of racial space. In particular, it expanded on critical points of the contemporary debate on race and the city, proposed specific frameworks of operationalizing race and using the spatial lens, and delineated the state of the arts of European urban studies around notions of race and blackness.

In the first section, I explored the most notable insights elaborated within the international debate especially on urban racialization. What emerges from this first part is that a critical and processual understanding of race is being somehow theoretically accepted, but not empirically fully explored, in the contemporary conception of race. Due to the constant insistence of Critical Race Studies scholars, the race materiality – in particular, its appeal to phenotypic appearance – needs deeper reflection. This first finding has important consequences in the operability of race as a category of analysis as it limits the concept at a discursive level. Race, intended only as a social construction, is explored in terms of its representation while its materiality and the embodied aspects are rendered invisible.

Thus, the need to engage with race materiality appears pivotal. Without being scared of essentializing the concept one can admit its variable but all present reference to bodily appearance and phenotypical traits and tries to deal with them in theoretical and empirical terms. The recent branch of studies that goes under the label of Black Geographies was outlined as a significant contribution to the understanding of the interconnections of space and race. In particular, by foregrounding the idea that race processes are spatial processes, scholars of Black Geographies reflect overtly on the intersections between space and race. Their major contribution is to delineate the concept of blackness as a lens through which it is possible to analyse processes of urban racialization as well as the resistance to it.

In the second section, I paused on the notion of space. Since space is one of the widest and most debated topics in social science, I felt the necessity to specifically frame how it is intended and mobilized throughout this dissertation. I mentioned the traditional debate about space and place in order to demonstrate how, also in this case, what seems to lack is matter. Again, the materiality of space dissolves while the relationality between macro and micro structures and the cultural meanings of space are privileged in traditional conceptions. However, it is essential to include the material aspects of spatial masses – the constellation of objects within space – in a comprehensive and plural spatial approach, which is able to illuminate race processes.

Thus, I suggested a tripartite spatial perspective that comprises of its interconnected dimensions of space, place and matter. Moreover, I demonstrated that a certain conceptualization of both race and space finds important points of contact between the two. Both race and space are characterized by the relative positions of objects and subjects (1), by social representations and cultural meanings (2), and by the materiality of bodies and masses (3). The urban space – as a subgroup of space in general – and blackness – as one of the possible declinations of race – is interconnected through the mobilization of the concept of *visibility* which is central in the black experience within cities.

Finally, the third section of the chapter was dedicated to understanding how these discourses were acknowledged in the European context and in particular within the branch of European urban studies. The ways in which race is mostly conceived of in the European context is strictly connected with the colonial legacies and modern universalist approaches that denies the existence of race or tends to dissimulate race effects instead of pragmatically addressing them. However, from the 2000s onwards, there has been an increasing concern about European specificities of race and blackness with a number of studies that overtly acknowledge these issues. In particular, scholars, artists and activists have joined together reflecting upon what has been defined Black Europe.

Critical perspectives on race and space are still a rarity in Europe, but their quantity is increasing and their quality is improving. Different perspectives and interesting analyses that focus on various cities around Europe – not only the global centres of London and Paris, but also cities such as Malmo in Sweden or Lisbon in Portugal – have been introduced recently. In the brief overview, I delineated some common threads as well as a few limits that need to be overcome. There is too much focus on extraordinary events in which race and space overtly interconnects in detriment of the ordinary ways in which they co-operate. There is also too much focus on the peripheries, and in particular on the residential segregated areas, instead of also widening the lens of exploration to other parts of the cities considered.

A SPATIAL APPROACH FOR THE ANALYSIS OF RACE

The chapter has not only furnished the theoretical orientations adopted throughout the entire study and proposed the conceptual frameworks but it has also delineated some points of references in literature among urban studies in Europe. It has to be considered the first knot of the rope, the very entrance to all the reasoning that follows as well as the analytical and empirical endeavours. The theoretical trajectory developed all through these first pages brings one to consider a few main conclusive thoughts. Here, I try to summarize in a few

points the challenges launched by this kind of conceptual exploration on race and space.

- Race has to be investigated both as an epistemological and ontological issue and a critical, processual and material understanding of race allows one to consider the operativity of such a category without failing in the risk of essentializing its characters but also without dissolving it in epistemological debates;
- Critical Race Theory promotes a critical perspective on race which implicates an understanding of race as a social construction and to acknowledge its historicity;
- The processual perspective on race – elaborated within Racial Formation Theory – entails a recognition of race as a chain of contingencies and looking at race as its very process, that of *racialization*;
- A material perspective involves the recognizing of phenotype and of specific body connotations as carriers of a critical significance in the process of race. This line of understanding is the one proposed recently by scholars engaging with the so-called ‘material turn’ in social science;
- The material understanding of race needs more in-depth reflections but without this angle of analysis race dissolves into an issue of representations and discourses, being deprived of its fundamental aspect;
- Within Black Geographies elaborations on race and space connections, *blackness* is proposed as an appropriate lens through which analysing race spatial processes;
- In order to mobilize a spatial approach to the analysis of race processes, space has to be intended as embracing its multidimensionality and plurality. The framework adopted here is made up of three interlaced spatial dimensions: *matter* (physical masses of bodies, natural elements and artefacts), *place* (their social representation and cultural meanings) and *space* (their relative positions).
- Understood as such, race and space share common traits and the relationship between both blackness and the urban within the concept of *visibility* causes them to be operationalized in order to examine processes of racialization in city contexts;
- The ways in which race and space are interlaced in Europe is significantly related to the European colonial past but has also been

refined into new schemes by the current relationship between Europe and Africa;

- Studies on race and space have been a rarity until recent years and collaboration between scholars has been limited by a generalized institutional negligence but also by the range of different languages in which knowledge is exchanged in Europe, however today these studies are increasing in number and improving in quality;
- Black Europe is emerging as a new conception within academic and activist circles and it aims to join the plurality of black voices around Europe with the objective of reflecting upon the similarities of black experience across the continent;
- The conceptualization of race and space, blackness and the urban proposed in this chapter is far from being fully accepted and adopted in European Urban studies, however there are notable exceptions which have inspired this study;
- Among the references considered, some critical aspects emerged that I aim to overcome through my research: the consideration of race processes limited to extra-ordinary cases (such as episodes of police violence in black neighbourhoods) and the focus of analysis confined to the peripheral areas of the urban context.

This summarizing effort allows me to clearly close the theoretical premises that underlie my research and to make the points for the introduction in the next chapter. The chapter that follows is dedicated to narrowing the lens of analysis to a sub region of Europe, that of the European South, and to contextualize the case study of Lisbon in a specific geographical, historical and symbolical frame.

CHAPTER 2

The racial framing of Lisbon

ABSTRACT

The aim of this chapter is that of building a historical, geographical and even symbolical horizon in which to inscribe the Lisbon-specific spatial organization of race. Bringing the case study of Lisbon into conversation with a wider range of literature, this chapter is also inherently inspired by a specific comparative endeavour that looks at urban realities as irreducible but also interconnected and interrelated. The chapter is divided into two sections, I use a narrative register and the discussion follows a funnel down structure. First, I introduce the supranational level, the European South, by focusing on critical historical passages as well as geographical and symbolical characteristics. In particular, I explore how race and blackness have been framed across this area that is combined of four countries and a number of cities with strong similarities but also significant divergences. The role of the fascist regimes that marked the entire area is highlighted as a critical driver for specific current local conceptualizations of race and blackness. Then, I examine the national level in order to grasp the peculiarity of the Portuguese way of handling discourses about race, blackness and space, to then finally present the case of Lisbon. The recognition of all the lines of interference and influence, the horizontal lines of geography together with the vertical lines of history, results in a well-defined picture frame in which the Lisbon case study can be outlined. The city arises as a dense site for an exploration of the various dynamics of urban racialization. It can enrich our general understanding of race-space connections and suggest insights for other contexts.

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER 2

The present study is *situated* in Lisbon. Its main objective is to explore *how* race and the urban intersect and intertwine in this specific city. However, before starting with the analytical and empirical exploration – that will be expanded in chapters 3, 4 and 5 – a contextualization of the Lisbon case study in its wider geographical, historical and even symbolical panorama is essential. In the previous chapter I delineated the key points of the international debate about race and the city and its progression in the European context with the aim of introducing the theoretical perspective and the specific spatial framework adopted in the research. At this point, I present the historical, geographical and symbolical frame of the analysis. In the first chapter, I retraced the rise of blackness as a political variable and a relevant, *visible* and traceable category useful to grasp the ways in which race operates in the urban space. In this second chapter, I am interested in exploring the relevance of blackness in the specific space-time conjunction of Lisbon.

The understanding of race as a socio-material system with a spatial dimension and the city as a lens through which it is possible to detect its processes, both historically and geographically specific, are the main entry points. Moreover, if the production and reproduction of space is intrinsically tied to the production and reproduction of difference, history and geography are fundamental determinants of these processes as well as the economic and political structure of capitalism is a key factor.

Thus, the aim of this chapter – the second knot of the rope – is that of building a historical and geographical horizon in which to inscribe the Lisbon-specific spatial organization of race. The move from the theoretical level (chapter 1) to the analytical dimension (chapter 3) and the empirical interventions (chapter 4 and 5) is mediated by the narrative register of this chapter. Contextualizing Lisbon geographically, historically and symbolically means to acknowledge its location in a specific sub region of Europe – the European South – its long colonial past and the globally spread connections that the city retains with a number of other urban contexts around the world. The recognition of all these lines of interference and influence, the horizontal lines of geography together with the vertical lines of history, results in a well-defined picture frame in which the Lisbon case study can be outlined.

Bringing the case study of Lisbon in “creative conversation with a wider literature” (Robinson, 2015), this chapter is also intrinsically motivated by the ‘comparative turn’ in critical urban studies, and especially by the ‘comparative urbanism’ as refined by Robinson (2011, 2015). The urban contexts are intended here as “interconnected” and “interrelated” singularities liable to “repeated instances and circulating phenomena” such as urban policies, forms

and representations of the same issues (Robinson, 2015). Indeed, I am not proposing the case study as a representative sample, but as a dense site to explore the various and multifaceted ways in which race operates in the contemporary urban.

« In many ways, this format, the case study – whether understood as a city, a specific urban phenomenon or form, or wider circulating urban processes – in conversation with theoretical debates and other cases, is well suited as a model practice for global urban studies. » (Robinson, 2015).

A critical look at the history and development of urban studies in Europe reveals how much the southern and eastern areas have been marginalized from the beginning. Lisbon can be considered part of the European South. I favour this expression instead of the more common “Southern Europe” because it emphasizes the physical and symbolical proximity of the South of Europe with other “souths” of the world. Despite its flexibility, the definition “European South” is conventionally used to refer to the combined area of four (non-contiguous) countries: Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal.

Without lingering too much on the geographical demarcation, I focus on the fact that the conventional fault line in critical urban geography has shifted to a Global North/Global South divide, underestimating the specificity and the value of the “in-betweenness” of the European South¹⁴. So, as far as this research is concerned, the first operation is needed to unpack the historically and geographically comparative perspective from the contingent ways in which race and the urban come to be defined in this specific region, while the second operation is to recognize the intrinsic other ‘elsewhere’ to which Lisbon refers.

Indeed, transcending geographical proximity, a number of other sites around the globe share a particular articulation of mutual influences with Lisbon. It is enough to consider, for instance, Paris. The French capital is ironically considered the third-biggest Portuguese city in Europe (after Lisbon and Oporto) since its second-largest immigrant group today is made up of people with Portuguese citizenship, just behind the Algerians (France Population and Housing Census, 2015). It is a fact that, over time, Paris was a sort of material and symbolic “point of reference” for Lisbon as, more generally, France was for Portugal¹⁵. Thus, one cannot deny that Paris and Lisbon share some common

¹⁴ Leontidou’s call to mobilize the positions of southern European cities in order to unsettle mainstream urban debates is as valid today as it was twenty years ago (Dines, 2016). Here, however, I am not advocating for a “southern urban theory” (Leontidou, 1996), but for a geographical contextualization and conceptualization.

¹⁵ French is fluently spoken by a number of Portuguese. French influence is visible in a wide range of architectural arrangements in Lisbon. After the earthquake Lisbon was constructed following the Haussmann model of Paris modernised urbanization (Sampayo, 2017), Portugal

traits in the way in which race emerges and operates in their urban contexts. And, admittedly, Paris is not alone within the range of cities that dialogue and intersects with the urban geography of blackness in Lisbon, despite being physically distant. Historical conjunctions, political agendas and migration flows indeed are all important factors to consider in connecting Lisbon to other cities and, hypothetically, the functioning of race within them.

Admittedly, the shared condition of “postcolonial cities” (King, 2009) – between Lisbon and Paris, as well as London, Brussels or Amsterdam – can lead to understanding them as similar urban sites characterized by (post/neo)colonial tensions where the connections between space and race play a prominent role (Picker, 2017: 145). As I have already shown in Chapter 1, locating the postcolonial in the contemporary urban frame leads to keep in focus the continuous work of colonial forms of knowledge, practices and ideas, as well as colonial structures inherent to certain physical arrangements and in this way to construct axis of comparability. However, looking at the contemporaneity as a “time of entanglement” (Mbembe, 2000), without acknowledging only the colonial legacies, can be more useful.

For that reason, it is important to bring to the fore not only the colonial past but all the following historical phases of articulation – of racial thinking and urban forms – turning to the current times as “an interlocking of presents, pasts, and futures that retain their depths of other presents, pasts, and futures” (Mbembe, 2000: 17). The process of “othering” black people across cities of the European South is the result of the colonial as well as romantic, exotic, fascist, capitalistic and then also democratic and neoliberal redefinition of (material and abstract) relations between black people and these urban contexts. Thus, interrogating blackness in this region means for example questioning the construction of national identities against it that have had material consequences on the urban landscapes over time.

Moreover, situating the study in one of the souths of the world – including the European one – implicitly requires to take a certain distance from taken-for-granted standpoints of the classic analyses of northern European cities – such as those of Simmel, Benjamin and Weber. It does not mean to overlook such theories; rather it means to constantly dialogue with them, to question them while opening the investigation to the hard process of deconstructing definitions, problematizing classifications and resisting determinations. In other words, I prefer to narrate a *specific raw complexity* –

overtly adopted the French-mode integration of the overseas possessions which made them ‘colonies’ from 1930 (Lloyd-Jones & Pinto, 2003: 3). In one way or another, in a linear or contradictory way, Lisbon always looks towards Paris. It is not a coincidence that one of the songs of the most popular Portuguese fadist Amalia Rodrigues sings: «Lisboa não seja francesa, com toda a certeza não vais ser feliz; Lisboa, que idéia daninha, vaidosa, alfacinha, casar com Paris» (Lisbon, don’t be French, you certainly won’t be happy; Lisbon, what a damaging, vain and ‘alfacinha’ idea, *marrying* Paris).

even when it is less theorized – rather than, adopting stretched principles. I choose a narrative contextualization to a fully referenced overgeneralization.

The chapter is divided into two sections and the discussion follows a funnel down structure. In the first section, I introduce the supranational level – the European South – by focusing on critical historical passages as well as geographical and symbolical characteristics. In particular, I explore how race and blackness can be framed across the area that is a combination of four countries and a number of cities with strong similarities as well as divergences. The second section is dedicated to examining the national level in order to grasp the peculiarity of the Portuguese way of handling discourses about race, blackness and space characterized by the historical ties with the African continent and Brazil. Finally, I present the case of Lisbon. In the conclusion, I reflect on how Lisbon arises as a dense site for a study of race and space since its being at the margins of Europe makes it an open door to an incredible milieu of transnational connections. These lines of influence vary from North and South America, Northern Europe and the African continent. These sites are politically, historically and symbolically connected with Lisbon as well as the cities of the European South are for different reasons. The specific transnationality of blackness in Lisbon points to an interesting spatial logic, where networks involving distant localities entangle and prevail over continuous space.

FLUCTUATIONS ACROSS THE COLOUR LINE IN THE EUROPEAN SOUTH

Comparative urban studies also passes through a re-launch of Area Studies, intended not as studies of geographic areas with defined features, but as heuristic tools useful for decentralizing and mobilizing the urban question (Roy, 2009a). Among the geographical areas that in recent years have represented an important field of redefinition of Anglo-American theories, there is the European South. With its peculiar dynamics, admittedly, it is a privileged site from which to rethink urban paradigms beyond the dichotomies between North and South of the world. Although the material and conceptual boundaries of this Southern European urban geography are still under discussion, it is generally accepted that Portugal, Spain and Greece are part of it. The Italian case is more controversial since the analysis of some socio-economic, political and cultural factors would suggest the inclusion of southern cities only (Leontidou, 1990; Chorianopoulos, 2002; Salvati, 2014; Giubilaro & Picone, 2020).

However, contextualizing the analysis in the European South area going beyond a strict discourse of geographical boundaries means to recall such fundamental aspects of societies as the experience of colonialism, dictatorship, and democratic instabilities. It means to remember the migratory flows generated by inner and global political and economic dynamics as the emigration experience that has linked the countries of the South in their being the “proletarian nations¹⁶” of Europe and that continue to connect them in new forms of brain drains, less significant in numerical terms but no less relevant in social terms. It also means to evoke the reproduction of informal economies and practices that occur in cities of the European South linking them twice to the African continent: as receiver-countries of postcolonial populations as well as transit-countries in contemporary arrivals from the Mediterranean. And finally, it means to recognize the emergence of old race-related issues, specific to these territories, thanks to both the intensification of a global political black awareness as well as to the timid increase of critical urban studies in the South of Europe.

The southern area of Europe that touches the territories of Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal contain certain geo-political and socio-economic characteristics and an urban development trajectory, which renders it to be focused on aside from the rest of Europe, as a sub-region. The coexistence of modernity and

¹⁶ With the internationalization of the European labour market and labour shortages in the North, capital recruited labour first from the European South (Italy, followed by Spain and later Greece and Portugal), then from the East (Yugoslavia and Turkey), and finally from Africa and the “Third World” (Sasson-Koob 1980).

informality (Leontidou, 1990: 3) was pointed to as one of the most striking similarities among southern European cities. The complexity that results from this mix – and from this intrinsic ambiguity – is here the provocation to explore the European South in light of its historical construction of race, its specific geographical role in migratory circuits between Africa and Europe as well as its preservation of peculiar (and racialized) urban configurations.

NEITHER WHITE, NOR BLACK

Race is an embodied experience as well as a fairly recent construct, one that emerged well after population groups from different continents came into contact with one another (Smedley & Smedley, 2005). The idea that the meeting between white European and black African people is a product of a century of predation and colonization is a hard-to-die popular belief among Europeans and perhaps worldwide (Mbembe, 2015). However, the encounter between blacks and whites began centuries before that time (Robinson, 1983; Snowden, 1983; Mbembe, 2015). What is a product of modern times is the incorporation of a sharp *hierarchy* in race relationship between whites and blacks.

Black people have been living and crossing the European South since our ancient history (see, for instance, Snowden (1970) for Italy; Bernal (1987) for Greece; Toasije (2009) for Spain and Henriques (2009, 2011) for Portugal). People of the South of Europe are phenotypically closer to black people than northern Europeans. This is a matter of fact due to sun rhythms, geographical position and people mixing. For societies that are phenotypically closer to black people, a greater number of arguments is required – beyond skin-color – to distance themselves from the (negative) stereotypes implicitly embedded in the notion of blackness. To put it more simply: it is more credible for pale, blonde German or Norwegian people with light-blue eyes to say “we are not black” than darker-skinned Italian, Greek, Spanish or Portuguese people. The intrinsic complexity in defining blackness in the European South has meant the social production of subtle ideologies against blackness and controversial patriotic theories to distance themselves from black people, a shift in racial representation that moves away from biological categories and comes closer to a more intimate and private understanding of the position of each in the moral and national project of modernization (Giuliani & Lombardi-Diop, 2013).

Who is black in the European South? Race works in a specific way. It transcends strict questions of skin colour and gains a particular invalidating range of stereotypes. The colour line materializes at the intersection of different paradigms of naturalization of the differences related to the body putting the nation’s body in tension and the biopolitical regulation of individual bodies. In Portugal, Spain, Italy and Greece, nationalist ideologies, especially boosted by the once fascist regimes, incorporated colonial conceptions of race and,

ultimately, handed them down the present (Giuliani & Lombardi-Diop, 2013). Authoritarian and military dictatorships acted as *vectors* of colonial thinking in the actual configuration of race.

From a historical perspective, the establishing of a sharp racialized thinking across countries of the European South has to be found in the colonial practices implemented in Africa and in the Americas as the exploitation of bodies, lands and resources, and the consequent accumulation of capital. Despite the fact that the countries of the European South contributed in very different ways to the violent crusade of colonialism¹⁷, racial beliefs were absorbed into the nationalist ideals of the dictatorships. Indeed, during the 20th century, the South of Europe was largely under overtly fascist or fascist inspired regimes: Mussolini in Italy, Franco in Spain, Salazar in Portugal and the Military Junta in Greece. Admittedly, they influenced the democratic transition and current cycles of government¹⁸.

So, firstly, a politically designed racialized science identified immutable differences between racial groups and depicted blacks as genetically inferior, thus rendering the issue of race intrinsically linked with a genetic hierarchy. Then, nationalist beliefs nurtured by fascist ideologies established the national characters of citizens clearly in opposition to the negative attributes that the black category had acquired over time. The colonial thinking about race, although articulated in a specific way in each country, was convergent in depicting black African people as *non-human* or *sub-human*. This way of thinking was a well-structured doctrine at the basis of the general acceptance of the perpetuated violence. It was falsely scientific and politically designed for economic purposes. It serves to justify the atrocities committed on black bodies and the profit produced by the exploitation of African lands and resources over 500 years. Assuming that when certain colonial practices were abolished, in the name of law, the beliefs that had supported their whole functioning dissolved and disappeared, is naïve and illogic.

Admittedly, the separating of racial lines between colonizers and the colonized, whites and blacks, acquired meaning over time until they were interlacing with

¹⁷ Portugal was the initiator of the colonial trade in Africa and the last to leave its colonies (Guinee-Bissau attained its independence in 1974 while Cabo Verde, São Tome e Principe, Angola and Mozambique were finally independent only in 1975). Spain linked its colonial past to the conquest of vast territories in the American continent in the 16th century, later heading also for West Africa (Canary Islands, Spanish Sharan and Spanish Guinea). Italy only comes to join the colonial venture in the late 19th century, and for a few years controlled territories of Eritrea, Somalia, Libya and Ethiopia. Greece has never participated directly in the occupation of territories in Africa in modern times nor in the slave trade.

¹⁸ A transition to democratic systems occurred, in each country at different times: first in Italy in the immediate postwar period, then Portugal and Greece in 1974, and lastly Spain in 1975. In their democratic trajectories, a significant step was the entering into the European Union: Italy was one of the founding members (1957), later Greece (1981) and then Spain and Portugal (1986) join the community.

nationalist philosophies and eventually informing the current democratic configurations. In the book *Bianco e nero: storia dell'identità razziale degli italiani* (2013), Giuliani and Lombardi-Diop reflect on the fluctuations that have materialized around the colour line in the European South. In particular, the authors focus on the case of Italy where the tensions inherent in the formation of the liberal state between national regeneration and the southern question, on the one hand, and between migration and colonialism on the other, become the ingredients of a whitening process that culminates in the fascist idea of the “white Mediterranean”.

It is worth remembering that “Il Fascismo e i problemi della razza” – a decalogue of apodictic statements accompanied by explanatory comments, published in *Il Giornale d'Italia* in July 1938 and later known as the “Manifesto of racist scientists” – contained a very clear assumption regarding the need to distinguish the Italian race from its presumed “African” origin. Point 8 reads « it is necessary to make a clear distinction between the Mediterranean Europeans (Western) on the one hand [...] and the Africans on the other ». Indeed, there was a great concern to outlaw the dangerous theories of the African origin of some European people of the South, in order to join the Arian ancestors with other white Europeans.

The much more recent democratic cycles of the countries here considered seem to continue the (never-ending) attempt to ‘Europeanise’ Southern societies (subtly or overtly) by whitening their characters and prioritizing discourses of localism and racial homogeneity instead of acknowledging and recognizing the intrinsic race diversity that inhabits the region. Popular beliefs and jokes, intentionally boosted by governments, or not limited by them, spread out across the European South stereotyping black people and depicting blackness as negative. *Calimero*, the 1960s black chick icon of the Ava detergent advertising, made very popular in Italy thanks to the TV *Carosello*, is perhaps the most striking example of the combination of the stigmatization of blackness associated with impurities and dirt (Lombardi-Diop, 2011) that leads to the understanding of the conjunctions between blackness and invalidating stereotypes. *Calimero* is the only black chick in a family of all yellow chickens and he re-conquers his mother’s love only after discovering that he is not black but only dirty and can be whitened with the Ava detergent. It dominated the widespread culture of industrial Italy in the years of the economic boom and internal migrations. And in the 1970s, *Calimero* arrives also in Spain – transmitted by the TVE – and finally in Portugal – through the national TV channel RTP, which also broadcasts *Calimero* across the Portuguese African colonies.

Paradoxically, the tourist marketing that brands the European South relies precisely on such aspects of cities and societies of this region that make them more similar to the (stereotyped) African counterparts. Urban life of Southern European cities is often depicted as animated by lively street life and economic

informality while societies are characterized by the warmth of social exchange, music and dancing practices, good vibes and the laziness myth. Today, within the current up-surge of far-right parties, the (not so white) national citizens of the European South are depicted as resilient and honest, hard workers and property owners, whether they are catholic or not, defenders of family values. While black people are known to be inactive, non-worker, migrant, poor, even criminal, at the very least bad-family members, either male or female, good dancers and musicians at most (Guillaumin, 1972).

In this range of dogmatic beliefs, a crucial point seems to be the relationship with space. Typical national citizens of the European South have a great and strict connection with national territory, in which new forms of localism provide identity belonging. On the contrary, the stereotyped black people are just 'passing through'. In other words, if the national almost-white citizens are, at least, in-place, racialized blacks are at most out-of-place, or even place-less. So, race surfaces as a matter of space and of the right to be in a certain space or not. At the Southern margins of Europe, blackness and whiteness nuance into one another as skin colours, but issues of placeness and place(less)ness, based on race, generate sharp divisions and critical inequalities.

NEITHER NORTH, NOR SOUTH

Turning to the migratory experience – both emigration and immigration dynamics – of the European South, unveils the ways in which racialization turns into a mere socio-economic process of resources, opportunities and, ultimately, rights allocation. Indeed, as races are also symbolical categories coined for the sake of grouping and separating peoples along lines of phenotypical difference, whites (as blacks) are made and not born. As I have already mentioned, Southern Europeans became white over time. Historical circumstances and relative positions taken by the countries of this region within global migratory flows, intermittently acting as Global South and Global North, have increased tensions around race belonging. Here, I briefly refer to four main historical moments in which migration trajectories entangled with matters of race: the transatlantic emigration to the US before the World Wars, the emigration to Northern Europe after WWII, the postcolonial immigration during the 1970s and the current cycle of arrivals from the African continent to the European South through the Mediterranean.

From the end of the 19th century, huge contingents of people immigrated to the US from the European South. This transatlantic emigration is intimately related to the racial trajectory of Italians, Greeks, Iberians and Portuguese (Jacobson, 1999: 3). When the dark-skinned Southern Europeans arrived in the US, they were not considered white in ordinary terms. Rather they started to be naturalized as “white Europeans” only in contrast with the “African Negro”

(Wigmore, 1894). Italian immigrants, for instance, were not considered white not only because they did not look white to certain social arbiters, but in particular because they did not *act* white. They were stigmatized against because they accepted economic niches, such as farm labour and small tenancy that were commonly marked as black by local custom, and also because they lived and worked among black people (Jacobson, 1999: 57). It was through two parallel processes that Southern Europeans began to join whiteness in America (and all privilege related): the exaltation of their contribution to the American nation – discoveries and personalities such as Christopher Columbus and other navigators were critical revivals – and the economic growth that took place in these countries in the meanwhile.

WWI marked the end of the great emigration flow from the European South to the US. But, shortly after WWII, it started again, this time towards the economically stronger area of Europe, the North. Migrant workers from the South responded to the labour opportunities available in the industrial countries of the North. Specifically, Germany, France or Belgium and, later, England called for huge contingents of low-skilled workers to meet their heavy industries labour needs. Between the end of WWII and the oil crises of the 1970s, according to estimates no less than 5 million people migrated from the Southern region towards the northern one (Zimmerman, 1996). These migratory experiences within the continent created internal social divisions and split Europeans in two different classes of citizens: Northern versus Southern people, advanced versus backward, modern versus traditionalist.

Then, in the 1970s and 1980s, as part of the so-called “international migration turnaround” things changed, and somehow inverted. In the Southern region, a new phenomenon of mass immigration from the African continent began (Arbaci, 2019: 47). Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal turn from being “countries of emigration” to being “countries of destination” or, at least, “transit-countries” and “first-reception-countries”. Postcolonial immigrants from African countries already linked with the European South settled in Portugal (from Capo Verde, Angola, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and São Tome e Principe) as well as in Spain (mainly people from Guinea Equatorial) and Italy (from Ethiopia, Eritrea, Somalia and Libya). And from the early 1990s, black refugees from Northern Africa and countries such as Senegal, Nigeria, Ghana and Mali, have crossed the Mediterranean in order to enter Europe through its South (including Greece).

Eventually, the context of the 2008 economic and financial crisis rearticulated the South-North migration dynamic within the European Union once again. The crisis, although it was labelled as “global”, did not produce identical effects in all parts of the globe. In the European Union, the crisis hit the Southern region¹⁹ much more severely than the Northern one (Lafleur & Stanek, 2017) and it led

¹⁹ It is interesting to note that the 2008 financial crisis has increased a new sense of inter-group solidarity across Southern European social movements including some progressive administrations (Hadjimichalis, 2011; Rossi, 2012).

to a new acceleration of migratory flows from the South to the North. Nowadays, migrants moving from the South to the North of Europe are in smaller numbers²⁰ than the emigration of previous decades, and display two significant characteristics: people that emigrate are young, with the under 30 age group being particularly represented, and they are highly qualified. This evidence led to brand the new migratory phenomena as a “brain drain” and open virulent political debates.

A critical point, hardly graspable and less analysed, is that since the black foreign population residing in the countries of the European South increased notably between the 1960s to 2008, this means that, among the new migrants from the South of Europe, some are black immigrants of non-European origin – for instance, North Africans, Sub-Saharan Africans and South Americans – having spent enough time in a South European Member State to gain nationality. Admittedly, black people – the more exposed to discrimination and social exclusion by definition – have been the hardest hit by the economic crisis and the first to undertake a new stage of emigration, this time towards northern Europe, as permitted by the EU passports (Lafleur & Stanek, 2017). This can be traced as one of the reason why networks of black Europeans are increasing and spreading around Europe. And the cities of the European South are becoming real hubs of regional and global migratory trajectories between the Souths of the world and its Norths.

THE AXIS OF RACE IN THE (SOUTHERN) URBAN SPACE

Urban histories of the European South present a wealth of the most bizarre combinations (Gramsci, 1947). But these cities are hardly comprehensible with dichotomies, models, categorizations and theories conceived and adopted in North America or Northern Europe (Seixas & Albet, 2012; Leontidou, 2014). In 1990, Lila Leontidou published *The Mediterranean City in Transition*, a book that resulted from the need to release from Anglo-American geography and reflected on the specificities of the cities of the Mediterranean area (Leontidou, 1990: XV). In order to tackle the specificities of this region the author defended the urgency of considering the urban contexts located in this region as geographical and socio-economic “in-between spaces” (Leontidou, 1996).

Lila Leontidou’s claim for the recognition of the exceptionalism and complexities of the European South had a two-fold effect. On the one hand, it

²⁰ To understand the acceleration of South-North EU migration during the economic crisis, we could consider the fact that the annual flow of Spanish, Greek, Italian and Portuguese migrants to Germany, for instance, was under 45,000 individuals in 2006 before the crisis broke out, whereas it surpassed 140,000 entries in 2013. Belgium experienced a similar phenomenon with annual Italian arrivals doubling from 2006 to 2012, going from 2,600 to 5,200 (Lafleur & Stanek, 2018).

paradoxically delayed the development of empirical works on social geographies in the South of Europe considering that studies on urban segregation were extremely rare until the late 2000s (Pfirsch & Semi, 2016). On the other hand, her pioneering work motivated the opening of an articulated debate in Europe on the possibility of postulating a “Mediterranean paradigm” within urban studies to understand and compare what happens in Portuguese, Spanish, Italian or Greek cities (Munoz, 2003; Chorianoopoulos *et al.*, 2010; Seixas & Albet, 2012; Giubilaro & Picone, 2020). Scholars have made efforts in identifying some common and specific traits of Southern cities of Europe. Among other aspects, the predominance of mixed land use, the housing policy and tenure type, the coexistence of private and public, formal and informal, strategies that affect the systems of production and reproduction as well as the familistic welfare regimes that filter in neoliberal agendas for privatization and deregulation in a specific way were considered (Hadjmicalis & Papamichos, 1990; Mingione, 1995; Andreotti *et al.*, 2001; Rossi, 2004; Arbaci, 2019: 312).

After WWII, most of the urban analyses conducted in cities of the European South focused on identifying patterns of the urban sprawl intended as a consequence of the non-regulatory planning practices as well as the increase of rural migrations to the main centres. A number of settlements, without plans, spread around the cities’ edges. Most of the time, they have been based on illegal *use* of land, not illegal occupation. Houses were constructed on land illegally subdivided into plots, but duly sold to the settlers by petty or large landowners. Usually, this land was zoned for *agricultural* use by urban planners, but illegally divided for *residential* purposes (see for instance Leontidou, 1990; while for a more critical perspective Gribat & Pizzo, 2020).

With the neoliberal tendencies that have characterized the last five decades, the central slums – as, for instance, Trastevere in Rome (Fried 1973: 93), Barrio Chino in Barcelona (Ferras, 1977), Gazi in Athena (Alexandri, 2014), Mouraria in Lisbon (Oliveira & Padilla, 2017) – were replaced, at different times and under different conditions, by brand-new typologies of neighbourhoods being transformed by the boom of corporatized short-term rentals. On the other hand, while the shanty-towns – *bairros de lata* in Portuguese, *asentamientos ilegales* in Spanish, *borgate* in Italian, *afthereta* in Greek – have been almost²¹ completely substituted by social and public housing or other forms of housing mitigation and urban renewal plans, other peripheral settlements were finally remitted and authorized through a diverse mechanism of compensation that originated contradictory consequences on the whole urban system (for a planning theory perspective see Pizzo & Di Salvo, 2015).

The economic crisis of 2008 and its socio-economic and spatial repercussions (Seixas & Albet, 2012: 4), migratory movements from Africa and the consequent fractures on the European continent that further increased the gap between the

²¹ The exception is Lisbon in which the process of dismantling peripheral slums is still undergoing.

countries of first reception and the rest of the EU countries (Bialasiewicz, 2012; Mountz & Loyd, 2014), the increase in tourist flows and the growing commodification of some urban areas (Blanco et al, 2011; Degen & Garcia, 2012) produced huge socio-spatial transformations in the cities of the European South, introducing new, decisive questions in the debate on the existence of a Southern European urban paradigm. Today, a two-fold phenomenon repeatedly unfolds in cities of the European South marking the conflicts that emerge in many urban spaces: the embellishment of the city centres and the progressive exclusion of lower social strata from there. Under the labels of urban renewal programs, planning decisions are implemented, resources are allocated and as a result, certain groups of people are increasingly displaced from central zones to peripheral areas, farther and farther. Admittedly, black people are involved in the processes of expulsion from the city centres as they often inhabit the vulnerable fringes of urban societies thus intersecting with factors of class.

However, the race's axis seems to hold a distinctive articulation in the urban systems. Using the binary concept of centre/periphery typical of the ways in which the income axis is spatially organized does not grasp the ways in which racialization occurs and it can be a source of misunderstanding. Other kinds of phenomena, much more nuanced and dissimulated, are structurally related to a racialized urban geography. As for example the tricky question of the concentration of black people in certain urban areas or, as it is better known, black people segregation. However, using common categorizations of segregation literature that looks at the urban space of cities of the South of Europe usually ended up with controversial outputs.

By employing traditional measures of segregation, cities of the European South display generally a lower level and no overall increase over the past 30 years (Massey *et al.*, 2009; Cary & Fol, 2012; Maloutas & Fujita, 2012). But, it is argued that the controversy is grounded exactly in the illegibility of these cities through un-situated theories (Oberti & Preteceille, 2016; Arbaci, 2019: 47). Scholars quickly noticed that segregation processes are less detectable in these cities since they occur in different ways: on a *more local scale* (Oberti & Pretecielle, 2016), or even *vertically* instead of horizontally (Maloutas & Spyrellis, 2016). The city of Athens, for instance, is characterized by a social and racial stratification by floor of residence in which national, white and wealthier households occupy the higher rather than the lower floors of the typical apartment building that dominate the city's housing stock (Maloutas & Spyrellis, 2016). Ordinary segregation mapping depicts the areas of vertical segregation as mixed areas, but provides no indication on whether they are simply mixed or their population is also vertically stratified according to class or race.

This implicates that methods and indexes have to be revised or even reinvented since the spatial coexistence of different social groups in a hierarchically

structured mode in cities of the European South is hardly graspable through classical interpretations. Arbaci (2007, 2008, 2019) questions matters of segregation and points to the need for revising our interpretation of spatial concentration as a problem *per se*. She coined the term of “urban diaspora” (Arbaci, 2019: 10) to indicate a macro-scale process of forced expulsion from the central municipal area into the successive metropolitan rings. The concept is meant to evoke the multiple facets of a centrifugal and hardly reversible diasporic mechanism contextualized in the urban space associated with *marginality* and related to the racial dimension (Arbaci, 2019: 305).

In cities of the European South spatial proximity of socially distant groups appear as a more general feature encompassing the divide along race as well as class lines (Arbaci, 2008; Arbaci & Rae, 2013). Even if there is spatial proximity this *does not mean social cohesion*. The distribution of resources and opportunities constantly racializes black people on double and intersecting axes of race and class. So, there is a critical gap between a classic and die-hard belief of Southern European cities as “porous” (Benjamin, [1924] 1988) and multicultural since intrinsically mixed, and the ways in which race is structured in the urban space. The popular myth of the friendly and open cities of the South, reiterated mainly by media and institutional representations, sharply contrasts with the (historical and current) reality of racialized urban contexts that have already been the ground for social groups to fight each other *in* the urban space and *for* the urban space (Pfirsch & Semi, 2016). Race acts, intersecting with other variables, and shapes spatial inequalities with autonomous outcomes, structuring on a distinctive axis.

RACE AND BLACKNESS IN THE “BORDERLANDS”²²

“The comparative gesture” to take up the expression coined by Jennifer Robinson (2011) aspires exactly to build an open, critical and transnational dialogue on the urban and its forms, going beyond the North-South dichotomy and considering each city as an expression of peculiar and irreducible experiences, forms and processes. Cities of the European South emerge as in-between spaces that share some common traits. First, they are hardly interpretable with categorizations elaborated and applied in North America and Northern Europe. Secondly, race operates in their urban structures on an autonomous axis determining urban geographies of racialization through subtle and dissimulated forms of micro/vertical segregation or/and marginalization, among other phenomena that have yet to be studied.

However, following a comparative urbanism perspective, it would be naïve to overlook national peculiarities and the ways in which they influence the specificities of the city in question. So, proceeding in my funnel down inquiry articulation, I narrow the geographical lens to the national level. In the case of Portugal, bringing race issues into focus can be particularly interesting looking at the country from the revolution (in 1974) until today. It has been represented as a peaceful society or at the very least not in great conflict despite poverty and social inequalities (Ribeiro Corossacz, 2016). This type of representation of Portuguese society also concerns the condition of immigrants and Portuguese from former African colonies as we read in a BBC report – Portugal is known for its “success” in integrating immigrants²³.

Portugal is a country that is, at the same time, the centre of a world empire and the periphery of Europe, but also the centre and periphery of its own colonial experience (Sousa Santos, 2008). Indeed, if today Portugal is largely considered a marginal country of Europe, the self-representation of Portugal in the past was slightly different. In the 1934 closing speech to the First Conference of the Empire, “*Diretrizes para uma politica Ultramarina*” [Directives for an Overseas Politics], Armindo Monteiro, Portuguese Minister of Colonies, argued that Portugal “is not an Iberian country, squeezed into a crack of European land, but a nation spread so widely throughout the World that its interests still encompass all the seas and continents” (Monteiro, 1934: 40). This second section of the chapter is dedicated to understand how race, space and blackness have been historically and symbolically framed in the case of Portugal and to introduce the city of Lisbon and its race-urban configurations today.

LAYERS OF BLACKNESS IN THE PORTUGUESE SPEAKING WORD

²² Baptista, 2013

²³ See at <http://www.bbc.com/news/magazine-32419952> . Accessed on 8th of August, 2021

« Over five centuries we have created the most extraordinary multi-racial, national community of all times, in which merit comes from the value of the human being and not from the colour of the skin. (...) Historically and currently, the Portuguese nation is, as a consequence, a mosaic of multi-continental, multi-racial populations with religious diversity » (Godinho, 1962: 15).

These are the words written by António Maria Godinho, a Portuguese professor of economics at the Technical University of Lisbon, in his book *O Ultramar português: uma comunidade multirracial* (1962). His words, I argue, crystallize the way in which Portugal has repeatedly depicted itself as a nation – under the monarchy, then during the Salazar’s regime and even in its democratic turn.

At the end of the 17th century, the Portuguese monarchy counted on a wide colonial empire and many overseas territories under its control: in Africa (Angola, Mozambique, Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau and Sao-Tome and Principe), in Asia (Goa, Macau, Timor) and in South America (Brazil). In that period, surveys on race were introduced to count the population in the main urban coastal centres. Demographic statistics, including classification by race, were an instrument to control and maintain the power on people and territories of the colonies. Indeed, it is interesting to note that people were classified by race in the overseas territories, but not in mainland Portugal. This is a significant clue to understand why, still today, in Portugal race matters are often considered as something that “exist, but...”, for instance, “exist but...not here”. It is accepted that they exist, but not inside the country, only outside in Brazil, in the former African colonies or in the US or anywhere else, but not in Portugal.

Yet, at the end of the 18th century, colonial statistics were standardized in a clear schema of races by the Portuguese crown. The royal order of 6 December 1797, applied to colonial territories, decreed that inhabitants should be classified by three main racial definitions: *brancos* (whites), *pretos* (blacks), and *mulattos* (mixed race people). It is critical here to remember that Portuguese colonialism was always portrayed, inside as well as outside the country, as a “gentle colonialism” different from its European counterparts, as a much softer and friendlier towards colonized people (Ribeiro Corossacz, 2016). To understand how deeply rooted this representation is, it can be remembered that even in 2003, Paulo Portas, at that time Minister of Defence, reaffirmed the myth of benign Portuguese colonialism explicitly saying that “Angolans, Mozambicans and Timorese never felt the racism that existed in other empires” (Público 1/12/2003 cited in Peixe *et al.* 2008: 8).

The myth of the Portuguese gentleness was politically designed in the 20th century when the dictatorial regime used Brazilian sociologist Gilberto Freyre’s interpretation of Brazilian identity and Portuguese expansion as having been a

hybridizing humanist endeavour (Freyre, 1952). Freyre's arguments were used especially to justify the occupation of African territories at the same time that national liberation movements were starting their struggle in mainland African colonies (Vale de Almeida, 2007). One of the pivots of Freyre's vision was the thesis of Luso-tropicalism, a neologism of his own coining, through which he elaborated the idea of Portuguese people with an imperial vocation aimed at fusion and incorporation of the "other" (Ribeiro Corossacz, 2016).

The Luso-tropicalist perspective was selectively appropriated by Salazar's dictatorial regime (1926–1974) to legitimize Portuguese colonialism, accentuating the absence of racism in the Portuguese colonies as well as Portuguese empathy toward other people, specifically black people (Castelo, 1999; Valentim, 2003). Even if today the ideas of Luso-tropicalism and the exceptionalism of Portuguese colonialism have been repeatedly questioned and criticized, they remain vivid popular beliefs in national discourses (Vala et al., 2008).

« Luso-tropicalism is an identity under construction. The providential tone with which the discourse is transmitted gives a prophetic and visionary character to the message contained in it that seduces more or less all political quadrants. » (Calafate Ribeiro, 2008: 115)

While the timely appropriation by official government discourse of Freyre's ideas regarding the multiracial propensity of Luso-societies was intentionally articulated to justify why Portugal did not leave its colonies at the time in which all other European countries were approaching processes of decolonization, the concept of *miscigenação*, or *mestiçagem* (miscegenation), were already central in the ideological definitions of Portuguese colonialism and the product of a longer, national tradition of thought (Alexandre, 2000). Instances of miscegenation occurred mainly in the Atlantic islands of Cape Verde and São Tomé and, after and intensively, in Brazil where Portuguese domination combined blacks enslaved from the African continent, the white colonizers coming from the European continent and the native populations.

The violent colonial encounters resulted in countless political and economic consequences and originated in innumerable racial mixes, arising mainly from the intense sexual exploitation by white European (males) on black African or Indians (females). It is enough to consider that a popular saying goes "*Deus fez o homem, o português fez o mulato*" that literally means: God makes the man, Portuguese makes the mulatto. As absurd as it may seem, this is precisely how Portugal as a nation has always preferred to see itself. Portugal has always preferred a self-proclaimed positive reading of the racial mixing it (globally) shaped, denying or at best overlooking both the violent practices that in the past were behind the processes of interracial mixing – apart from very rare

exceptions, it resulted from rapes of maidservants and enslaved women by their masters (Gonzalez, 1984) – and the material consequences that this specific way of mixing have brought to the present. The mixture indeed culminated in ‘lusophone’ societies across the world characterized by an enormous diversity of skin tones and phenotypical appearances that range from white to black, societies where the definition of one person’s race is even more challenging and sometimes ridiculous. Brazil and Cape Verde are the territories in which the material consequences of this mixing are more evident in the actual phenotypical articulation of the population (Vale de Almeida, 2007).

In the case of Brazil, the entering of slavery into the domestic and household sphere and the consequent increase of the number of *mulatos* (mulattoes) born of white male-black female intercourse (see Figure 7), social and racial classifications became more intricate, eventually leading to the Brazilian system of classification based more on phenotype/colour rather than on ancestry (Vale de Almeida, 2007; Ribeiro Corossacz, 2016). The religious motivations (conversion of the heathen), the miscegenation between unequal gender hierarchies (between white men and black women), and the forms of manumission of the children²⁴ of these unions certainly were factors that allowed for the emergence of a Brazilian society characterized by a colour continuum of phenotypical scaling different from what was to be the USA one-drop rule²⁵.

The Brazilian society is today made up of an infinity of colours without being a racial paradise at all. The belief that Brazil has no racial question because there is no prejudice – a common feature in both everyday and social science theories – has paradoxically served to legitimize the emphasis in the miscegenation of races seen as unequal (Vale de Almeida, 2007). The racial constructs and hierarchy deeply rooted in the post slavery Brazilian society defined ‘blackness and whiteness’ of individuals as well as opportunities accorded (Francis & Tannuri-Pianto, 2012). The use of race and colour coding in racializing the population – particularly in defining who is African and what that identification necessitates – is imbedded in the state and society/community relations (Reichman 1999; Telles 2002, 2004; Khalema 2015).

²⁴ The Ham’s Redemption has become a classic illustration of the vision of whitening through miscegenation – the black grandmother birthed a *mulato* daughter, who in turn by marrying a white man birthed a white child. The child’s whiteness has thus freed him from the biblical curse of ham – he was redeemed through his whiteness, through the erasure of his visible African heritage.

²⁵ The one-drop rule is a social and legal principle of racial classification that was prominent in the 20th century in the United States. It asserted that any person with even one ancestor of black ancestry (one drop of black blood) is considered black.



Current configurations of social inequalities reveal the historically constructed racial prejudices and shape specific forms of discrimination, such as politics of skin colour known as “colourism” (Walker, 1983). The phenomenon of colourism – which emerged throughout European colonial and imperial history – is a type of differentiation based on skin colour in which the darker a person’s skin tone was, the greater the chances of suffering exclusion from society. It is a globally spread form of racism (Kendi, 2019: 131), yet differently inflected depending on the context. In Brazil, it is specifically articulated and intensively active in shaping social hierarchies (Khalema, 2020). In Portugal, it is embedded in the national discourse and, even if in more dissimulated ways, it acts as a form of social exclusion and marginalization (Sousa Santos, 2021).

Since Brazil has been an object of transfer and projection in the construction of Portuguese national representations, it is essential to keep in mind the Brazilian

ways of dealing with racial issues to understand the Portuguese case. Indeed, in a game of mirrors between (self) representations of Brazil and Portugal, the image of a Luso-tropical society – in Brazil, Portugal as well as former African colonies – has been produced, based on the lack of racial prejudices. While the reality is that various forms of discrimination, such as that of colourism, shape Portuguese society today as disguised and undercover prejudices based on a skin tones hierarchy that has a direct effect on people's everyday life.

A subtle device of distinguishing who has the attributes to be included, to join the nation and, in particular, the space of the nation, is applied on phenotypical characters and bodily appearance such as the clarity of the skin, the width of the nose and the smoothness of the hair. In Portugal, material and immaterial spaces of representation – positions of power and decision as well as noble urban places – are more likely to be occupied by white and, even, by mulatto people rather than by black people. The game is simple: the whiter one's appearance is, the more one belongs to an imagined Portuguese nation and consequently adheres to and participates in the citizenship, the power and the space of the nation.

NAMING BODIES AND THE RACIALIZATION OF IMMIGRATION IN PORTUGAL

Portugal entered into its democratic era in relatively recent times (1975). From that moment on, the history of the Portuguese nation was progressively and subtly “whitened” and “Europeanised”. This can be deeply understood focusing on two main parallel processes that culminate in the official entry of Portugal into the European Union in 1986: the Portuguese struggle in the US to be identified as *white*, on the one hand, and the use of the *immigrants* label for black people on the Portuguese national territory, on the other. While blacks were becoming immigrants in Portugal, Portuguese people were becoming white elsewhere. Thus, from 1960 there is a progressive racialization of immigration within Portugal whereas an almost fictitious pure national narration had been constructed in order to have a seat in the European panorama that completely mismatches the (current and historical) Portuguese black reality (Peralta & Domingos, 2018).

The ideology of the *Estado Novo*²⁶ regime (1933-1974) was to deny the existence of races in the empire, shaping a universalist principle of belonging to the Portuguese empire for people in all its territories around the globe. Although promoting a mythical idea of society without races within the national

²⁶ *Segunda República Portuguesa* [The Second Portuguese Republic], more commonly known as *Estado Novo* [New State], was the fascist and colonial regime installed in Portugal in 1933 that lasted until 1974.

territory, Portuguese people were struggling to be considered white on the other side of the Atlantic.

Portuguese people migrated into the US in repeated waves. The largest flow was between the 1960s and 1970s²⁷ much later than other immigrant groups of the European South. People with Portuguese citizenship arrived in the US while Portugal still had extensive migratory, economic, political and social contacts with Brazil, Cape Verde, Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and Sao Tome and Principe. The racial diversity of migrants with Portuguese citizenship was much greater than any other migrant groups of the European South. Actually, the Portuguese group of migrants encompassed a wide range of layers of blackness and whiteness. Given US readings of phenotypes, the Portuguese claim to be white was tenuous, at best.

Immigrants from Portugal and their descendants have been treated in discourse, practice, and the law as both white and non-white, or “not-quite-white” (Azevedo, 2010), as something betwixt and between the binary categories characteristic of discourse and legal codification in the US.

« A strategy followed by some Portuguese to support the argument for inclusion in the white category was to distance themselves from the Portuguese of other regions through racist discourses and to mobilize local readings of phenotypes » (Moniz, 2009)

In the meantime, Portuguese colonial wars were achieving a resolution. Over more than a decade the Portuguese army, with white and black people into its ranks, was fighting against freedom soldiers in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau (also with insurgents from Cape Verde). In April of 1974, the Carnation Revolution happened in Portugal and the shift to democracy brought decolonization in Africa by the end of 1975. From that moment on, people from the Portuguese speaking African countries (PALOP) started to be considered immigrants in Portugal (and consequently “not Portuguese” in the US).

In June the Decree-Law 308-A/75 introduced a new regime of citizenship rights in Portugal: people born in the colonies lost their Portuguese citizenship if they had been residing in the newly decolonized countries at the time of independence²⁸. The revision of the Nationality Law reserved Portuguese citizenship only to individuals who could prove their European ancestry and

²⁷ Emigration was very intense in Portugal: 1.5 million of people left the country and the population fell by -2.5% (INE, 1970).

²⁸ <https://dre.pt/web/guest/pesquisa/-/search/530841/details/> (accessed on 1/02/2021). The only people that could maintain Portuguese citizenship were those residing in Portugal for the last five years immediately preceding independence, even if born in the colonies and residing in the colonies at the time of independence (Horta & White, 2009).

excluded ones belonging to other phenotypes and cultures (Peralta & Domingos, 2018). In the meanwhile, an influx of black people – by now *immigrants* – was arriving together with the *retornados* (returnees)²⁹ due to the sudden and disorganized decolonization in the newly liberated African lands.

Within little over a year the population of Portugal swelled by 10%. The non-immediate attribution of Portuguese nationality to a group of people born in the national territory has contributed to constantly redraw the imaginary borders of a supposed national homogeneity, perpetuating a distinction between the idea of immigrant and host society (Sayyid, 2004; Alves, 2013). This is how the operationalization of race as a foundational code has served to perpetuate and legitimize asymmetrical power relations (Vale de Almeida, 1997; Goldberg, 2009). The formal entry of Portugal into the European Community in 1986 put an end to the struggle for “whiteness” by Portuguese people on the other side of the Atlantic. Once “Europeans” Portuguese people definitely escaped the danger of being categorized as blacks, or as an ethnic minority in the US. For Portugal, the entry into the European Union also meant the intensification of immigration flow from Brazil. Brazilians, with nuanced skin-tones from black to white, brought even more complexity to the issues of race in Portugal.

Once officially a European member, the EU commission pressured Portugal to discontinue its preferential visa regime for nationals of Portuguese Speaking African countries (Dupraz & Vieira, 1999; Garner, 2007). In other words, if a Portuguese immigration official in the early 1980s was obliged to let Angolans, Cap Verdeans, and Mozambicans into Portugal, in the 2000s, she/he was obliged not to, unless they have specific visas issued by the Portuguese consulate in the country of origin (Garner, 2007). In the last few decades, the EU control of borders has shifted towards the Southern and Eastern borders of the EU, and within each country, to non-white people. Demands for documentation that are not initiated by white colleagues and compatriots have become frequent to black people, and in surveys and political discourse distinctions between non-white nationals, labour migrants, refugees and asylum-seekers are often blurred. People who are not immigrants are conflated with those who are. The children, and even grandchildren, of immigrants, comprise the “immigrant communities” or “second and third generation of immigrants”, expressions that function as permanent racialized destabilizations of citizenship (Garner, 2007).

In line with the ideal society without races, Portuguese official statistics register only nationalities, not ethnicity or phenotype. Direct or indirect registration by the state of data that would allow the identification of such information is prevented by law in order not to reinforce stereotyping (see Cabecinhas, 2007)

²⁹ They are the Portuguese equivalent of France’s repatriated pied-noir, Europeans who had been settlers in former colonies.

or the racialization of society³⁰. Phenotype measurement through the inclusion of ethnic and racial questions in the official statistics is considered as a means of essentializing race and to discriminate, while by others it is considered the best way to fight inequalities based on race.

In Europe these two positions are crystallized by two models often considered antithetic (Lorenzo, 1989; Neveu, 1993; Favell, 2001: 4; Brown, 2009b): a French republican model of multi-ethnic society whose ideal would be assimilation and a British model based on the concept of plural citizenship and integration. Although they are only abstract models, and in practice, they are much more convergent than they seem in theory (Bleich, 2005; Bertossi, 2007) distinct legal frameworks and public policies derive from these opposite approaches. Britain is considered a “race-conscious country³¹”, while France a “colour-blind” one. The French model prevails in the European Union – with a few exceptions³² – and is the one also followed by Portugal as well as all the other countries of the European South.

In Portugal, the debate about ethnic-racial statistics has been very heated in the last years. In 2012, a report by the United Nations Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent blamed Portuguese institutions of being permeated by a subtle racism and to not implement strategies to collect data on race (HRC, 2012: 12). In particular, the report found that:

« [...] the challenges faced by people of African descent in Portugal related mainly to their lack of recognition as a specific group in the national policy and legal framework; the lack of recognition of their positive

³⁰ See the 1994 Decreto-Lei 28/94.

³¹ In Britain, the so-called “ethnic question” is considered an essential tool for measuring the material inequalities suffered by Black people and was introduced in the National Census from the edition of 1991. Currently, the options are five (white, Black, Mixed, Asian, Other) and there are several sub categorizations for each group (for instance, Black African, Black British, Black Caribbean). But instead, in France, a universalist principle has always prevented the construction of statistics capable of looking at society through the lens of race. In Britain, the transition to race-consciousness marked a significant shift that happened during the 1970s. Three main reasons can be traced to the origin of this critical shift: the politicisation of immigrant tensions in a racialised manner during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, and the birth of the Black movement throughout the country; the personal experiences of policy experts in the US and Canada and more in general long-standing contacts with the United States; and eventually, the development of “race relations” as an object of study within the academic social research conducted by the Edinburgh School of anthropology and by authors as Nicholas Deakin (1965), Sheila Patterson (1965) John Rex and Robert Moore (1967) and E. J. B. Rose (1969). For the first time, the 1976 Race Relations Act included race-conscious provisions. However, racial categories were included only in the 1991 National Census.

³² Netherlands, Norway and Sweden use different proxies in order to assess the number of Black people by the option “place of birth of parents”, in Ireland the ethnic question, formulated like the British one but without the option “mixed”, was included in the National Census in 2006.

contribution throughout history to the construction and development of the country; the lack of qualitative and quantitative disaggregated data by racial or ethnic origin; the existence of a circle of poverty, unequal access to education, public services, employment, as well as discrimination in the administration and functioning of the justice system; existence of racial profiling and police violence; underrepresentation in political and institutional decision-making processes, as well as the lack of special measures or affirmative action policies in Portugal for people of African descent or other minorities » (Report of the Working Group of Experts on People of African Descent on its eleventh session - Mission to Portugal, HRC, 2012: 1)

From that moment on, a number of international bodies condemned Portugal for the lack of ethnic-racial categories that leads to keeping Portuguese-born Afro-descendants (black Portuguese) within the confines of immigration, thus forestalling their social advancement (CERD, 2017; ECRI, 2018; FRA, 2018).

In March 2018, due to the international pressure – and the internal demand by black movements and African and anti-racist associations mainly based in Lisbon – the left-wing government of Antonio Costa constituted the “Census Working Group 2021 - Ethnic-Racial Issues” with the objective of identifying data gaps in the area of discrimination and racism, and producing instructions for the 2021 National Census. This governmental commitment to the problem was seen as the first step towards a radical shift that had been expected and desired by a number of people and, after a year of debates and surveys, the Working Group actually suggested to include the ethnic-racial question³³. However, a few days after the Working Group’s resolution, the president of the National Statistical Institute (INE), Francisco Lima, declared that the question would not be included in the 2021 National Census. The reasons for the rejection were the complexity of the issue in general together with the risk of institutionalizing categories and legitimizing people’s classification, and the possibility of generating uncertain results. The refusal disappointed whoever

³³ They suggest asking census respondents if they belong to one of four major groups: white, Black, Asian and gipsy (plus two more choices: Other groups, which? Mixed Origins, which?). The four groups were further subdivided into white Portuguese / of European origin, Black Portuguese / Afro-descendant / of African origin, Asian Portuguese / of Asian origins, Gypsy Portuguese / Roma / of Gypsy origins. And, within these subgroups, a diversity of hypotheses is also available in order to detect the exact country of origin, beyond the political categorization. The Census Working Group stressed the fundamental need of self-identification to be voluntary, with the free consent of the respondents, and the possibility to not answer to the question. Moreover, they recommended monitoring constantly the operationalization of their proposal because of the mutability of ethnic-racial categories. The Working Group clearly made any efforts to propose the inclusion of the ethnic-racial question as an instrument for appreciating and recognising people involved and not to control them.

believed in a radical turn and confirmed the deep resistance existing in the country regarding race issues (Henriques, 2018). But this “absent presence” of race is frustrating especially for people who face racial inequalities and ordinary race matters (Essed, 1991a). Race-related issues continue to be mostly re-conducted to the immigration area that most of the time has nothing to do with the problems at stake.

REPORTS FROM BLACK LISBON

Approaching the end of the funnel-shaped chapter, the focus is now on the metropolitan dimension of race in Lisbon. If in the following chapters I develop different operations of analysis, here I limit myself to introduce the metropolitan area of Lisbon as a place (Molotch, 2002) in which race emerges and operates by presenting a report of recent news that has occurred in its urban space. I lived in Lisbon (almost) permanently from 2015 to 2020. In those years I had direct experience of the city and I followed the current events daily concerning mainly race-urban issues. Here, I cover some of the events that occurred during my first and last year in Lisbon, events that received a lot of attention from the media and from the general public.

In 2015, there were several public initiatives in Lisbon to denounce the racism of the police towards the inhabitants of suburban neighbourhoods of African origin from the former colonies. In particular, in February, the case of the Cova da Moura neighbourhood had great visibility on the media, not only in Portugal. Cova da Moura is one of the most stigmatized neighbourhoods in Portugal. It is one of the material and immaterial symbols of the strong African presence in the metropolitan area of Lisbon. As might be expected, it is often associated with an image of crime, delinquency and drug trafficking (Raposo *et al.*, 2019). Some videos that circulated on social networks testified the extreme violent methods of police action in the area, and in particular on five black youths. The case rose awareness in the general public, however, the institutional representatives have responded to the denouncements of racism addressed to the police by denying any form of racism in Portuguese society and, in particular, in the actions of police officers.

Five years later, in 2020, the metropolitan area of Lisbon was once again impacted by a chain of violent events linked to race-urban issues. This occurred after the historic entrance of three black women in the Portuguese Republic Assembly. In January, Claudia Simões, an Angolan woman, was travelling on a bus without a ticket together with her eight-years-old daughter, and she was forced to get out. After attacking the driver, she was violently beaten by the police. Videos and photos circulated again on social networks and generated huge debates within the general public. Few days after, during a parliamentary session, André Ventura, the leader of a far-right party *Chega!* (Enough!), said to

Joacine Katar Moreira, an independent black deputy, “to go back to her home country” (she is Portuguese and has lived for more than 30 years in Lisbon but, presumably, he was referring to Guinea-Bissau, where she was actually born). In February, supporters of the Vitoria Guimarães football team uttered several racist insults directed at Marega, a black Portuguese player, who left the game and opened a global reflection on racist attitudes amongst football supporters around the world.

In June, the Catholic University of Lisbon, the University Institute of Lisbon (ISCTE) and three secondary schools on the outskirts of Lisbon (*Escola Secundária da Portela*, *Escola Secundária António Damásio* and *Escola Secundária de Sacavém*) were vandalized with dozens of racist phrases written on the walls. “blacks out!”, “long life to white race”, “Europe to Europeans, long life to white Europe!”, “Portugal is white!”, “death to blacks!”, “blacks, go back to Africa”, “*zucas* [word used to refer to Brazilians in Portugal], go back to the favelas” were some of the insults. Then, following the death of George Floyd in the US, a huge demonstration in support of the international movement Black Lives Matters was held in the centre of Lisbon. A few days later, the far-right party *Chega!* organized a demonstration in contrast to the anti-racist one under the motto “THERE IS NO RACISM IN PORTUGAL”. The (opposite) demonstrations were held in different and symbolically antithetic streets of Lisbon.

July 2020 was marked by a shocking chronicle fact: an old Portuguese man murdered a black actor, Bruno Candé, in the eastern periphery of Lisbon, in broad daylight and with four shots. Upon arriving at the prison, media reported he said:« In Angola, I killed many like him ». After this murder, another demonstration was held in Lisbon organized by the far-right party under the same motto “THERE IS NO RACISM IN PORTUGAL”. In August, another extreme-right movement called National Resistance, not officially represented in the Assembly but tolerated by institutions, organized a march in front of the association *SOS Racismo* wearing white masks and bringing torches, in reference to KKK. A few days after this, several emails were anonymously sent to some black public figures such as the leader of *SOS Racismo* and the three black deputies of the Republic Assembly, threatening and intimidating them and their families.

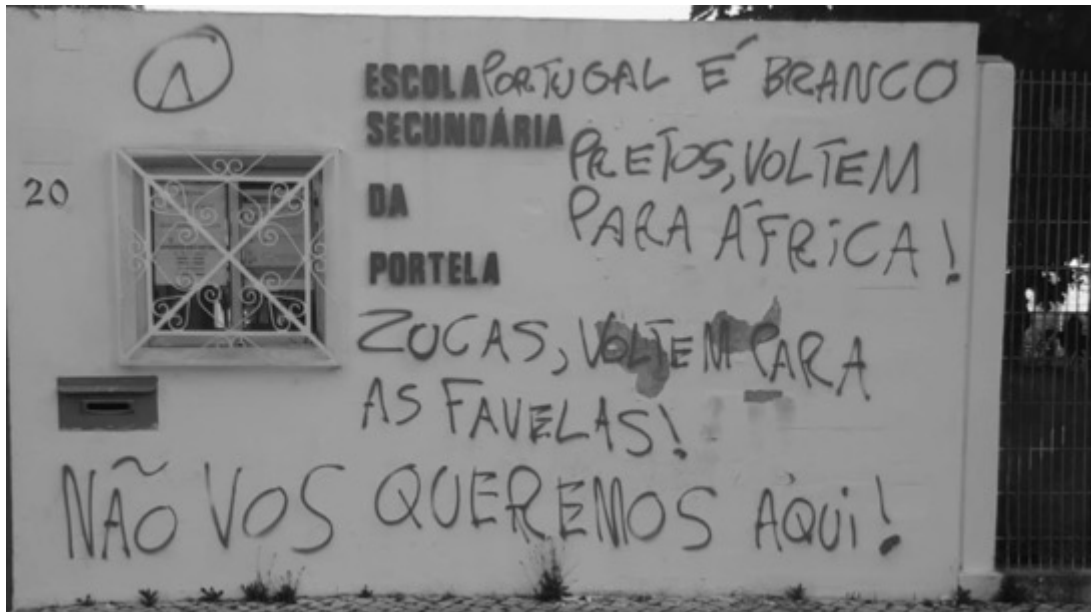


FIGURE 8

RACIST PHRASES ON THE WALLS OF PORTELA'S HIGH SCHOOL
(SOURCE: ISTOÉ INDEPENDENTE.BR - 30TH OF OCTOBER, 2020)



FIGURE 9

WALL OF THE CATHOLIC UNIVERSITY OF LISBON WITH RACIST PHRASES
(SOURCE: CORREIO DE MANHÃ.PT - 30TH OF OCTOBER, 2020)

What is the link between the violence of the Portuguese police in Cova da Moura, that against Claudia Simões and the murder of Bruno Candé, with the racialized discourses in the parliament, the racist phrases on the walls of educational institutions and the political negligence of Portuguese institutions in assuming race as a determinant factor that shapes the everyday urban experience of a number of (national and non-national) individuals? The link, I argue, is in the double mechanism of inclusion and expulsion of racialized subjects. Born from the experience of the colonial Empire, black people are included to the Lusophone society to demonstrate its goodness and are simultaneously expelled from it through exclusion that takes shape in a wide and disguised range of social sectors and spaces such as in the labour market, in school paths, in sexism, in places of residential segregation, in the Republic Assembly, in a square, or even in an advertisement.

The violent episodes emerge as the tip of a much larger iceberg made up of racist micro-aggressions and national ideological representations supported by racialized institutions while Lisbon urban space results as materially marked by internal borders of difference, conflict and contact. However, a full answer to the question above cannot be anything but an effort at interpreting different phenomena and trying to put them into a common perspective. A critical understanding of Lisbon through the lens of race cannot but presume a collection of fragmentary pieces. There is no possibility of drawing on systematic information, as we have already seen, *race functions by dissimulation*. So, the attempt turns that of assembling bits of evidence in a consistent frame of reference. The urban experience of blackness at the margins of Europe – at its “borderlands” (Baptista, 2013) – can be extremely relevant in order to illuminate the spatialization of race and the racialization of space.

Thus, putting Lisbon metropolitan area at the centre of the focus – while acknowledging all the streams of knowledge, practice and influence that conduct and come from other contexts – means also to put a marginalised region of Europe at the centre. And, putting blackness at the centre of the focus – while acknowledging all the intersections of race with other variables such as nationality, gender and class – means to put what is commonly considered to be marginal at the centre.

CONCLUSIONS OF CHAPTER 2

The relationship between history and geography is particularly close because they represent two fundamental dimensions of the same phenomenon. History views human experience from the perspective of time, and geography from the perspective of space. This chapter has expanded on the need to narrow down the geographical/historical lens of the research in order to be able of tackle the space/time specificities of the context in which Lisbon is inscribed. The comparative perspective that I have adopted is that refined by Robinson (2015) in which urban realities are considered irreducible singularities while at the same time interrelated and interconnected with each other and characterized by circulating phenomena. In particular, what is at stake here is the way in which concepts such as race, blackness and otherness in general have been framed in this specific context and how they intertwined today with the urban space of Lisbon.

In the first part, I have proposed the European South not only as a privileged site from which to rethink scientific paradigms beyond the dichotomies between North and South of the world but also as a dense territory in which race emerges and operates in a specific way. Contextualizing the analysis in the European South area, going beyond a strict discourse of geographical boundaries, is a way of recalling fundamental aspects of Southern societies as the experience of colonialism, dictatorship, and democratic instabilities. In particular, what emerges is that the authoritarian and military dictatorships that characterized the 20th century in this area acted as *vectors* of colonial thinking in the actual configurations of race. Nationalist doctrines promoted by fascist regimes established the national character of citizens clearly in opposition to the negative attributes that the black category had acquired over the time of colonial rule.

Anti-blackness stereotypes in the European South transcends strict questions of skin colour and gains a particular invalidating range of beliefs. The colour line takes shape at the crossroad of various models of naturalization of bodily differences putting the nation's body in tension and the biopolitical order of individual bodies. The body's connection with space emerges as a crucial point among this range of dogmatic and racist beliefs. The archetypal national citizen of the European South shows a strict relationship with the territory of the nation, in which different forms of localism provide identity belongings. On the contrary, the archetype of the non-national black individual is that of just "passing through". In other words, if the national almost-white citizen is occupying the place he/she belongs to, the racialized black is out-of-place, or even placeless.

The discourse of racial homogeneity and whiteness of the European South is a recent achievement that has resulted from different and interlocking socio-economic phenomena. I have argued that the main factor in turning Southern people from being considered black to white was the shift in international migration patterns that occurred from the 1970s with the first arrivals of postcolonial immigrants from Africa and much more recently with the flows of asylum seekers arriving from the Mediterranean. The European South passed from being countries of emigration to receiver-countries and simultaneously had economic growth thanks to the intensification of the European market.

So, if it is true that the ways in which race has been framed in this region is a result of a historical and geographical conjunction of factors, admittedly it also has specific local mechanisms in the urban space. The urban condition of Southern cities is hardly conceivable within categories elaborated in northern contexts as well as how race emerges and operates in the urban space of these cities challenges traditional interpretations. The overall perception is that racial segregation is lower than in cities of northern Europe and that there was no overall increase even considering the rise of immigration in the last years. However, a number of scholars have pointed out that mechanisms of segregation do exist but that they materialize in different ways compared to northern Europe.

In cities of the European South, phenomena of residential concentration of racialized subjects tend to occur at a micro scale and involve access to the educational system, or as in the case of Athens they take shape vertically instead of horizontally. These situations are hardly detectable with common measurements but it does not mean that they are negligible in determining racialized urban geographies. Another interesting perspective that arises from the study of these cities is that of considering the concentration of racialized people not as a negative fact *per se*. The shift in the point of view is motivated by bearing in mind that in cities with a low welfare system as is often the case in Southern cities, residential concentration can also mean the existence of a network of mutual assistance between vulnerable fringes. Thus the problem is not the concentration of certain kinds of people in the same spaces but rather the quality and the value of the spaces they occupy or are forced (by socio-economic forces) to occupy. In this vein an innovative concept of “urban diaspora” (Arbaci, 2019) has been proposed in order to describe the marginalization of racialized groups of people to the edges of the cities.

In the second part of the chapter, I have focussed on the connection between Portuguese colonial history to its current representations and how these shape the ground on which to analyse Lisbon’s local mechanisms of race. Portugal’s position on the west margin of Europe makes it specifically positioned in the European network and open to the Atlantic interconnected system. Portugal, indeed, adds more complexity to the group of the European South due to its

tight connections with the African continent and Brazil. It detains historical complex relations that began more than five centuries ago during the colonial period, which definitively ended only in the 1970s after cruel wars, but then has continued perpetuating it in new ways until the present. A politically designed ideal regarding the gentleness of Portuguese colonization – in opposition to that of England, France and Holland – has limited over time the acceptance of the existence of a racialized thinking in the Portuguese speaking world.

Consequently, this popular belief has weakened any open discussion on race issues and gave a great alibi to the institutions in their commitment to tackling racist occurrences. Today, the denial of racial effects within this society clashes with the incremental denunciations of black subjects. The Lisbon Metropolitan Area materially shows the consequences of such historical unequal relations and race related injustices. Examining recent news, the urban space has emerged as marked by a number of episodes intertwined with race processes. Lisbon streets have been the scene of a succession of demonstrations and violence against black people and their relative denunciations and other black forms of resistance that make it impossible to deny a certain race mechanism in the city any longer.

CHALLENGES FROM THE MARGINS

The historical/geographical narrative developed in this chapter brings one to consider a few main conclusive thoughts. Here, I try to summarize the challenges launched by this kind of exploration in a few points.

- Race and blackness have been historically linked with a range of debilitating stereotypes in the European South, beyond strict discourses of skin colour, and the fascist regimes that characterized the 20th-century trajectory of this region played a central role in mediating these negative images to the present;
- Black subjects are excluded from the national identity since they are considered as if they do not belong to its imagined and material space. In the European South, black people are out-of-place or even placeless, thus the relationship to space emerges as central;
- The “in-betweenness” of the European South has been overlooked as a potential. As an area of study, it has been marginalized for a long time while the scientific knowledge produced in cities of northern Europe and North America has been normalized and utilized to analyse also southern cities without relevant outcomes. However, scholars have demonstrated how the European South’s specific marginal position can be productive of new knowledge also on race matters;

- Race operates on an axis that is of course interconnected with other issues (class, gender, nationality) but with autonomous outcomes. In cities of the European South, social distance is not always translated into spatial distance and vice versa spatial proximity does not mean inclusion and integration between different race groups;
- Portugal's denial in dealing with race issues is inscribed in a fictitious historical representation of its colonial past and today it translates into strong negligence by the institutions in tackling race matters as, for instance, the recent refusal to include the race category in official statistics;
- Lisbon is a city strongly marked by race mechanisms and at the same time it is the scene of the strongest negations of it. In the last few years, the debate has been crystallized into a number of symbolic episodes that have occurred within the metropolitan space.

That being said, the case study of Lisbon must be considered again not as a sample to an exploration of race-urban connections but as a dense site in which race emerges and operates in a specific way. In the following chapters, I propose three distinctive empirical analyses of race-urban configurations in Lisbon metropolitan area, bearing in mind three main points: the Portuguese self-representation as a "gentle nation" towards race difference (1), the limits of the investigation due to the scarcity of official tools and a generalized public negligence (2), and finally the ways in which blackness is particularly framed in relation to the African continent and Brazil (3).

CHAPTER 3

A metropolitan geography of blackness

ABSTRACT

The purpose of this chapter is to explore the residential geography of black people within the Lisbon Metropolitan Area resulting from the housing policies implemented over the last 60 years. The expressions utilized – black people, blacks or black populations – mean both immigrants from former Portuguese colonies in Africa today known as PALOP countries (Portuguese speaking African countries) as well as second and third generation populations with or without Portuguese citizenship. Through a systematic literature review and a revision of official statistics and reports, I have identified three main phases that marked the evolution of the housing policies over the last six decades: a first period, from the 1960s to the 1990s, mainly defined by institutional ambiguity in the properties and lands regime; a second season, from 1993 to the 2000s, when a national social housing programme was enforced; and a third stage, which started around fifteen years ago, characterized by the urban rehabilitation process that is still ongoing. The nature of the policies implemented and the socio-urban consequences that involved the black population will be investigated distinctly. Three neighbourhoods of the metropolitan area are taken as emblematic examples for each phase: Cova da Moura and Casal da Mira in the municipality of Amadora, and Mouraria in that of Lisbon. Despite data limitations, this chapter aims at recognising the *marginality* of black residential opportunities within the metropolitan space of Lisbon as a consequence of specific housing policies that triggered racialization processes. Ultimately, it suggests an articulated reflection of the concept of urban *margins*.

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER 3

This chapter is the third knot of the rope. While the first and second chapters were essential in order to frame the theoretical scaffolding of the research and the historical/geographical/symbolical context in which the case study is inscribed, here I deepen into the analytical dimension of the investigation. In order to explore black spatiality in the metropolitan area of Lisbon, I first asked myself: *where do black people live?* The individuation of the residential areas of one social group is not exhaustive in determining the group spatiality within the urban system but is of course relevant in understanding its macrostructure. Space-race connections are therefore explored trying to individuate the residential areas of black people and, in theoretical terms, the spatial dimension at stake is the relative positions of objects and subjects within the metropolitan geography.

The answer to the above question – *where do black people live?* – cannot be easily formulated due to methodological constraints and it is far from obvious. However, the operational framework that I use here – a triangulation of the means available, such as official statistics, secondary data and academic studies – provide relevant outcomes. I rely on two distinct clusters of information: on the one hand, immigration information that provides numbers and data, and on the other, the literature on the housing policies that furnishes an urban perspective of the same data but also expands qualitatively where numbers are lacking, including on the racial dimension. So, the main contribution of this chapter to the entire discussion of the thesis is to demonstrate how the residential marginality of black subjects emerges as a *proxy* for detecting processes of urban racialization implemented by specific housing policies.

I analyse how the housing policies implemented in the last sixty years in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (also referred to as LMA) have strengthened the development of a specific black residential geography characterized by marginality. The category of blackness and the terminology used here – black people/populations/subjects/folks or simply blacks – indicates the heterogeneous social groups composed of immigrants from former Portuguese colonies in Africa (Angola, Capo Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique and Sao Tome e Principe) plus their descendants, even if they have Portuguese citizenship. The attempt is to emphasize the common spatial and, in particular, residential condition experienced by these people rather than outlining their plurality.

It can be said that black people form a recognizable race group within Portuguese society, however, their exact numbers are not available since there are no official statistics on which to rely (EUMC, 2005: 8). This lack of consistent data is the main limitation of this study: the category in question is not

quantifiable but only roughly estimable, and cannot be mapped in the urban context. In 2007, an approximate number of 90 000 Portuguese youths with African origins that lived in the LMA was considered, counting children and young people only up to the age of 29 (Machado et al., 2007), but this is certainly a very reduced number compared to the actual one. Bearing in mind this crucial constraint, the chapter is dedicated to analysing secondary data on African immigration as the unique reliable ground on which to draw the evolution of the black people residential geography, and the housing policies contributions in this geography, which remains a relevant subject.

Today, the main immigrant groups settled in the LMA³⁴ come from PALOP countries and from Brazil (INE, 2017). However, there are three main differences regarding the settlement of the two groups in the region. Firstly, while the African presence in the Portuguese society and their installation in the Lisbon area is as old as the 'Discoveries' and dates back to the 15th century, inflow from Brazil were only established during the 1980s. Secondly, although many immigrants from Brazil are black, there are also a considerable number of white Brazilians within this foreign group³⁵. And thirdly, African immigrants, compared to those from Brazil, show a much more concentrated geographical distribution in the LMA (Fonseca, 2007; Fonseca et al., 2008).

The scale of observation of the analysis here developed is, undoubtedly, the metropolitan scale. The Metropolitan Area of Lisbon is the main concentration of the resident population in Portugal and hosts approximately 2.8 million people representing 26,6% of Portugal's residents. The population is distributed across 18 municipalities³⁶, nine of them grouped into the North bank of the river Tagus, the Greater Lisbon area, and the others on its South bank, the Setúbal Peninsula. The constant urban flow links many parts of this metropolitan device of which Lisbon constitutes the main centre.

Authors who have researched the urban evolution of Lisbon are unanimous in tracing the origins of the demographic boom to the 1960s with the consequent urban growth (Salgueiro, 1992). This is why the temporal frame considered in this analysis coincides with the last 60 years. The presence of foreign citizens is the most essential feature in the evolution of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area social composition over these years, and race has become one of the key dimensions of socio-spatial differentiation.

³⁴ Immigrants from the Portuguese speaking African countries are around 64000 individuals while Brazilians 40000.

³⁵ White Brazilian well-skilled workers or university students have immigrated to Portugal thanks to specific scholarships and bilateral agreements. Moreover, after Bolsonaro's election a number of left-wing white families have chosen to move to Lisbon.

³⁶ Greater Lisbon: Amadora, Cascais, Lisbon, Loures, Mafra, Odivelas, Oeiras, Sintra, Vila Franca da Xira. Setúbal Peninsula: Alcochete, Almada, Barreiro, Moita, Montijo, Palmela, Seixal, Sesimbra, Setúbal.

The chapter is structured into two sections. In the first part, I mention the migration flows that characterized the recent history of Portugal and in particular the immigration trends from the former African colonies. Then, I focus on Lisbon by drawing back to the black presence throughout the modern history of the city until the recent statistics on PALOP immigration. The second part of the chapter is dedicated to the literature review divided into three temporal segments, each one addressed to a different phase of housing policies. Such division in three phases risks being simplistic, but the attempt is precisely to identify only the key moments that have characterized the evolution of housing policies. At the end of each section, explanatory examples will be briefly introduced: the informal settlement of Cova da Moura, the Casal da Mira relocation project, and the historic neighbourhood of Mouraria, currently affected by urban renewal. Finally, I touch upon a few conclusive thoughts about the resulted marginality of black people's residential position within the urban space of Lisbon as a consequence of the implementation of the housing policies considered.

The marginality that emerges is a complex condition produced not only by the spatial location of certain areas but also by other factors such as the value of the lands and of the architecture, the kind of urbanity and sociability that is possible to develop in these areas as well as their social significance and their representation. So, this chapter implicitly suggests a more complex reflection about urban margins and the people who inhabit them.

PATTERNS OF PALOP IMMIGRATION DYNAMICS

Immigration matters are often used as surrogates to speak about race. Despite my aversion to twisting race discourse with issues that regard nationality, data on immigration is the only information available to have some idea in numbers of black people in Portugal and in particular in Lisbon. This is why I have chosen not to overlook this cluster of information and to include it in the research despite the fact that I am completely aware that they only give a narrow idea of the phenomenon at stake. As a black friend of mine born and raised in Lisbon reminds me « for each PALOP immigrant there are 10 more black members of his/her family with Portuguese citizenship that you cannot count ». I cannot say with certainty that the proportion is 1 to 10, but I am sure that this is roughly the gap between the number of African immigrants and that of black people living in Portugal, and in particular, in the metropolitan area of Lisbon. Bearing that in mind, I propose here a brief and non-exhaustive overview of the immigration dynamics of people from Portuguese-speaking African countries – focusing first on the national level and then on metropolitan area of Lisbon and relying on census data as well as other official demographic statistics – only to delineate a frame on which to understand wider patterns.

AN OVERVIEW ON MIGRATION FLOWS IN PORTUGAL

Traditionally, Portugal has been a country marked by emigration, which was particularly intense between 1960 and 1970 when 1.5 million people left the country and the population fell by -2.5% (INE, 1970). The political isolation resulting from the dictatorship and the country's low level of development did not make it attractive to foreigners. Indeed, at the beginning of the 1960s, the number of non-national residents in Portugal was only 0.3% of the total population, most of them from Europe (INE, 1960). At that time people from the colonies in Africa were still not counted as foreigners and therefore they were not visible in the statistics. The establishment of the democratic regime in 1974, the African decolonization, the national economy modernization, and the process of European integration were some of the most important factors in the process of reversing Portugal's trajectory from emigration to immigration (Fonseca, 2008: 51).

Thus, emigration declined and immigration began a very significant growth phase. Between 1975 and 2006, the number of immigrants increased thirteen times, from 31 983 to 437 126 (INE, 2012). Nationals from Portuguese-speaking African countries quickly surpassed the number of Europeans (INE, 1984), becoming the most numerous group of foreigners in the country. Later, from Portugal's entry into the European Community in 1986,

immigration flow has intensified widening to Brazil. In 1996, 56.2% of foreigners legally residing on the national territory were from PALOP and Brazil (Fonseca et al., 2002).

In the transition from the 20th to the 21st century, the influx of immigrants reached an unprecedented scale, with a growth rate of 152.8% between 1996 and 2006 (INE, 2012). However, after the end of the cycle of large public works, an economic recession started with a decrease in the foreigner stock. The national census of 2011³⁷ indicates that people from PALOP was then the largest group in the country (35.4% of the total), with a total of 154 766 individuals. The second largest group was that of Europeans with 80 022 individuals (18.3%) and then the Brazilian one with 73 975 people (16.9%).

Contrariwise, in the last years, as demonstrated by the 2020 demographic surveys³⁸, the number of Europeans (250 000) and Brazilians (200 000) residing in the country has increased steadily while that of PALOP group has decreased (106 000). However, it is improbably related to a reduction of black people in the country. Admittedly, this is a consequence of the conjunction of three main factors: the facilitation in acquiring Portuguese nationality sanctioned by alterations of the nationality law between 2013 and 2018 that render a number of black Portuguese no longer visible in statistics, the intensification of Brazilian entries after the Bolsonaro election and the increasing popularity of Portugal among the European networks.

THE AFRICAN PRESENCE IN LISBON

The peculiarity of the composition of foreigners in Lisbon is an even clearer link with the Portuguese colonial past. During the 1960s, emigration to Europe and the Colonial War created shortages of young adult males. Unskilled workers from Cape Verde were brought to Lisbon to work in the main public construction projects (Góis, 2008: 12). A part of this migrant Cape Verdean population settled in São Bento and Estrela, which has come to be known as “the Cape Verdean area” (Almada, 2020: 26) while another large part “was found in the shacks and shipyards of construction companies for whom they worked on a temporary housing solution” (Alves, 2016: 95).

On the 25th of April of 1974, the Carnation Revolution happened. A year later all the former colonies in Africa were eventually independent. In June 1975, the

³⁷ Census data here considered are from 2011 since the numbers of the last edition, that of 2021, are still not available.

³⁸ PORDATA: População estrangeira com estatuto legal de residente: total e por algumas nacionalidades.
<https://www.pordata.pt/Portugal/Popula%3ca7%3ca3o+estrangeira+com+estatuto+legal+de+residente+total+e+por+algumas+nacionalidades-24> (Accessed on 13rd of August, 2021)

Decree-Law 308-A/75 introduced a new regime of citizenship rights. According to the new law, people born in the colonies lost their Portuguese citizens status if they had been residing in the newly decolonized countries at the time of independence. The only ones that could maintain Portuguese citizenship were those who had been residing in Portugal for the five years immediately preceding the independence, even if born in the colonies (Horta & White, 2009). From this moment on, the category of *immigrants* started to be used in official statistics to quantify the residents originally from African former colonies.

The sudden and disorganized decolonization process created an influx of people coming from the newly liberated lands who arrived together with the *retornados*³⁹. Representing one of Europe's largest 'postcolonial settler populations', a global number of 600 000 people settled in the LMA (Malheiros, 2000) that counted 1.8 millions inhabitants before their arrival (INE, 1970). The immigrants from PALOP countries were fitted into sectors of low wage activity and unskilled labour. While men got jobs in construction and public works, women worked in domestic services, industrial cleaners, restaurants and hotels (Fonseca et al., 2002: 72). The size and opportunities in Lisbon's formal and informal regional labour market facilitated access to employment, even for undocumented immigrants (Fonseca, 2003).

From the 1980s to the beginning of the new millennium, the number of PALOP immigrants residing in the Lisbon area increased steadily from 30 000 to around 125 000 (Figure 9). This development revealed the ongoing fixing process: year after year there were many new entries and few exits. Moreover, two extraordinary regularization campaigns brought to light the statistics of immigrants already present in the territory but with an irregular situation. In 2001, 65.7% of foreigners in the LMA were from PALOP countries, among which Cape Verdeans were always the largest community, followed by Angolans and Guineans (INE 2002). From 2005 onwards, there was a marked reduction in the number (Figure 10) resulting from the acquisition of Portuguese nationality.

³⁹ Retornados is the designated title given to the Portuguese citizens who moved to Portugal after the independence of the colonies in Africa. Although the designation evokes return, many returnees were in fact born in the Portuguese colonies.

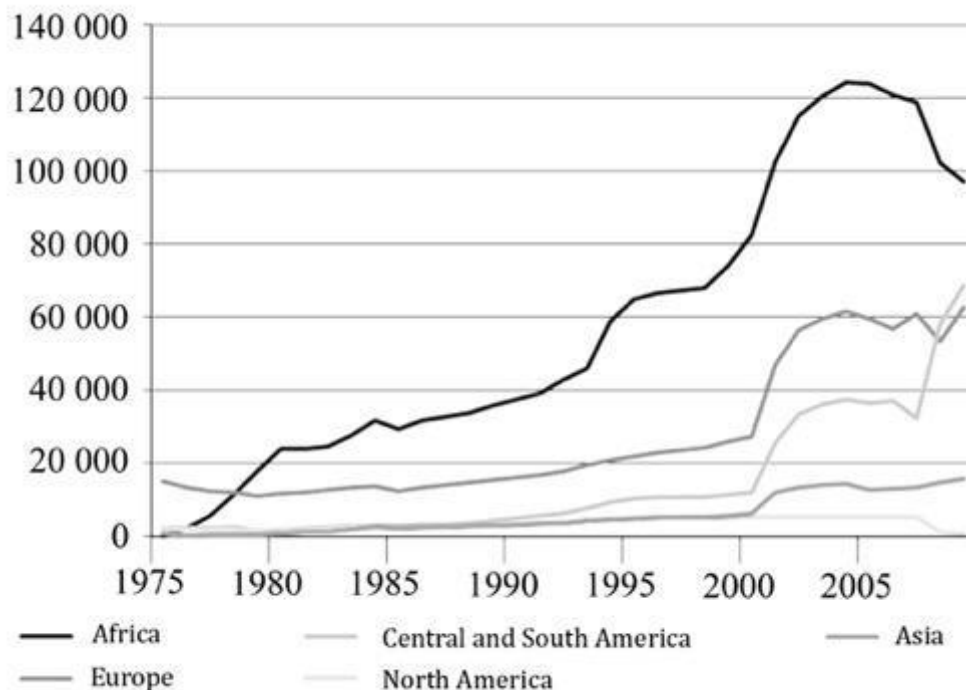


FIGURE 10
 FOREIGN POPULATION RESIDING IN THE LMA
 ACCORDING TO THE ORIGINAL CONTINENT BETWEEN 1975 AND 2009
 (SOURCE: SEF AND INE.PT)

Thus, if in 2006 they were 49% of foreigners in LMA (Malheiros & Fonseca, 2011), the percentage decreased strongly to 31% in 2016 (INE, 2017). With regards to employment, the PALOP population is still over-represented by semiskilled and unskilled workers, as service workers and salespeople for the women, and labourers, craftsmen and similar workers in civil construction for the men (INE, 2002; Fonseca, 2017: 95; Fonseca et al., 2008: 44; Pereira, 2008, 2013). The vulnerability to unemployment of families with these occupations has a destabilizing effect on the schooling of the descendants (Roldão, 2015: 291), even if not directly forced to stop studies and to enter the labour market in order to complement the family budget.

Regarding the education level, the PALOP group is indeed substantially below the average in higher grades of education (Pereira *et al.*, 2001; INE 2002; Fonseca et al., 2008). However, the professional portrayal of PALOP immigrants (men in construction and women in cleaning) by no means identifies people of African origin with Portuguese citizenship who are in expansion in the tertiary sector (Machado *et al.*, 2007). The lower work instability is reflected in the education levels in which the young Portuguese of African origin show twice

the similarity with national young people⁴⁰: both are more educated than their parents (Pereira *et al.*, 2000) and their levels of instruction do not differ significantly from each other (Machado *et al.*, 2007).

⁴⁰ The project called Jodia was a survey of 1000 Afro-descendant individuals aged 15-29, conducted in the LMA by the CIES-ISCTE in 2004.

BLACK SPATIAL TRAJECTORY IN THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF LISBON

It was only during the 1990s that a field of studies on immigration that crosses race matters consolidated in the Portuguese context. Very few studies included a spatial approach, and even fewer focused directly on black people in the metropolitan area of Lisbon. The review that I am about to present here is articulated in a temporal trajectory and is unpacked into three parts corresponding to the main housing policy phases that marked the metropolitan context. Every section starts with the presentation of the housing policy followed by the depiction of some tangible urban aspects that have resulted therefrom, using explanatory cases. Beyond the analysis of housing policies here proposed, this literature review has to be intended as an entry point into the black spatiality of the metropolitan area of Lisbon by introducing some black experiences and material urban spaces.

The first phase, from the 1960s to the 1990s, was characterized by an ambiguity in the properties and territories regime that gave birth to the first informal urban expansion. The illegal neighbourhood of Cova da Moura (number 1 in Figure 11) will be presented as an example of the material consequence of this ambiguous institutional approach and as a landmark within Lisbon black geography. The second phase, from 1993 to the first decade of the 21st century, corresponds to the implementation of the rehousing national plan that aimed to demolish the informal settlements and relocate the population to new social housing. The Casal da Mira neighbourhood (number 2 in Figure 11) is an example of these mass relocation projects and a vivid model to help to understand the challenges and the difficulties experienced by people residing there. Eventually, the third phase considered covers the last 15 years that have been outlined by an urban rehabilitation policy enacted especially in the Municipality of Lisbon, but with direct consequences on the whole metropolitan territory. The historic area of Mouraria (number 3 in Figure 11) is a paradigmatic example of a zone currently affected by urban regeneration and a relevant case of a centrally located marginal urban territory under change.

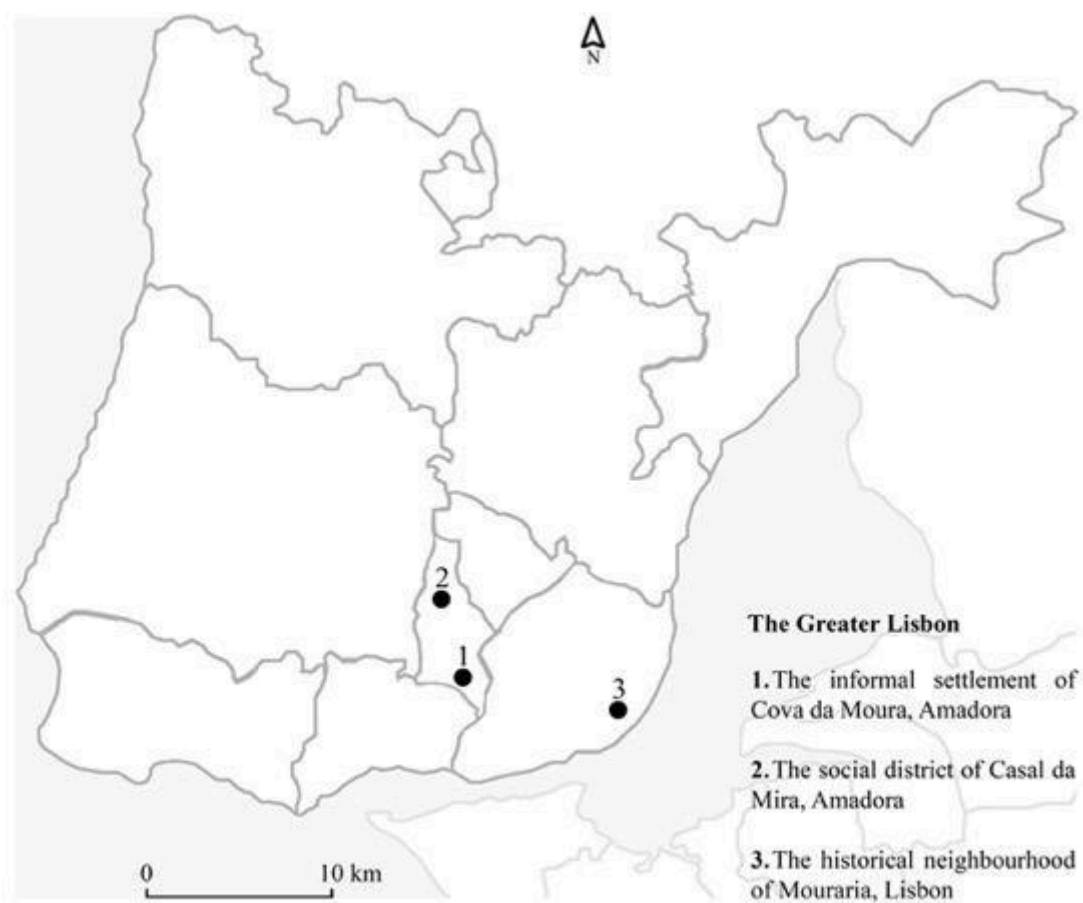


FIGURE 11
 THE THREE URBAN AREAS CONSIDERED IN GREATER LISBON
 (SOURCE: AML.PT)

FROM THE 1960s TO THE 1990s: AMBIGUITY IN THE PROPERTIES REGIME

During the 1960s, Lisbon demographic growth was driven by the arrival of internal migrants coming from rural regions (Craveiro, 2010) and by the influx of first immigrants from Cabo Verde (Góis, 2008; Mendes, 2008). The migration flow to Lisbon was shaped by the new policies designed by the Salazar government⁴¹ both for the colonies as for the mainland. On the one hand, according to Nardi de Sousa (2003), with the beginning of the National Liberation Struggle in Guinea Bissau (1963) the *Estado Novo* intended to prevent Cape Verdeans from joining the National Liberation Struggle in Guinea Bissau and planned instead to obtain an army of cheap labour (Sousa, 2003). On the other hand, manufacturing was established as a privileged sector of the

⁴¹ António de Oliveira Salazar was a Portuguese statesman and economist who served as the prime minister of Portugal from 1932 to 1968. He was responsible for the *Estado Novo* [New State], the corporatist authoritarian government that ruled Portugal until 1974.

Portuguese economy and from a geographical point of view, Lisbon and its surroundings were affected by the strategies that supported this economic development.

The freezing of property rents, the building of the first large-scale social housing project (Baptista, 1999: 19) and a generalized non-control of informal housing were some of the actions – or *non-actions* – enacted (Malheiros, 2000). Lands with no building permits were rented or sold at very low prices without informing of the prohibition (Salgueiro, 1972: 37). Thus, an illegal housing market, parallel to the formal one, emerged involving the transfer of informal and shanty dwellings from the rural migrants to the newcomers from Africa, spreading around the northern periphery of the urban area. The State itself promoted informal construction in a variety of ways: the organization of allotments where poor families built a shanty and paid a low monthly rent or, on the other hand, favouring real estate developers and large contractors in the urban areas with more value (Mendes, 2008; Santos, 2014).

The pioneering research about the informal degraded neighbourhoods of the metropolitan area conducted by Salgueiro (1972) is an accurate geographical analysis of the shanty districts within the urban system of Lisbon. Her work dates back to the beginning of the 1970s, just before the end of the dictatorship. It does not directly mention the issue of the inhabitants' blackness that were living in the analysed areas. However, three main reasons make Salgueiro's research fundamental to the debate. Firstly, the author documented the existence and the geographical pattern of what she calls *bairros clandestinos* [clandestine neighbourhoods] dating from the 1960s (Salgueiro, 1972: 32). Yet, the 'clandestine phenomenon' cannot be dissociated from the context of regional imbalances of social, economic and cultural character that distinguished the Portuguese society at that time (Craveiro, 2010). Secondly, she put forward a few theses as to why people were settling in those particular spaces of the metropolitan area, identifying the proximity to Lisbon municipal boundaries and the proximity to public transport as the main attraction factors, despite overlooking the processes of exclusion in other areas. Eventually, the author highlighted the ambiguity of the property regime on those lands.

The massive migratory movement that followed decolonization forever altered the social composition of the metropolitan territory putting further pressure on the regional housing market (Malheiros, 1998). As a result, there was a boost in informal housing construction (Craveiro, 2010). Political disorganization and the left-wing principles of the new Portuguese governments after the Revolution prevented the repression of the self-built neighbourhoods⁴². The

⁴² In the period immediately after the Revolution, a pioneering architecture experience in the European context was attempted. The SAAL - *Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local* [Local Ambulance Support Service] - established technical units led by architects in collaboration with the population, which had the objective of facing the pressing housing needs of underprivileged communities throughout the country. At a time when a large percentage of the population was

disorganized residential expansion and the substantial lack of coordination between local and regional planning revealed the inadequacy of planning instruments of a young democracy (Ferreira, 2012). Thus, during the second half of the 1970s, the number of shanty districts grew at a fast pace in the northern surroundings of Lisbon as depicted in Figure 12 (Malheiros & Vala, 2004; Arbaci & Malheiros, 2010). Their specificity was precisely the postcolonial origin (Ascensão, 2015a). Beside their concentration in slums, the new immigrants from former African colonies showed a tendency to also settle in suburban districts where there was a good supply of legal low-cost flats (Malheiros, 2000).

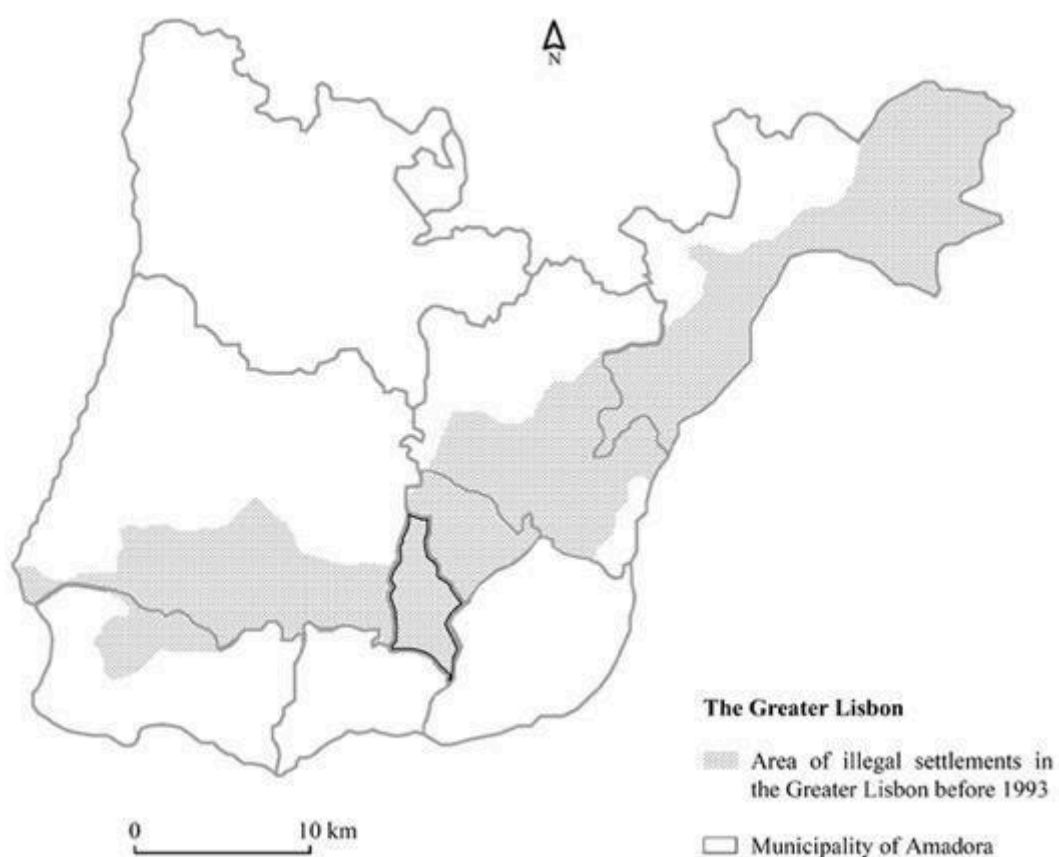


FIGURE 12
APPROXIMATE AREA OF ILLEGAL SETTLEMENT IN THE GREATER LISBON BEFORE 1993
(SOURCE: AUTHOR PROCESSING CROSSING LITERATURE AND SURVEYS)

living in poverty, 25% were illiterate, and all were influenced by the revolutionary spirit, architecture stepped in to offer bottom-up solutions. Unfortunately, it only lasted 2 years and in the case of Lisbon, no projects have been carried out in its entirety.

The spatial differentiation that characterized the urban evolution of LMA, from this time on became synonymous with ethnic-racial segregation (Malheiros, 1998; Vala *et al.* 1999: 130). The urban economic dynamics of the 1980s accentuated the polarizing tendencies by involving even the labour market that incorporated race characters (Malheiros, 1998). Foreign direct investment saw very significant growth and the trade with European partners increased strongly. Millions of EU structural funds had been feeding the Portuguese economy, with a particular impact on the public works sector in the Lisbon region (Malheiros, 2000). The presence of highly skilled and well-paid immigrants from Europe and North America grew. Meanwhile PALOP immigrants largely satisfied the demand for a strong contingent of low-skilled workers in the services and the construction sector (Batalha, 2008).

The different access to space heightened the inequality, which had race as a base, increasing the levels of segregation. Marginalized spaces interacted with disadvantaged social groups in a spiral of mutual devaluation and continuous reproduction of stereotypes (Malheiros, 1998; Carreiras, 2018). In turn, the exposure to spatial disadvantages impacted school (Roldão 2015: 23) and work outcomes, further deepening inequalities (OECD, 2018: 13). The areas marked by the presence of the so-called *bairros de lata* [tin neighbourhoods] or *barracas* [shacks] lie in the first ring of the periphery of Lisbon (Fonseca, 2008: 78; Fonseca *et al.*, 2002; Malheiros, 1998; Malheiros & Fonseca, 2011).

The municipality of Amadora (highlighted in Figure 12) hosted a large part of these neighbourhoods due to its proximity to the capital and to the axis of urban transportation: the Lisbon-Sintra railway line (Barbosa & Ramos, 2008; Santos, 2014). The creation of heavy manufacturing made Amadora one of the most industrialized areas in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. This process, which began in the 1930s but had its most significant expression in the 1950s and 1960s, was accompanied by the demographic growth of the territory which according to the 1994 PDM⁴³ was an agricultural region before the construction of the transport and industrial infrastructure (CMA, 1994). The import of labour from the former Portuguese colonies, mainly from Cape Verde, was the factor that most marked the urban evolution of this area.

The contingent of Cape Verdeans workers referred to as *vaga* [vacancy] (Rodrigues, 2009: 15) or *surto* [outbreak] (Vaz, 2014: 92) brought to Lisbon as cheap labour for construction faced a number of constraints to settle. They experienced the lack of legal housing on offer, the racial prejudice of the white owners that were not willing to rent their houses to Cape Verdean tenants (Batalha & Carling 2008) and a number of persecutions motivated by race hatred (Horta, 2000). It is in this context that the self-built neighbourhoods with a black African majority or black Portuguese, such as *Venda Nova*, *Miraflores*, *Pontinha*, *Azinhaga*, *Fontainhas*, *Santa Filomena*, *Estrela D'África*, *6 de*

⁴³ PDM stands for *Plano Diretor Municipal* [Municipal Master Plan] that, in the case of Amadora, is the only one that has been in force since its approval in 1994.

Maio and the old *Quinta do Outeiro*, known as *Bairro da Cova da Moura*, emerged.



Cova da Moura (Figure 13 and 14) is one of the largest and oldest neighbourhoods. Officially classified as a run-down neighbourhood of illegal origin, it comes from the occupation of private and public lands, for a total area of 16.5 hectares. It is a community built by its own inhabitants through the process of mutual help – *Djunta mô* [get together] in Cape Verdean creole – with the authorization of some of its owners (Horta 2000; Raposo, 2010; Jorge & Carolino, 2019; Lopes, 2020). Today it counts an approximate number of 7 000 people, mainly Portuguese (black and white), Cape Verdean and Angolan, migrants from São Tomé, Guinea, Gabon, Brazil, Mozambique, Congo and Ukraine. It is estimated that more than 60% of Cova da Moura’s inhabitants are black (Horta, 2008).

Like other neighbourhoods with an illegal origin, Cova da Moura was banned over time with the stigma as a no-go area⁴⁴. A number of factors contributed to the construction of negative representations about the neighbourhood and non-white social groups living there (Dias, 2010: 192) such as the criminalization and racialization of poverty and the representation of violence in these contexts by the media (Malheiros *et al.*, 2007: 34). As stigma shapes reality, this discourse reinforced the marginalized condition of the area already relatively sealed, far from the majority of the population, which feels insecure to go there (Malheiros *et al.*, 2007: 256). Without denying the practice of crime that occurs in some of the metropolitan informal districts of Lisbon, episodes of police abuse have not been uncommon on black majority neighbourhoods as Cova da Moura (Raposo & Varela, 2016; Malheiros *et al.*, 2007: 121-126). A wide number of abuses have been denounced during the last decades⁴⁵. The extra-legal violence of the police seems to accomplish the objective of dismissing, disciplining and punishing the undesirables, understood as urban outcasts because of their poverty, blackness and the condition of slum dwellers (Raposo & Varela, 2016).

Urban racialization in Cova da Moura occurs on a discursive level. The neighbourhood and its black inhabitants are so deeply stereotyped with a negative connotation that even if the area is well served in terms of public transport and it takes no more than a 20 minute ride on a metropolitan train to the city centre, it is considered a marginal area. No matter if it lies right near high-value residential areas or if it is animated by a vivid good-neighbourly atmosphere and a young social network, the dividing line between Cova da

⁴⁴ The noun 'no-go area' refers to a place that has a reputation for violence and crime that makes people frightened to go there.
<https://www.collinsdictionary.com/dictionary/english/no-go-area> (web page accessed on August 16th, 2021)

⁴⁵ The association SOS Racismo Portugal, established in 1996, has been fighting for years for the creation of a legal system capable of punishing acts of violence and racism suffered by ethnic minorities. Over time, it has reported a number of crimes committed by the police force.
<http://www.sosracismo.pt/> (web page accessed on August 16th, 2021)

Moura and the (white) surrounding areas is well imprinted in the minds of those who are worried about going there, and to those who would not give a job to its residents. Cova da Moura is a margin, not because of its location, rather for its reputation, a black dangerous zone.

FROM 1993 TO 2000s: THE SPECIAL REHOUSING PROGRAMME

The 1990s saw a great dynamism in planning and urban management, with the second generation of Master Plans and through the administrative re-formation of the actual Lisbon Metropolitan Area⁴⁶. Paradoxically, the dual pattern of immigrant settlement, with Europeans in the best areas and those from African countries in the most marginal urban spaces became more marked over this decade (Fonseca et al., 2002: 89). Race started to act systematically within the metropolis divided into noble areas mostly inhabited by wealthy white residents and degraded and low-value areas mostly inhabited by black residents. The increase in spatial differentiation was also the product of massive planning initiatives that aimed to produce a restructured and vibrant city able to fight for a place in the very competitive global and European urban networks (Malheiros, 2000).

The presence of two major international events in Portugal – Lisbon Capital of Culture (1994) and EXPO'98 – pushed the country to address the issue of precarious housing and shanty districts (Carrière & Demazière, 2002), which were a source of national shame (Eaton, 1998). Indeed, when the country began to reimagine itself as part of the European Community, part of this modernization has been carried out with the urban perspective that the country's potential was attested by the aesthetic of its capital. And, therefore, the necessity to embellish Lisbon – to make it more pleasant from a standpoint of whiteness (Alves, 2021) – also urged the State to *erase* a certain type of space that gave the city an image too close to the poverty of the Estado Novo. This was essential to mark the boundary between the past and contemporaneity. A solution to the problem was attempted with a nationwide social re-housing programme called PER⁴⁷ that involved the two main metropolitan areas of the country: Lisbon and Oporto. Enacted in 1993 and carried out in the subsequent two decades, the PER was the largest social housing plan ever developed in democratic Portugal (Arbaci & Malheiros, 2010; Cachado, 2013; Alves, 2021).

In the metropolitan area of Lisbon, more than 20 000 households were rehoused (Tulumello *et al.*, 2018). The programme had two main objectives: the eradication of the slums (Alves, 2018, 2021) and the relocation of the

⁴⁶ Before 1991, the administrative boundaries did not include the Setubal Peninsula.

⁴⁷ PER stands for *Programa Especial de Realojamento* [Rehousing Special Programme].

inhabitants to new housing (Fonseca *et al.*, 2002; Cachado, 2013). From the very beginning, the problem of inhabitant relocation from the illegal neighbourhoods to the new social blocks appeared first and foremost as a social problem and not as a problem of buildings (Guerra, 1994). National groups lived in more classic dwellings, while immigrants, especially those from PALOP, lived in spontaneous, overcrowded and degraded housing (Cardoso & Perista, 1994: 104). The process of demolishing self-constructed neighbourhoods and relocating the inhabitants into new apartments was clearly incapable of solving the problems of social exclusion (Pardue, 2014a). Indeed, spatial clustering and residential segregation of immigrant groups were maintained by this policy, while important ties of identity with former neighbourhoods were broken (Malheiros, 2000; Ascensão, 2015a). Even in the introductory text of the law⁴⁸ and all along the implementation of the programme, the informal settlements were described as a social plague and as enclaves of poverty and illegal activities (Alves, 2018).

The stigmatization of both the spaces and their inhabitants being mainly black people – African immigrants and their descendants – was a dominant topic in the public debate (Horta, 2008; Pardue, 2014b). However, the phenomenon (as an object of analysis) has been underestimated and underdeveloped within academic studies as stated by the European Union Report *Migrants, Minorities and Housing* (2005). Notwithstanding some considerable contributions, in Portugal, there has been very little academic research about immigrants, ethnic minorities and racialized groups segregation, and its implications for social integration (EUMC, 2005: 48).

The first results of the relocation programme began to be visible at the beginning of the new millennium. According to the European GEITONIES survey⁴⁹, the factor of variation – called “ethnic factor” throughout the study – explained 10.28% of the variance of the 21 indicators included in the analysis of 2001 Census data (Fonseca *et al.*, 2008: 20) highlighting a strong relationship between the residential areas of PALOP immigrants (Figure 15) and poor and precarious housing. The residential localization pattern of PALOP immigrants – and by extension, black people – within the Lisbon Metropolitan Area emerged clearly as overlapping with the areas with low conditions. These areas are not on the metropolitan edges but in the first ring of the periphery behind the Lisbon municipality. At the beginning of the new millennium, black people were

⁴⁸ Decreto Lei 163/1993, 1993-05-07 – DRE, Programa Especial de Realojamento nas Áreas Metropolitanas de Lisboa e do Porto, Ministério das Obras Públicas, Transportes e Comunicações, Diário da República, available at: <https://dre.pt/dre/legislacao-consolidada/decreto-lei/1993-34461375> (accessed on 1st November, 2021).

⁴⁹ GEITONIES stands for Generating Interethnic Tolerance and Neighbourhood Integration in European Urban Spaces and was a neighbourhood level survey administered not only to immigrants but also native individuals in 6 European cities, available at: https://cordis.europa.eu/project/rcn/88907_en.html (accessed on 16th August, 2021).

over-represented in informal decaying neighbourhoods which often lacked basic amenities – like toilets, showers and electricity – or in the first large clusters of social housing (Fonseca *et al.*, 2002).

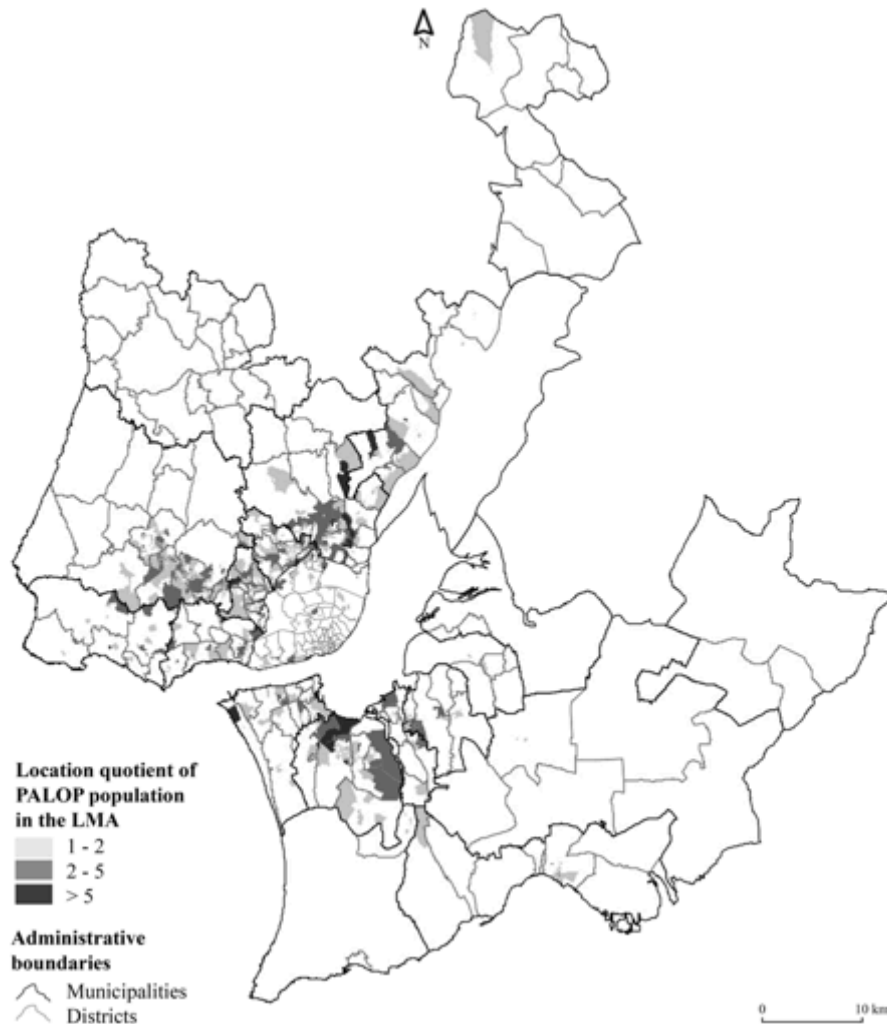


FIGURE 15
PALOP CONCENTRATION AREAS IN THE LMA IN 2001
(SOURCE: NATIONAL CENSUS 2001)

The small reduction of the segregation level that followed the implementation of the PER programme cannot necessarily be considered a positive trend in itself. Indeed, residential *dispersal* mostly happened within the least prestigious spatial context (Malheiros & Vala, 2004; Malheiros & Fonseca, 2011: 127). These new residences have been located on under-valued land on the urban periphery, isolated from the access routes to commercial and service centres and near undesirable areas such as cemeteries, industrial areas and old rubbish

dumps. They are stigmatised and socially excluded places, which increase the marginality of their new inhabitants (Fonseca *et al.*, 2008: 29; Raposo *et al.*, 2019).

In this regard, the work of Arbaci and Malheiros (2010) on the dynamics of racial segregation in Southern Europe is particularly important, in challenging the orthodox association between residential de-segregation and social inclusion. Proposing a consideration of marginalisation through spatial dispersal the authors interpreted ethnic de-segregation as a product of – or even as an instrument of – domination and control used by the institutions (Arbaci & Malheiros, 2010). What happened in the metropolitan area of Lisbon is that the inhabitants of the informal neighbourhoods were dispersed across several social housing projects located in extremely marginal areas. But the complexity of assessing the urban change determined by the PER programme in terms of social cost and spatial cohesion lies in the ambiguous effects that it has generated. Indeed, the programme was applied differently by the municipalities involved and implicated three main types of relocation model (Ascensão & Leal, 2019).

The first type is the in-situ rehousing with apartment blocks built on the sites of the previous informal settlements (or few meters away). Although the in-situ relocation was the declared intent in the text of the programme, it actually materialised seldom. An example occurred with the informal settlement of Rua de Alferrolos (Amadora municipality) which was one of the few mainly inhabited by a white Portuguese community who was relocated in five building blocks on the same street, thus remaining joint in the same urban area (Figure 16 a.1). The second kind of relocation model was the clearance of the informal settlements and the re-housing of the communities in more peripheral and under-serviced housing estates of the same municipality. This happened for instance to the people that were displaced from the informal settlement of Azinhaga dos Besouros and resettled in Casal da Mira (Amadora, Figure 16 a.2) or to the people that from Pedreira dos Húngaros were relocated in Moinho das Rolas (Oeiras, Figure 16 b), in both cases the people involved were mainly black. Finally, a third set of controversial transfers interested the more complicated situations in which the squatted land was private and the local governments failed to expropriate it in a timely fashion. The privileged locations occupied by the informal settlements were previously earmarked for private residential development for the white middle classes and so the inhabitants were displaced to scattered destinations (Ascensão, 2015). A notable example of this kind of application is that of Marianas (Cascais) informal neighbourhood (Figure 16 c.1) that was dismantled in order to build the redevelopment area of Marianas-Carcavelos (Figure 16 c.2) and people were relocated to the Adroana housing estate (Figure 16 c.3) as well as in a number of other housing estates of the same kind. Again in the case of Marianas neighbourhood the people relocated were mainly black.



A. Amadora Municipality

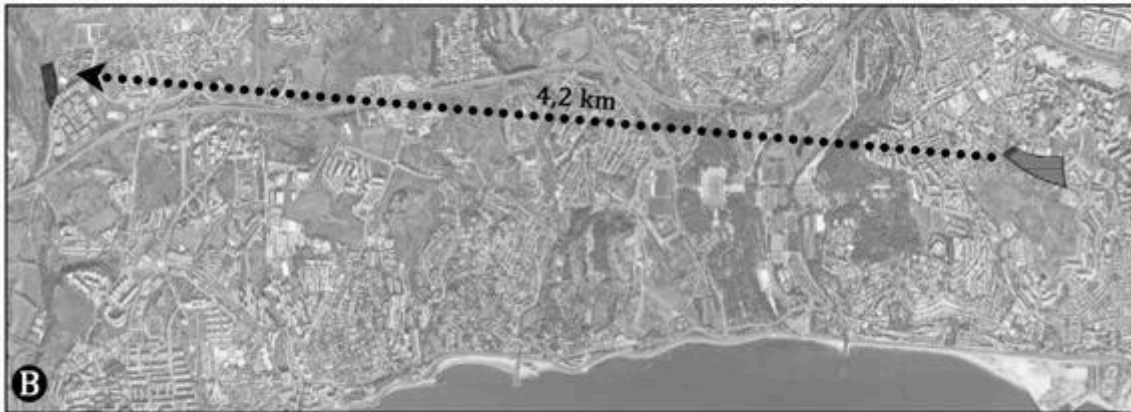
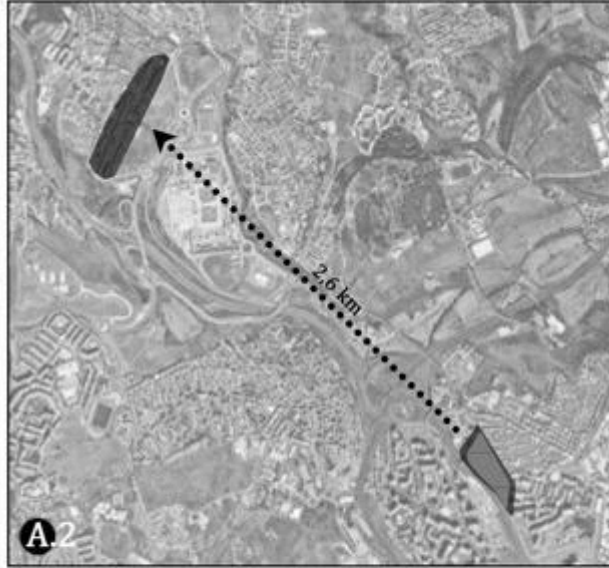
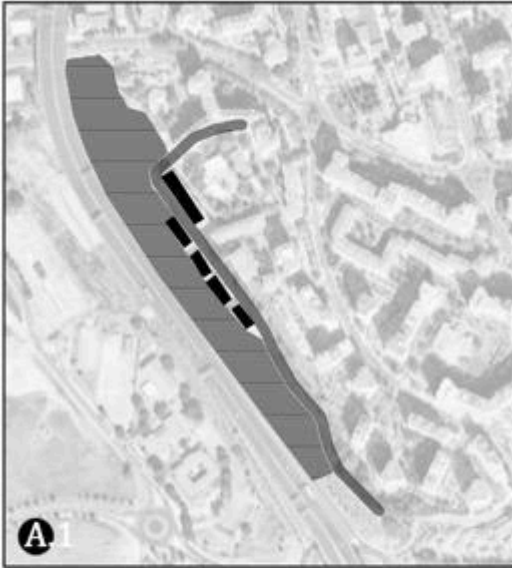
- A.1 In-situ relocation in Rua de Alfofnelos
- A.2 Peripheral relocation from the informal settlement of Azinhaga dos Besouros to Casal da Mira housing estate.

B. Oeiras Municipality

- Peripheral relocation from the informal settlement of Pedreira dos Hungaros to Moinho das Rolas housing estate.

C. Cascais Municipality

- C.1 Bairro das Marianas
- C.2 Urban redevelopment Marianas-Carcavelos
- C.3 Adroana housing estate



So, if from on one hand, the concentration of poor and black families in specific degraded areas actually declined following the implementation of the programme, on the other hand their marginalization increased. A reduction in the segregation levels of immigrants from Portuguese Speaking African Countries in the 2001 Census was registered and the programme was pointed as a possible explanation (Malheiros & Vala, 2004: 1079-80). Yet, black communities have been separated, mixed and gathered in marginal areas together with other vulnerable communities (social housing recipients such as Roma people, Indians and Ukrainian immigrants and the lower class of white citizens) coming from diverse areas. The dispersal mechanism to which Arbaci and Malheiros (2010) refer to occurred indeed in isolated areas with low populational density and low connections with the consolidated urban network. Furthermore, the explosive dimension embedded in the informal settlements located in the interstices of the 'compact city' has been multiplied – but also reduced of intensity – by an institutional dynamic of “dividi-et-impera” and scattered in an uneven geography of islands made of concrete and frustration.

The application of the PER programme generated gradually a shared critical standpoint for which the intensive construction of social housing has created new social exclusion rather than solving the problematic housing situation that affected the metropolitan territory (Cachado, 2013; Pardue, 2014a; Raposo & Varela, 2016; Fonseca *et al.*, 2017; Oliveira & Padilla, 2017; Pozzi, 2017; Carreiras, 2018; Raposo *et al.*, 2019). The paradox is that a program widely narrated by the institutions as the great housing solution of democratic Portugal in practice served as an argument for evicting people and freeing profitable urban areas (Alves, 2021). Moreover, as for the new constructions, instead of taking the mistakes made in the previous decades into account and looking for new models, Portuguese policies reproduced post-war European social housing, developing bubbles of poverty and social vulnerability in the suburbs (Cachado, 2013). The social housing resulting from the enactment of the programme is a paradigmatic example of mass relocation (Pereira *et al.*, 2001), hosting a concentration of people who shared few common conditions: they lived in the shanty towns before, they are poor and they are predominantly black people.



The largest re-housing neighbourhood in the municipality of Amadora is Casal da Mira (Figure 16 and 17). It was built at the beginning of the 21st century with around 2 800 inhabitants and 760 apartments (Batalha, 2008; Cabannes & Raposo, 2013). A very young population inhabits it – half of the population is less than 25 years old – and the percentage of the PALOP population and their descendants are around 50% of the inhabitants (CLAS, 2017). Casal da Mira is located near to a major commercial centre – once called Dolce Vita Tejo and now changed in UBBO – and a big urban highway – the IC16. The location, configuration, and size, coupled with a poor public transportation network and lack of public spaces and social facilities constrained the development of local social networks (Moises, 2013).

However, mainly low-income families of migrants from Cape Verde and their descendants have occupied the large and sloped protection area on the highway, practising urban agriculture (Cabannes & Raposo, 2013). In chapter 5, I will return extensively to the theme of informal urban gardens as a practice of resistance to urban racialization. However, for the moment it is worth reflecting on the fact that if in Cova da Moura urban racialization occurs through the endurance of strong negative stereotypes on the people (black) and their spaces (shanty neighbourhoods), here in Casal da Mira it is the lack of an urban infrastructure of services that makes this space a margin. If in the first case the margin is discursive, here it is *material*. It is really difficult – and it can take a very long time – to access Casal da Mira without a private car. There is only a bus that crosses the neighbourhood, which takes 40 to 50 minutes to reach the Amadora train station. Moreover, the absence of public and green spaces also makes the everyday social relations between inhabitants difficult to happen.

Casal da Mira is not only a margin because of its location, but rather for the shortage of essential public urban facilities. It is an urbanized *island* in the middle of residual green and giant urban routes. Thus, the positive transformation of idle lands into green and productive spaces in this specific context assumes a peculiar redemptive meaning and echoes the concept of “appropriation of space” (Lefebvre, 1968) as opposed to the one of ownership. Indeed, unlike property – which is personal and exclusive – the appropriation suggested by Lefebvre is a collective and inclusive right. It is the right to change spaces in accordance with the needs of the people that live in those spaces.

FROM 2000s UNTIL 2020: URBAN REHABILITATION PROCESS, A NEOLIBERAL TENDENCY

Despite the fact that the black residential areas are located mainly in the suburbs due to the long process of expulsion from the city centre (Tarsi, 2014, 2016; Arbaci & Malheiros, 2010), few areas in the historical centre of Lisbon are still characterized by a black presence. In particular, relevant numbers of PALOP

immigrants and their descendants live in certain old and decaying central neighbourhoods, the same ones that are currently considered affected by urban degradation and that are under processes of urban rehabilitation⁵⁰.

In the last 15 years, the municipality of Lisbon has been undergoing a continual process of urban renewal, based on a mixture of national and foreign capital that is generating new spatial inequalities. The rehabilitation policies have revealed that both the public and private interventions trigger contradictory mechanisms of social expulsion through the valorisation of urban areas (Pavel, 2014). These urban policies are market-oriented and, therefore, they are marked by the logic of consumption, by competition between metropolises as well as by the leading role played by private actors in the process of planning and production of renovated urban spaces.

The neoliberal tendency has been evident with the enactment of the Decree-Law/104 of 2004, which created an exceptional legal regime of urban rehabilitation for historical zones and critical areas. This regime allowed municipalities to set up the SRU – Sociedades de Reabilitação Urbana⁵¹ [Urban Rehabilitation Societies] with private capital deployment and administrative authoritative powers. Then, in 2012, the Decree-Law/31 established the NRAU – Novo Regime de Arrendamento Urbano⁵² [New Urban Rent Regime] that has been strongly objected to by the tenants. Its first outcome has been the closure of rent agreements from before the 1990s, without any rights guaranteed to the renters.

Thus, the new regime imposed a rent cost updating mechanism that gave rise to unaffordable values for many residents. As a result, social *displacement* over the metropolitan territory has been the hallmark of the last few years (Pavel, 2014). The ongoing process of urban regeneration, in which the rehabilitation of residential properties attracts wealthier new residents, leads to the eviction of former inhabitants who can no longer afford the new housing costs (Mendes, 2013).

⁵⁰ Urban rehabilitation processes encompass a wide range of interventions ranging from the simple recovery of buildings and public spaces to a more social and economic revitalization of the urban area.

⁵¹ For more information, see at the link: <https://www.portaldahabitacao.pt/pt/portal/reabilitacao/sociedadesreabilitacaourbana/menusru.html> (web page accessed on 16th of August, 2021)

⁵²

For more information, see at the link: <http://www.portaldahabitacao.pt/pt/nrau/home/index.jsp> (web page accessed on 16th of August, 2021)



FIGURE 19
MOURARIA NEIGHBOURHOOD IN THE CENTRE OF THE MUNICIPALITY OF LISBON
(SOURCE: PHOTO BY THE AUTHOR)



FIGURE 20
PROTESTS AGAINST THE RISE OF RENT COSTS IN MOURARIA
(SOURCE: PHOTO BY EPHIMERA JPP)

Mouraria (Figures 18 and 19), located in the area bordering the noble part of the centre of Lisbon, belongs to the group of “historic districts and urban complexes that imprint a particular identity to the city” (Malheiros *et al.*, 2012). It dates back to the early medieval period and literally means “the Moorish quarter” (Menezes, 2009). It has often been associated with social exclusion and insecurity. The low rents and public neglect provided favourable conditions for immigrant enclave formations. The residents of foreign nationality in Mouraria are three times more than the average of the municipality of Lisbon (INE, 2012). The first immigrants to establish and to start businesses there were immigrants from PALOP that today are 25% of the total population (Fonseca *et al.*, 2010: 23).

Mouraria neighbourhood is considered an “urban ethnic place” (Mendes, 2012). The ethnic diversity in the area is *visible* mostly in the square of Martim Moniz (Fonseca & McGarrigle, 2013) which represents the largest public space in the neighbourhood, marked by the presence of two large shopping malls which have been home to wholesale commerce since the 1980s (Caldas, 2015). Despite the economic and urban liveness of the neighbourhood, Mouraria is depicted as a “high priority intervention area” by the municipal institutions that identified more than half of its buildings as being in need of rehabilitation (CML, 2011).

The Urban Rehabilitation of Mouraria is a plan that was promoted by the City Council of Lisbon in 2011 and the valorisation process that is taking place risks to completely change its current population in only a few years. The arrival of a new middle-class is raising the real estate prices contributing to the expulsion of the most disadvantaged groups. It has also exacerbating the urban fragmentation and the social division of the city residential space. The inhabitants are currently fighting in order to avoid evictions and displacements but still without any visible change in the policies.

Mouraria *was* a margin that is now becoming central. It was certainly a margin due to its residents’ composition and for the decadence of the architecture rather than for its location. Indeed, the shift from being a marginal area to a central one is being driven by the *substitution* of the inhabitants and the *renovation* of the buildings. White wealthier renters are replacing black poor ones while decaying houses are being renovated in new apartments. Mouraria is another emblematic example to reflect how margins are not determined by their location but rather by a conjunction of factors – such as lack of facilities, popular representations, abstract boundaries, discourses and racial stereotypes.

CONCLUSIONS OF CHAPTER 3

In this chapter, I have shown how it is possible to explore the residential spatiality of blackness in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area through the analysis of the housing policies and the support of data about PALOP immigrants and their descendants. Firstly, in view of the tripartite spatial framework proposed in Chapter 1, I have focused here on an investigation of the relative positions of objects and subjects within the urban space. Thus, race-space connections have been approached in an urban geography declination. Secondly, as argued in Chapter 2, every urban context is irreducible and has specific local mechanisms of race. In this case, the overall consideration is that black people occupy a marginal position within the metropolitan system regarding the residential aspect.

The housing policies of the last six decades have generated a residential ordering which may be hard to reverse, in which marginalization has been the direct outcome of processes of urban racialization. After having introduced the discourse of the migratory flow in Portugal and in the LMA and having specified how they can support an urban analysis of race and blackness with numbers, I divided the time frame considered into three sections in order to structure the exploration. Such partition, while risking oversimplifying a complex reality, has been effective in identifying the key moments that have characterized the evolution of policies without losing important details.

The first period, from the 1960s to the 1990s, characterized by institutional ambiguity in the property and land regimes, created the conditions for the contingents of immigrants, mainly from Cape Verde, to settle on land where it was formally illegal to build. Over the years, all subsequent migratory flow and descendants of the first immigrants followed suit by increasing these informal neighbourhoods, mostly built with low-quality materials. As time goes by, these areas became places that could no longer be defined as *barracas* [tents]. Indeed, people who lived there invested in their homes and created a strong social fabric. In addition, if the occupied areas initially lay in rather remote areas, after the urban growth, they began to be considered by investors as valuable areas just a few minutes distance from the Lisbon centre.

At the beginning of the 1990s, the state decided to demolish the illegal neighbourhoods and free the occupied lands since they damaged the urban image. The people who lived there, many of whom were black – PALOP immigrants and their descendants – were forced to move. New social housing was built and administratively managed by the single municipalities of the Metropolitan Area, which displaced them to more isolated and remote areas, comparing them to the shantytowns. The process – of demolition and re-location – brought negative social and urban consequences. First of all, it

destroyed the social fabric, separating cohesive communities and forcing people into new neighbourhood conditions. Secondly, it created districts isolated from the existing infrastructures and services and, therefore, difficult to englobe in the continuous urban system. The marginalization of the communities involved in the process increased and it resulted in a rise in crime, generalized poverty and the intensification of stigmatization of both people and places.

Today the urban rehabilitation that takes place in many of the metropolitan municipalities, particularly in Lisbon, is once again leading to the removal of the most vulnerable social classes forced to leave their homes. In the name of urban valorisation, a further expulsion mechanism is happening affecting the least favoured fringes of the society, often made up of black people. The general assessment of these policies leads one to conclude that urban racialization normed by specific policies and political choices has led to the marginalization of black people within the metropolitan space.

The three neighbourhoods analysed are examples of the urban margins in which black people have been pushed to reside. Cova da Moura can be considered a direct and material result of the first period of intentionally non-regulatory policies. It is a self-built neighbourhood, a few minutes far from Lisbon centre that does not boast a good reputation among the majority. Residents of Cova da Moura, predominantly black, suffer daily racial stigma and a vicious cycle of inter influence between urban space and people, which shape its marginality. Thus, the area became a margin through discourse and negative representation.

Casal da Mira, was constructed thanks to the implementation of the second phase of policies. The social housing programme provided houses to a number of people, predominantly black, which lived in the shantytowns. Casal da Mira is an isolated and anonymous ensemble of concrete apartments without squares or greenery. Thus, the area became a margin not only due to its isolated location but also thanks to the absence of urban service facilities that relegates any social liveability to private apartments (I will return on the case of Casal da Mira with further details in Chapter 5, pp. 212-216).

Finally, Mouraria is an extremely interesting example of a margin that is becoming central. It is an historical area of Lisbon centre always considered marginal because of both the composition of its residents – which were mostly immigrants and largely black – and the degradation of its architecture. Through the third phase of policies that are materializing in urban rehabilitation processes, the decaying buildings have been replaced by newly restored blocks of apartments and the old (black) residents have been substituted by whiter and wealthier dwellers. Thus, it was enough to embellish the space and substitute the inhabitants for Mouraria to gradually lose its long reputation as a marginal and degraded area and becoming a lively and central one.

REFLECTIONS ON URBAN MARGINALITY

The housing policies analysis developed in this chapter brings one to account a few main conclusive reflections. Here, I try to summarize the challenges launched by such a kind of investigation in a few points.

- Data on immigration and their spatialization, if considered within their intrinsic limits, can be an effective support to analyse race-urban connections;
- Residential geography is not exhaustive in order to understand the whole urban geography of a specific group – in this case black people – but it remains relevant to perceive its macro-structure;
- The residential marginality of black people within the Lisbon Metropolitan Area is the overall consequence urban racialization processes triggered by housing policies and political choices over the last sixty years;
- Urban marginalization is an articulated process in which people are forced by a conjunction of economic/political/historical/racial factors to occupy marginal areas of the urban space;
- Urban margins can be such for different reasons. This analysis has shown that an area can be considered an urban margin because of its localization in the metropolitan edges just as much as for the degradation of its architecture, for the blackness and poorness of its inhabitants, for the negative urban representation of the area, or rather for a combination of these circumstances;
- The urban marginality of black people is a condition that may be hard to reverse in the metropolitan area of Lisbon while at the same time it is a setting from which a number of unexpected possibilities can emerge.

Having said that, to construct a deeper understanding of the urban geography of blackness it is essential to question other kinds of spatiality linked to job places, mobility routes and entertainment venues. Moreover, it is a fact that data on immigrants from PALOP countries are too limited to understand how race and the urban space intersect and intertwine. Finally, the theme of black urban marginality needs to be explored more by directly consulting people who live under these condition in order to fully appreciate both the constraints and the opportunities. These considerations are the basis on which the following chapter will expand.

CHAPTER 4

Voices from the margins

ABSTRACT

This chapter proposes an articulated and complex image of Lisbon urban space with the help of voices from the margins in contrast with common institutional and media narratives about the city. The main objective is to provide a committed engagement with people from the margins with specific attention to the potential expressed by everyday life's articulations. First, I propose a rethinking of the margins by re-contextualizing spaces and re-subjectivizing people. Then, I present an analysis of the biographical narratives of a heterogeneous group of ten black women living in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon. The analysis focuses on how subjects perceive the urban space from their specific social position, in particular, how being black and women affect the way they experience the city. This chapter focuses on the effective dimension of space, I analyse the many degrees and shades of the *sense of place* of this group of black women fully mobilizing the concepts of *placeness* and *placelessness*. The urban experience described by respondents' personal accounts acquires a connotation that overcomes the individual meanings and motifs bringing to the surface wider social importance. The significance, although personal, is historically inscribed and linked to blackness, womanhood and the memory of the city.

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER 4

This chapter is the very first entry point into the empirical dimension of the dissertation. In the previous chapter, I introduced the exploration of local mechanisms of race in the metropolitan area of Lisbon through a detailed analysis of secondary data and a systematic literature review on housing policies over the past sixty years that have shaped the geography of blackness within the urban context. What has emerged is the overall residential *marginality* of black people as a result of urban racialization processes triggered by a combination of political choices, implementation of specific housing policies and institutional and media representations. However, the contribution of Chapter 3 cannot be considered unproblematic since it opens up a number of questions without providing closed answers. The mechanism of marginalization of both space and people that materialize in specific urban settings is complex and articulated and requires much more examination. The aim of this chapter – as well as that of the following one – is to expand in this direction.

Margins are not universal. As we have seen before (Chapters 2 and 3), they are not only produced and experienced in different ways in different cities (Chapter 2) but they are even produced and experienced in different ways in the same urban context (Chapter 3). Almost every study that relates to a race group, a practice, a gender, a socio-economic role, a space, etcetera that is not considered to be central and normative could be defined as a study on marginality. So much so, that marginality – as a concept – is simply too vague to be used as a category and thus is not useful for sociological inquiry (Del Pilar & Udasco, 2004). Indeed, in order to acknowledge the complexities making up marginal contexts and subjects, it is necessary to rethink *how* to study marginality. The defining of margins from the centre, without a dedicated commitment to people and spaces within the margins inevitably ends up reproducing stereotypes (hooks, 1994) instead of engendering new scientific knowledge.

This contribution aims to scratch the surface of institutional, popular and media narratives about Lisbon while enriching and reassembling the image of the city with the help of voices from the margins. Imagining the city *otherwise* means abandoning the safe terrain of common narrations in order to open up to new perspectives. The main objective of this chapter is, thus, to provide a committed engagement with people from the margins with specific attention to the potential expressed by everyday life's articulations. I propose an analysis of the urban placeless or placelessness of black women living and experiencing everyday life in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon. And the raw material on which

the analysis is developed was collected through ten in-depth qualitative interviews that I picked from those I conducted during my fieldwork⁵³.

The biographical urban accounts of this group of black women are the tracks that I followed to grasp a more articulated and complex image of the city. The group is a heterogeneous one. They belong to different social classes, half of them born in Lisbon while the other half arrived after birth, all of them have Portuguese citizenships, half of them live in the city centre, while the other half live in the periphery and their ages ranges from 25 to 50 years old. However, they are also a homogeneous group, being black and women they can all be considered marginal subjects. Indeed, their marginality is defined by both *race* and *gender*, critical variables that play a double and intertwined role in defining their everyday urban experience.

The oral reports of these women counteract common Lisbon images of an open and multicultural city and propose a more problematic perspective. The urban space emerges as materially and immaterially marked by differences and inequalities in which both race and gender have a specific weight. The analysis focuses on how subjects perceive the urban space from their specific social position, as well as how being black and female affect the way they experience the city. The subjective fragments of urban narration emerge not only as denunciations of unjust urban structures and processes of racialization but also as forms of resistance to it. They combine into a common frame of reference that I call the 'other Lisbon'.

In exploring race-urban connections in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area with the support of ten black women, this chapter focuses on the affective dimension of space. Thus, it relies on the social meanings, cultural representations and individual feelings attached to certain spaces and how these shape daily trajectories and ways of living. Recalling the tripartite spatial framework proposed in Chapter 1, I introduce an exploration that goes into detail about the affective dimension of space, but without detaching it from both its wider geographical aspect and its material thickness. The everyday urban experience here assumes a critical and central role since it is the ground on which new knowledge is developed.

Focusing on the everyday urban experience I do not only mean the extemporarily daily practice of living in a metropolis, but rather the result of the subtle link between memories of places and current spatial choices, of feelings and trajectories, of actions and reactions. From this perspective, the urban experience of the ten black women that I interviewed – an urban experience that repeats or restates, confirms or transforms again and again over days – acquires a connotation that overcomes the individual meanings and motifs bringing wider social importance to the surface. The significance, although

⁵³ The overall duration of the fieldwork was from June 2019 until May 2020. However, the interviews were collected in the first four months (from June to September 2019).

personal, is historically inscribed and linked to blackness, womanhood and the city.

The chapter is organized as follows. First, I briefly mention the theoretical assumptions that ground the analysis, mentioning in particular, the necessity to re-contextualize and re-subjectify both spaces and people on the margins. Afterwards, I present the methodological framework that I have used to explore the raw material collected over more than 20 hours of conversations. I propose an analysis of the ten in-depth interviews focusing on the *placeness* – as the quality of having or occupying a place – and *placelessness* – the lack of attachment to a place – of their urban narrations. Or to say it better – by remembering that strict dichotomies are often more confusing than comprehensive – I analyse the many degrees and shades of the sense of place of this group of black women within the urban space of Lisbon. I unpack the analysis into five subsections each addressing a particular theme and a particular sense of place. Finally, I draw some conclusive remarks assessing the method and evaluating the urban knowledge acquired thanks to these voices from the margins in the construction of an ‘other’ image of the city.

EVERYDAY URBAN EXPERIENCES ON THE MARGINS

In recent years, studies of marginality in cities across the globe have increased as well as the attention amongst urban scholars on processes of marginalization of specific groups. This interest in increasingly socially diverse urban contexts considers the complex perceptions and experiences of individuals and groups of people who navigate uncertainty and variegated forms of insecurity associated with urban life (Vertovec, 2007; Vigh, 2009; Cooper & Pattern, 2015; Kinder, 2016; Thieme et al., 2017). In the book *Rethinking life at the margins* edited by Lancione (2016), three analytics at play in how social scientists have been dealing with the margins are identified. They are neither schools of thought, nor methods, but simply groups of studies that approach the topics of margins, marginality and marginalization in different ways. Here, I mention this critical resume of perspectives – that comprehends structural, relational and postcolonial and feminist approaches – in order to introduce my personal re-conceptualization of both spaces and people of the margins.

Structural perspective

The first group converge in one structural perspective - one variable is considered to be structurally more important than the others and used to identify, explain and tackle all margins-related issues. This kind of perspective become axiomatic in studies based on political economy, where the force of capital is considered both explanation and cause of marginality and marginalization (Harvey 1973; Castells 1977; Wacquant 1996, 1999, 2008). Understanding the dynamics of margins through a structural analytic can offer valuable insights on the macro structures of marginality and marginalization, but risks being limited by its own frame since it ends up ignoring lines of separation other than the one constituted by the variable that is put into focus (Lancione, 2016: 5).

Relational perspective

The second group of studies tend to meet on a grounded and relational perspective of margins. These approaches prioritise the relational level of day-to-day interactions and extemporary reactions and processes (Venkatesh, 2008; Gowan, 2010; Darling, 2011; Datta, 2012; Weinstein, 2014). This kind of analysis can be more or less blind to structural dynamics but often include rich ethnographic accounts, however, a common risk is that of losing touch with the macro-processes that influence marginal contexts.

Postcolonial and feminist perspective

The third group differentiates itself from previous analytics by the explicit commitment to providing a critical and self-reflective account of the 'other' (Barnett, 2006). Particular attention and considerable effort are also taken in theorising the researcher's own positionality in the field and ways of

researching at the margins (Sidaway, 2000; Nash, 2002; Sharp, 2009). The experience of being marginal is considered to be a “consequence of the binaristic structure of various kinds of dominant discourses, such as patriarchy, imperialism and ethnocentrism, which imply that certain forms of experience are peripheral” (Ashcroft et al., 2007: 135). From this perspective, the social construction of knowledge around the margins is not taken for granted but questioned.

The three analytics considered above are not exhaustive and it is worth saying that many scholars have mixed these perspectives in questioning the margins by combining an evaluation of socio-economic structures, engaged fieldwork and a post-colonial sensibility (see, for instance, Massey, 1993 and Roy, 2009b). The brief review proposed serves as a theoretical support for introducing the approach adopted in this chapter. My objective is not to propose a fourth analytic but rather to integrate the three perspectives by re-contextualizing and re-subjectifying spaces and people of the margins. Both people and spaces of the margins are tackled in their making (McFarlane, 2011) with the aim of recognizing the actual and potential multiplicity of any composition (Dewsbury, 2000). In particular, by adding a material stance, marginal/marginalized contexts and subjects are understood as a set of not-only-human articulations that are always open to the emergence of new events (Lancione, 2016: 29).

RE-CONTEXTUALIZING SPACES

In urban studies and sociological research there has long been – and continues to be – a tendency to understand and study urban marginality in terms of *space*, in particular regarding their relative position to the centre. Spatiality is clearly a highly important dimension of the concepts of margins, marginality and marginalization yet should be understood in more complex ways than classic traditions. Urban margins do not only depend on the localization within the urban geography, they transform and are in continuous evolution. As I demonstrate in Chapter 3, they cannot be defined as a whole although they share similar characteristics. Ceasing to be just a matter of location, urban margins become a matter of entanglements between objects and bodies, discourses and power. Urban margins can even constitute a particular perspective on the urban and illustrate how the social and the spatial dimensions interweave in specific contexts. Without rejecting the existence of geographic structures that determine margins, marginality and marginalization, in this analysis, I favour a reading of spatial margin dynamics as always contested (i), relationally built (ii) and as places of potentialities (iii).

Contested

Marginal and marginalized urban spaces can be studied as *contested spaces* since diverse stakeholders interact in uneven power networks and different

actors attach diverging values to them (González, 2020). This contestation is heightened by the fact that marginal and marginalized urban spaces are neglected and stigmatised, with precarious or underinvested infrastructures and used by groups of populations that are marginalised, vulnerable or that do not have strong property rights.

Relationally built

Marginal contexts can be intended not as essences or fixed entities, but both as *relational spaces* and as an active ground of “crossroads” (Simone, 2010) within which multifaceted experiences are constituted. They are relationally built in being shaped, for instance, by the intermittent, contradictory, and selective way in which law enforcement works as well as by the complex relationship between people inside and outside the margins.

« Being at the margin means to be situated on the other side of a border, while someone else is on the ‘inside’ somewhere more towards the ‘centre’. *Borders* render the margins at the same time possible and visible, tangible and effective, embodied and felt. » (Lancione, 2016: 3; emphasis added by the author)

The focus then is on the multiple encounters, tensions and frictions between life on the urban margins and the mainstream city. The urban margin is in relation to, not disconnected from the centre. “The centre could not exist without the margin” (Cresswell, 1996: 149). As such, it constitutes a critical angle from which to look at the urban: a lens to entice comparisons of urban agency in the world of cities (Robinson, 2011).

Places of potentialities

Marginal and marginalised urban spaces are also considered here as places of potentialities. Several urban practices, indeed, have their origins at the city’s margins and gradually take over the whole city (de Boeck & Plissart, 2004: 34). Indeed, what is socially peripheral is often symbolically central (Cresswell, 1996: 149). Simone (2010) even argues that:

« Many of the so-called lacks – of amenities, infrastructure, livelihood, markets, and governance – become occasions for residents to assemble ways of working together that otherwise would not be possible given existing cultural norms, political practices, and urban experiences. » (Simone 2010: 34)

Urban margins are thus taken as particularly creative and disruptive when exploring the agency of marginalised inhabitants to make their city liveable. Rather than being urban areas that solely determine the lives of those that live

there, urban margins constitute spaces of change, which bring to the fore urban dwellers' agency in sometimes unexpected ways (Aceska et al., 2019).

This approach to the spatiality of urban margins, therefore, works against the compartmentalisation of urban studies. It provides a unitary framework for analysing urban dwellers' practices in the context of neighbourhood stigmatisation, marginalised social positions and racial stereotypes that limit urban dwellers' access to the city's spaces and resources. In addition, this perspective on urban margins implies bringing different scales of the city into dialogue with each other: the house with the square, the bar with the metropolitan route, the school with the bus stop.

RE-SUBJECTIVIZING PEOPLE

The human subjectivity of the margins does need to be re-thought alongside the spaces. The challenge of the approach proposed here is to describe the marginal and marginalised subject acknowledging its composite consistency without reducing its dramatic complexity. The marginal subject not only lives within a certain social context, but s/he factually becomes *with* and *through* the social context. From this perspective, the marginalized subject cannot be separated from the wider socio-economic mechanism that co-constitutes her/his subjectivity. Indeed, the human subject in general – and the marginal and marginalized subject in particular – should no longer be seen as the “disengaged first-person-singular self [...] self-reliant for her or his judgements on life, the universe and everything” (Pile & Thrift, 1995: 14). I propose an understanding of marginal/marginalized subjects as entangled (i), resistant (ii) and collective (iii).

Entangled

I consider any subjectivity as an entanglement made up of many different assemblages shaped by countless encounters, frictions, actions and reactions. Indeed, in order to navigate this intricateness, one needs a non-reductive account of subjectivity. The shift from conventional interpretations of people of the margins is considerable. The experience of marginal and marginalised people cannot be understood as a matter of personal positioning/culpability/lack of will, nor much less as simply the outcome of broader economic causes. It has to be intended as an on-going process of subject formation as a collective move, a matter of contextual material and discursive adjustments to be addressed in its heterogeneous becoming (Lancione, 2016: 22).

Resistant

People of the margins engage in manifold practices that connect and entangle their marginalised position with spaces of power and resources. Borders and

their daily crossing mutually constitute the formation of marginal and marginalized subjectivities. The connections, cuts and frictions constituting urban margins not only limit dwellers capacities but can also provide unexpected possibilities. As we have already seen, the particular condition of marginality can even be turned into an opportunity. However, it is important not to fall into the tricky risk of romanticizing marginality. People of the margins – that are marginal and marginalized because of their age, gender, sexual orientations, race, or socio-economic status, or simply because located in the margins – and whose views are excluded from mainstream narratives, fight to express stories of their alternative urban experiences (see, for example, Stone-Mediatore, 2003; Buras et al., 2010). Indeed, the production of alternative meanings and narratives about the city is a form of resistance to marginalisation (Aceska et al., 2019).

In addition, marginal urban narratives can play a double role. On the one hand, they function as a creative motion, as a political stance, as the appropriation of the right to speak and imagine the city otherwise, on the other hand, they may help the wider public domain recognize the difficulties certain urban communities face and to articulate a more sophisticated and realistic version of the city image (Lam-Knott, 2019). However, an interesting point is that, in the conceptualization of narratives produced by people from the margins, there is a tendency to overestimate speech (Lima, 2020). Here, I want to emphasize that even *silence* can be considered a form of resistance, not when it entails silencing from above but when it is a political choice.

Collective

Another key point is to intend marginal and marginalized subjects as a collective. I mean that their subjectivity is the expression of “the heterogeneity of the components converging to produce subjectivity” (Guattari, 1996: 193). This does not mean that the subject disappears in a collective mist, s/he does retain individuality, however, at the same time, in order to grasp the marginal subject one needs to look at the historical/symbolical processes through which subjectivity comes to be constituted and assembled. This means to understand the inner-self as an elongation of the social system and vice-versa, in their productive constitutive tensions. The marginal and marginalized subject has a voice as well as silence (Lima, 2020). However, this voice and this silence are not only personal and cannot be understood as such: the voice – or the absence of it – is a chorus, a refrain, made up of all the above entanglements.

In this chapter, the focus resides on black women’s voices that narrate Lisbon in a form of collective resistance. These representations differ with regards to subjects’ different positions in the social structure (socioeconomic status), places of residence (in the centre and periphery neighbourhoods), and value patterns. However, both gender and race – together with the symbolical and historical contextualized ingrains of these variables – are the anchors that

restrict the subjectivisms of these representations giving them a wider social dimension. Each respondent constructed their own urban narrative from several sources: personal biography enriched by lived experiences of the city (including the many spatial and temporal realms in which one's life takes place; such as neighbourhoods, workplaces, and symbolic moments), family stories, representations of other people close, specialized information, media, etcetera. Their urban experiences are personal and social at the same time. Not only do they include socially shared memories, but their specific marginal position within the society – being black and women – shapes each subjective representation throughout their life trajectories and everyday urban experience. This dual perspective, individual and social, is what I am interested in focusing on, in the overlaps between the personal urban narration and the wider social worth of it.

IN-DEPTH QUALITATIVE INTERVIEWS WITH BLACK WOMEN

Silence is difficult to be acknowledged even when marginal and marginalized subjects use it as a form of resistance while urban narratives can be shared and used as a common ground on which to build new knowledge. Privileges of race, class, gender, sexuality and ability grant some observers special access to the gaze but also *limit* what those viewers can experience, see and report (Smith, 2014). My whiteness, and also my not being from Lisbon, would have admittedly reduced the amount of information about the role of race in defining someone's urban experience. So, the empirical operation employed in this chapter in order to access more articulated representations of the city was that of collecting the voices of subjects that for their social positions are marginalized and racialized – also for comparing them with mine own experience.

I conducted ten qualitative in-depth interviews with black women living in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon that I picked from a wider range of people with whom I spoke during my fieldwork. Indeed, assuming the weakness of other methods – including both the quantitative and the traditional ethnographic ones – together with a general scarcity of academic resources on urban marginality in Lisbon the first step was to conduct pilot interviews. I started interviewing people involved in the antiracist movements that I met at events and demonstrations, students and researchers that I encountered at academic conferences, as well as people of specific neighbourhoods such as Cova da Moura, Casal da Mira and Mouraria (see Chapter 3). During these preliminary conversations I tested my questions, hypothesis and especially the interview techniques.

A reduced number of semi-structured in-depth interviews emerged as the most appropriate methodological strategy to acquire the kind of knowledge that I

was looking for. During these pilot interviews a strong gender discourse quickly came up, a strong black and female standpoint, that pushed me to insist on this path. I started to contact and organize the group of women that I wanted to ask to support me in this journey. The group that I finally formed is a heterogeneous one made up of ten black women residents in Lisbon of different ages, various social status and diverse life-trajectories (see scheme of Figure 20).

I got in touch with each of them in order to have a face-to-face conversation that I structured beforehand, but with the intention of leaving maximum flexibility to them. They have all been really available in sharing their time, ideas, urban narratives, personal accounts, and family memories etcetera to help me in my research. As a woman and white researcher I detained both shared points and critical distances with them. Being a woman, I established a common ground amongst us all, with some of them we also shared the fact of being mothers in Lisbon, while with others we have been involved in the same area of studies. My being Italian – and not Portuguese, and in particular, not from Lisbon – gave me the right distance to the historical accounts. My whiteness placed me in a listening and questioning, and privileged position – my own *lugar de fala*⁵⁴.

Almost all the interviews were held between June and September 2019 in a small cafe in the centre of Lisbon (only one occurred in a kids playground). Each conversation lasted 2 hours on average and they were all recorded on receiving approval by each respondent. The women I interviewed are all originally from Portuguese Speaking African Countries – two are from Angola, four are from Cape Verde, three are from Guinea Bissau and one is from Mozambique. All of them have Portuguese citizenship while only half of them were actually born in Portugal. They are all between 25 and 50 years old and their social-class profile varies from lower class to upper class. They cover different professions: two of them are public servants, one is a cook, an engineer, an architect, two students, a school director, a private manager and a (recently elected) deputy of the Republic Assembly. All of them are involved, to a different extent, in the anti-racist struggle in Lisbon. They all live in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon and they all have a daily experience of the urban space. Five of them live in the city centre, the other half on the periphery. Their names are Helena, Lucia, Liliana, Mariama, Ana T., Maria, Ana M., Beatriz, Ariana and Evalina and through their words, a very different city from those of postcards emerges.

⁵⁴ *Lugar de fala* literally means “place of speech”. It arose among the discussions on the “feminist standpoint” and Critical Race Theory. In Brazil, the feminist philosopher Djamila Ribeiro popularized the term with her book *O que é o lugar de fala?* (2017). According to the author, the “place of speech” emphasizes the social place occupied by the subjects in a domination/oppression matrix, within power relations.

DATE OF INTERVIEW	NAMES OF RESPONDENTS	AGES	COUNTRY OF ORIGIN	COUNTRY OF BIRTH		PORTUGUESE CITIZENSHIP	PROFESSION	PLACE OF RESIDENCE	
				PALOP	PT			CENTRE	PERIPHERY
24th June 2019	<i>Helena</i>	20s	Angola	●		●	STUDENT OF SOCIAL SCIENCE	●	
26th June 2019	<i>Lucia</i>	30s	Cape Verde		●	●	PUBLIC SERVANT		●
29th June 2019	<i>Liliana</i>	20s	Angola	●		●	PUBLIC SERVANT		●
30th June 2019	<i>Mariama</i>	20s	Guinea-Bissau		●	●	ENGINEER AND INFLUENCER	●	
10th July 2019	<i>Ana T.</i>	20s	Cape Verde		●	●	ARCHITECT		●
11st July 2019	<i>Maria</i>	30s	Cape Verde	●		●	COOKER		●
16th July 2019	<i>Ana M.</i>	20s	Mozambique		●	●	STUDENT OF URBANISM		●
1st August 2019	<i>Beatriz</i>	40s	Guinea-Bissau	●		●	DEPUTY AND PROFESSOR	●	
8th August 2019	<i>Ariana</i>	40s	Cape Verde		●	●	SCHOOL DIRECTOR	●	
10th August 2019	<i>Evalina</i>	50s	Guinea-Bissau	●		●	PRIVATE MANAGER	●	

The voices

When I met Helena, she was finalizing her master thesis on the (in)visibility of black professionals in Portuguese television. She was born in Angola and moved with her family to Lisbon when she was a child. Helena's contribution lies in her perspective as an outsider that has dealt with important changes once she arrived in Portugal. While in Angola her family was an exponent of an entrepreneur-middle-class they suddenly became part of the lower classes of Lisbon and her mother had to accept a number of low-profile jobs in order to give her sons and daughters an acceptable quality of life. So, Helena started questioning herself early about race processes. Today she lives in the city centre, she is fully engaged in black social movements and she constantly interrogates herself philosophically about her role in the society she lives in.

Lucia is an activist and she is part of a collective of black feminists called FEMAFRO. She was born on the periphery of Lisbon, on the south bank, from Cape Verdean parents. She has always felt to be a black Portuguese person with African origins. Her perspective is that of an outsider inside since Lucia had always to fight in order to be considered completely Portuguese. Today, she has a well-paid job in the public service but she dedicates most of her time to the black and feminist local struggle. Being involved in the black movements of the

city, Lucia's perspective enriches Lisbon urban narratives by reporting the black fight against racial processes and for their full recognition as political subjectivities.

Liliana was born in Angola and moved to Portugal when she was a child. She works as a public servant in the city centre and she lives on the south bank of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area in an informal neighbourhood, called *Bairro da Jamaica*, which is considered one of the most problematic neighbourhoods of the periphery. The *Bairro da Jamaica* is made up of two enormous unfinished buildings composed of blocks and concrete that were gradually occupied by black residents. Liliana started her journey as an activist pushed by the conjunction of several events that involved the community of her neighbourhood as episodes of police intervention and violence and the social reaction to the strong racial stereotypes enhanced by institutional media. After these events indeed municipal institutions have started to demolish the buildings and to transfer the inhabitants. Liliana's perspective is critical since she knows the challenges of living in a strongly marginalized and racialized context from the inside.

Mariama is an engineer and an influencer. She was born in a little village in the north of Portugal from an upper class Guinean family. However, her family was always the only black family in the contexts she crossed and she has always felt to be considered by her friends as an 'exception'. She finished her studies with top marks, but she preferred to start her own profession as an YouTube influencer. In her videos, Mariama began by questioning a wide range of racial stereotypes and offering critical insights from her personal black and female perspective. Today she has collected several followers and she is working on her new project: an online marketplace called *Nô Bai*, which will be the first website exclusively dedicated to the sale of products and services by black and Afro entrepreneurs. Mariama enriches the Lisbon urban narrative by highlighting the discrepancies between the myth of the open and multicultural city and its racialized reality.

When I met Ana she had just completed her studies in Architecture and was looking for a job. Ana was born in Lisbon to a Cape Verdean family. She has always attended schools in the city centre because her mother worked there as a cleaning employee, while her father had a record shop in Cova da Moura, one of the liveliest informal black neighbourhoods of the metropolitan area of Lisbon (see Chapter 3). Since she was a child, she suffered the condition of being the only black girl in the classes she attended and within her friends' group. Once at college, she continued to feel a strong sense of loneliness especially because she has never met anyone who could give her non-white or, at least, non-racist point of reference. Today Ana works in Berlin in the studio of a famous Burkinabe architect, Diébédo Francis Kéré. Ana's perspective is that of someone who knows how blackness functions differently in the centre and in

the margins of Lisbon, indeed, her black body has lived through and passed through both and she knows deeply both the divergences and the balances.

Maria was born and grew up in Cape Verde, she only moved to Lisbon in her 20s when she had already had two sons. She came to Lisbon as a young single mother in search of a better life for herself and her two little boys, and then, her mother came after her. She lives in the western periphery of Lisbon in the social housing of *Bairro dos Navegadores*, recently constructed after the demolition of the informal neighbourhood of *Pedreira dos Húngaros*. She works as an assistant cook in a four-star hotel in a tourist spot near the central area. Today she is satisfied with her job but she admits that it was a hard trajectory to reach the place she currently occupies, including all the bureaucracy for her Portuguese citizenship. Maria's perspective is that of a black mother that has had to work hard to give her sons an acceptable quality of life. She belongs to the margins but she wants her children to be able to occupy any place they dream of in the future.

When I met Ana she was in her last year of Urbanism. She was born in Lisbon to Mozambican parents, and she grew up in a rural house in the countryside within the northern periphery of the metropolitan area. Ana experienced first-hand the drama of seeing her house, legally bought by her parents years before, demolished by the authorities and her family being forced to move into an apartment in the social housing projects. The episode disturbed her so much that she decided to engage in a passionate and meticulous study of urban dynamics and regulations of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. She is an attentive observer and she knows from the inside how the re-collocation programs worked and what the choices of the people involved were. Her perspective, personal but also scientifically informed, was essential in understanding the forces at stake under the current residential structure of black people. Moreover, she gave insights into the Muslim black community living in Lisbon⁵⁵.

Beatriz is a recently elected deputy of the Republic Assembly of Portugal, but she is also a secondary school biology teacher and a tireless activist. She won the 2019 national elections with the left-wing party *Bloco de Esquerda*, two months after our conversation. She was born in Dakar to Guinean parents and she moved to Lisbon when she was just two years old. She has always lived in the city centre and she has always felt different both from other black folks as from their white counterparts. She thinks that thanks to her political and mediatic position more black children will be able to dream of reaching such representational places that commonly are exclusive to white people. However, she also recognizes that from her entry into the National Assembly she has suffered a number of racist attacks that marked her psychologically and emotionally.

⁵⁵ Differently from the other PALOP countries, in Mozambique, the Muslim community is large and represents almost 20% of the total population (INE Mozambique, 2007).

Ariana is a primary school director and also a passionate teacher, translator of African books for children and a theatre amateur. Ariana was born on the south bank of Lisbon to Cape Verdean parents in a big family. Today, she lives in the city centre, she is the mother of a mixed-race daughter and she spends her free time among many cultural activities and in the anti-racist struggle. Her perspective was critical for me in understanding how our social positions were so similar on some points and so profoundly distant on others. The main gap between us is our skin, the key factor that differentiates our urban experience so profoundly. We shared a few episodes that occurred with our mixed-race daughters – such as at the supermarket or at the playground – comparing the ways in which people react to a darker or paler mother.

Evalina is a private manager, a project writer and the co-founder of an association of Afro-descendants called DJASS. She is originally from Guinea-Bissau and moved to Lisbon when she was a child. Her father was a doctor and they established themselves in the centre, near *Praça de Espanha*. When she was young she was used to being the only black girl in her group of friends and she grew up disconnected from the black communities of the city. At university, she discovered how difficult it was for her to connect with other black people both from Lisbon peripheries and the students from PALOP countries in exchange programs. She recognized her own racism and she decided to start a new way of living by engaging with other black people. In 2017, the DJASS association won a municipal ban that led to the project of a slavery memorial designed by the Angolan artist Kiluanji Kia Henda that will be built soon in a symbolic square of Lisbon centre.

The practical operations

In order to construct a choral representation of the city, I conducted nondirective interviews using a minimal interview schema (Essed, 1991b). I prepared a few open-ended questions based on the main clusters of information I wished to explore leaving my interviewees to make free associations and to speak freely (the overview schema of the interviews is extensively described in Annex I of the dissertation Appendix). The first clusters of information I wished to explore were:

- Their perception of the residential places of black people within the Lisbon Metropolitan Area;
- And the geography of places of work, lines of transports and public spaces mostly used by black people in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, in particular, their personal relationship to them;

As for these first two conceptual knots, I also asked the respondents to sketch their answers using different colours on a A4 pre-printed map of the metropolitan area that I always brought with me. Only few of them accepted the drawing challenge and three of the sketches collected are presented in the text.

The second two clusters of information I wished to explore were:

- Their perception about the role of race in defining someone's place in the city;
- And the double play of race and gender in defining their urban experience.

I transcribed a total of 20 hours of interviews; all the integral texts in Portuguese are collected in Annex II. The excerpts that I present in the text of this chapter were translated from Portuguese to English by me and were chosen after a number of text examinations. I made a collage of common themes and recurrent episodes and the decision on which data was relevant and which not, was based on both the interviewee's definition and a comparison with other relevant cases and with my personal knowledge of the city urban development⁵⁶. In particular, the analysis addresses the sense of place of these women connecting their personal narratives to the wider literature about Lisbon's recent history, especially regarding the urban changes of the last six decades (see Chapter 3).

As I have already highlighted before (in particular in Chapters 2 and 3), the city of Lisbon lends itself perfectly to a study on the juxtaposition of urban representations and memories. It was the centre of a wide colonial empire in Africa, it has always been an important port city and a diaspora hub over the Atlantic ocean, and today it is the capital of a European democratic country that claims to represent itself as open and multicultural. On the contrary, through the specific point of view of black women, it is possible to pick a number of important details and essential pieces to understand the city and to better articulate its image and memory. Indeed, focusing on marginal and marginalized perspectives is an invitation to listen to those who have a "special vantage point" (hooks, 1984: 15). Black women symbolically inhabit a space that overlaps the edges of race and gender since they are non-men and non-white. They are the "other of the other" (Kilomba, 2008: 56) and from their speeches, one can enrich and reassemble pieces of Lisbon urban reality that would otherwise be lost.

⁵⁶ I arrived in Lisbon in 2014 as a student of Architecture and Urbanism in order to finalize my Master Degree. Since then, I have always been interested in the urban structure of the city and I built my personal bibliography of reference. Moreover, I have constantly lived in Lisbon, both in the city centre and in the peripheries, namely in Amadora.

SHADES OF PLACENESS

In this part of my spatial exploration of race, I focus on the concept of *place*. Place is intended here as one of the dimension of the tripartite spatial framework proposed in Chapter 1. Place always intersects with sociocultural expectations (Cresswell, 1996: 8), it is lived space made up of spatial practices and is phenomenologically experienced (Low, 2017: 12). The concept of place is used in the sense of a space that is inhabited and appropriated through the attribution of personal and group meanings, feelings, sensory perceptions and understanding (Cresswell, 2015; Sen & Silverman, 2014). Here, I summarise a few critical insights on the concept of place in order to illuminate the following lines of analysis of respondents' urban accounts.

In 1976, the humanistic geographer Edward Relph published the book *Place and Placelessness* in which he called into question the taken-for-granted nature of place and its significance as an inescapable dimension of human life and experience. Since Relph's publication, there has been a spate of studies on the nature of place. In addition, thinkers from a broad range of perspectives – from positivist and neo-Marxist to post-structuralist and social-constructivist – have drawn on the idea of place, though understanding it in different ways and using it for different theoretical and practical ends (Cresswell, 2004; Seamon, 2000). Relph's contribution remained particularly pivotal regarding the research method in the interpretive study of human experience in space – that he defined “a phenomenology of place” (Relph, 1976: 4-7) – and his elucidation of “insideness” and “outsideness”.

Relph effectively demonstrates that the concepts of insideness and outsideness are the core lived structures of place as they have meaning in human life. If a person feels inside a place, s/he is here rather than there, safe rather than threatened, enclosed rather than exposed, at ease rather than stressed. Relph suggests that the more profoundly inside a place a person feels, the stronger his/her identity with that place will be. On the other hand, a person can be separated or alienated from a place. People can feel some sort of lived division or separation between themselves and the world. The crucial phenomenological point is that outsideness and insideness constitute a fundamental dialectic in human life. Through varying combinations and intensities of outsideness and insideness, different places take on different identities for different individuals and groups, and human experience takes on different qualities of feeling, meaning, ambience and action (Seamon & Sowers, 2008).

In his book *In place, out of place* (1996), Cresswell considered the concept of outsideness when it is constructed from the exterior referring to the disruptive effects and revolutionary potential of stances socially considered 'out of place'.

His logic follows a path. Place is a fundamental form of classification since we differentiate through place between 'us' and 'them', 'in' and 'out', 'central' and 'marginal'. The process of differentiation through which 'others' are created is a basic ideological mechanism. Ideological beliefs, to be effective, must connect thought to action, theory to practice, the abstract to the concrete. Place, as it is the material context of our lives, forces us to make interpretations and act accordingly.

Thus, place contributes to the creation and reproduction of action-oriented (ideological) beliefs (Cresswell, 1996: 161). Actions in space can be seen as a reading of a text and because the reading is particularly visible, uncommon readings immediately draw attention to themselves. People acting 'out of place' suggest different interpretations. If enough people follow suit for a considerable amount of time, there is even the possibility that a whole new conception of 'normality' may arise. In effect, the reading of people acting in space is also a kind of writing, as new meanings are formed (de Certeau, 1984). The consumption of place becomes the production of place.

In the following lines, I propose an analysis of respondents' urban narrations based on these theoretical premises. I unpacked it in five subsections each addressing a specific sense of place. My aim is to cover the wide range of themes that emerged in our conversations while focusing on the most critical details. The sense of being out of place is the one that emerges mostly within the women that live in the city centre while the burden of stereotypes is mostly narrated by the ones that live in the periphery. The sense of loss is recalled by the ones that experienced – first-hand or through the family and community memories – the demolition of informal neighbourhoods and the relocation programs, while the invisibility of the female cleaning workers force is acknowledged by all of them. Another theme that emerges transversally is the reference to a certain 'other' geography, the conjunction of specific trajectories of the city, made of public (or publicly used) places of leisure connotated by the black presence and the development of a specific black place-making. In general, the disruptive intensity of certain black and female stances considered within the whole geography of Lisbon turns up as the most interesting point on which to reflect.

OUT OF PLACE

« I was born in a little village in the north of Portugal and I have always been the only black woman everywhere. At college, for instance, you can't be too good, you should always be good "more or less", you should always be in *that place*: never much above them [white Portuguese], rather a bit lower, and, most

importantly, you have to know which is *your place* [...] I moved to Lisbon with the idea of “ooh I am going to multicultural Lisbon”, “people are open-minded”. But the truth is that it’s not like I had imagined. Black communities are very segregated in areas where white people don’t want to go. » (Mariama, emphasis added by the author as for all the following excerpts)

Mariama is new to Lisbon, she moved there six months before our conversation. Her perspective is extremely interesting because a certain social memory of the city speaks through her individual experience. For example, she remembers that when she was looking for a house to rent:

« People looked at me and said, “you know what? If you want, you can go live in Amadora!”...but this is modern segregation, in my opinion, if you can distinguish between areas for blacks and areas for whites... »
(Mariama)

In searching for a house to rent in Lisbon as well as at university, Mariama feels that people allude to a certain (physical and abstract) place to which apparently she *belongs*. This material and immaterial place concerns her as a social subject, a black woman. She feels that she cannot have the best position both at the university and in the city. It is suggested to her to search for an apartment in the periphery, as the place *for* her.

Mariama’s account emphasizes a clearly detectable situation in the metropolitan structure of Lisbon: the majority of black people live in the suburbs (Malheiros, 1998; Vala et al., 1999: 130; Fonseca, 2008: 78; Malheiros & Fonseca, 2011). As we have already seen, immigration has literally built the Amadora municipality (for more details see Chapter 3). Firstly people from the inner rural regions, then, people from Portuguese former colonies in Africa – from the 1960s onwards – occupied its free lands due to the proximity to the city centre (Salgueiro, 1972: 32-37). Since the 1980s, Amadora has become the municipality with the largest Cape Verdean population in Portugal⁵⁷. Over time, the massive and spontaneous settlements were substituted with social housing but the black composition of the municipality remains the most characterizing feature of the area which is known as the “land of blacks” (Pozzi, 2020).

⁵⁷ Non-nationals make up around 10% of Amadora’s total inhabitants and people from PALOPs – Angola, Cape Verde, Guinea Bissau, Mozambique and São Tomé and Príncipe – are 76% of the foreigners (CLAS Amadora, 2017: 5).



FIGURE 22
 ON A PRE-PRINTED MAP OF THE LISBON METROPOLITAN AREA,
 THE INTERVIEWEE HIGHLIGHTED THE AREAS OF RESIDENCE OF BLACKS IN LIGHT GREY
 AND THOSE WHERE BLACKS WORK IN DARK GREY
 (SOURCE: SKETCH BY ARIANA, 08/08/2019)

In literature it is widely recognised that race and the urban space often combine as vectors of segregation (see, for instance, Nightingale, 2012). Moreover, if we consider racial segregation as not the mere spatial separation of groups that are racially deemed, but rather as the unequal imposition of a divided spatial order (Picker, 2017: 23), the metropolitan space of Lisbon will appear marked by strong internal frontiers. What emerges are « invisible barriers, between the centre and the margins » (Evalina) and their existence pushes one to question the meaning of crossing and contesting these hidden lines of separation.

« We have always lived in the centre of Lisbon. At school, for instance, we were always the only black people [...] I knew that we were an exception and that blacks did not live in the centre. There was a *clear separation*. » (Beatriz)

Beatriz remembers having been accepted in groups of white folks only because she was considered in a sort of “place of exception”. The *disruptive* nature of her unconventional position within the urban structure always challenged an unmentionable but taken for granted geography of the city.

« Those of us who live in the centre constantly have to *justify our presence*. There is always an implicit question like: why are you *here*? » (Evalina)

Being 'out of place' means that you are occupying a space that is not presumed to be yours and that there is another certain space that is believed to be yours. However, since disturbing the habit means questioning the habit itself, a number of unexpected possibilities emerge from the 'out of place' position and it can even turn into a conscious form of resistance.

« When I had the economic possibility of leaving my parents' home in the suburbs, I wanted to live in the centre. I think I am the only black person in these buildings over here. There are specific places for us, but I prefer to live in the centre and to *mark my presence here*. » (Helena)

THE PLACE OF STEREOTYPES

«...police often enter the neighbourhood, stop and search people. I have been stopped and searched many times. They searched my car, too. "We are doing our job, you have to let us do our job," they say. Although many times their job does not make any sense to me. They go straight there only because it's a *bairro social* [social neighbourhood] and we always have to give in, because if they don't get you for one thing they'll get you for something else. So, I let them search the car cause I have nothing to hide, and thus ends faster, but it started to get annoying for me over time. And once I asked a policeman that stopped and searched me and my car, "why are you doing that?", he answered, "You behave badly", and I asked him back, "*who* are you talking about when you say 'you'? I never did anything against the law" and he replied, "*You. You who live here, in this neighbourhood...*". Thus, it became suddenly clear to me: where someone lives can define whether you are a suspect or not, a threat or not. » (Maria)

Maria tells about her daily experience of a "state of police" in her neighbourhood. She was born in Cape Verde and grew up there; she arrived in Lisbon in 2006 when she was 18 years old. She currently lives in the western suburbs (*Bairro dos Navegadores*, Oeiras, Figure 22) just on the railway line that connects the centre of Lisbon with Cascais. Cascais is one of the most touristic spots of the metropolitan area. In between the two poles there are several social

neighbourhoods mostly inhabited by black people (just as happens between Lisbon and Sintra, see Figure 5 in the introduction).



FIGURE 23
BAIRRO DOS NAVEGADORES, OEIRAS, LMA
(SOURCE: PHOTO BY OEIRAS MUNICIPALITY)

« These places are always portrayed as *ghettos*, sites of violence and drug trafficking where people are not doing their duties as workers. There is a whole narrative around these places that criminalizes the people who live there. » (Lucia)

Literature confirms that in Lisbon, over time, marginal spaces interacted with racially marginalized social groups in a spiral of mutual devaluation and continuous reproduction of stereotypes (Malheiros, 1998; Carreiras, 2018). This overlapping between people and places refers to a mental map of the city unconsciously shared by the majority, a clear but indefinable urban geography of separation.

« When there is a problematic situation in a neighbourhood, it appears millions of times in the newspaper, “gipsies versus blacks”, “the neighbourhood was locked by police”, etcetera... Finally, this gets ingrained in people’s minds. Usually, there is only negative news associated with these places. There is an *over-visibility* when it comes to negative issues. » (Ariana)

The interviewees that highlight more clearly the excessive space that the media gives to bad news about black neighbourhoods are the ones who were born in Lisbon and have always lived in the suburbs. In particular, it is stressed the effects of the media's critical role that instead of limiting negative stereotypes nourishes them.

« Your address serves you to get a job or not to get a job. Your address puts you in a certain place; it defines the type of person you are. Your address is associated with you and determines whether you are dangerous or not. *Everything depends on your address.* » (Lucia)

The kind of discrimination that seems to arise is called 'postcode discrimination'. The phenomenon is widely known in literature with regards to racial inequalities within the job market and deeply studied in contexts such as the UK and US metropolitan areas. Curiously, also in Lisbon it seems that it is possible to establish "who you are" through the "place where you live" and depending on this, certain job opportunities are open to one, or not. The place that one occupies (peripheral), the image of that place (negative) joins the racial stereotype (black) in a circuit of complication and deterioration of many aspects of one's life. A life that becomes marginal and marginalized through the concurrence of these processes.

BEFORE/AFTER: THE MEMORY OF THE LOSS

Assuming the existence of a certain dynamic, centre/margins in the articulation of the Lisbon metropolitan area – being aware that sometimes the margins are in the inner city and certain centres in the peripheries – the *temporal dimension* achieves a crucial significance. Over time, the urban growth and its consequences on the value of building lands have constantly pushed the dividing line a little further between the main centre and the rest. Indeed, this boundary is not fixed; rather it follows the largest urban transformations. However, the flexibility of its position – and of its relative position to the city centre – is opposed to the fixity of its function: separating and dividing the inside from the outside.

« The *peripheralization* – this exclusion of people from the centre – is strictly linked to the way in which the city itself is organized, who belongs and who does not. Black people are in the city centre only to work but they are not in the centre to inhabit it. » (Beatriz)

During the 1960s the first immigrants from African colonies – mainly unskilled Cape Verdean workers brought to Lisbon to work on public construction projects (Góis, 2008: 12) – settled in the area of São Bento (Malheiros, 2000)

which today is a renewed central area (see Chapter 3 for further analysis on that). Soon, the area became inadequate for the Cape Verdean workers since they managed to bring their families « little by little as it is when there are no economic sources » (Helena) and they started to construct informal neighbourhoods in the first ring outside the city centre (Fonseca, 2008; Malheiros, 1998, 2011), as we have already seen, for instance, in the case of Amadora. Today, little pieces of these settlements remain, the majority of them were destroyed, others are still under demolition and a few others seem to resist the eradication.

In trying to explain the reasons why black people started to be concentrated in certain areas, all my interviewees agree that it was due to the availability and the low value of lands in certain areas as well as by the practice of mutual help in constructing the houses.

« When a person arrived here, always arrived with an address in his or her hand. The address of *someone ready to help*. Usually the person ended up setting up there or nearby » (Lucia)

A generalized non-control of the housing market during the Salazar regime provided the ideal context for an illegal market to emerge (Malheiros, 2000): lands with no building permits were rented or even sold at very low prices without warning of the prohibition (Salgueiro, 1972: 37). It involved, in particular, the transfer of informal dwellings from the rural migrants to the newcomers from Africa and it boosted after 1975 with the massive migratory flow that followed the decolonization process.

« My parents bought a house from people originally from Algarve. It was a beautiful house, we had a lovely yard. The house was on three floors with a living room, bedrooms and all the commodities. But then we had to leave it because the house was apparently illegal; it was constructed on a land without a building license. *Then*, our house was pulled down. » (Ana M.)

In 1993, the Special Programme of Rehousing (*Programa Especial de Realojamento* – PER) was enacted and its two main objectives – the eradication of the slums and the relocation of the inhabitants in new housings – started to be progressively implemented.

« They wanted to *clean up* the urban space. Thus, they meticulously removed people from there. From their [the authorities] perspective people who were there, unable to pay rents, were just *occupying* space. » (Maria)

« I think that the main objective was just to *erase* the ugly image of the shantytowns that were observed when flying over the city. » (Ana M.)

Indeed, in 1993, when one landed in Portela airport, the informal settlements of *Bairro da Quinta da Vitória* and *Bairro da Torre* were the first areas at sight. The first image of the city was a set of self-built, non-planned and disordered neighbourhoods (Alves, 2021). The chief role played by law enforcement and by violent institutional practices in conducting the destruction of buildings and the subsequent people relocation (Pozzi, 2017) confirms that, in practice, the principle of urban hygienization prevailed above any other objective. More than 20 000 households were rehoused in the LMA (Tulumello et al., 2018). However, the application of the programme generated a general critical standpoint for which the intensive construction of social housing created new exclusions rather than solving the existent problems (Malheiros, 2000; Carreiras, 2018). It destroyed the social fabric and it forced people into new neighbourhood conditions in new isolated social projects.

A shared 'sense of loss' emerges from all the accounts that describe this huge urban transformation grounded in the opposition before/after.

« The atmosphere in the [informal] neighbourhood was amazing. We had Portuguese neighbours, from the Azores and Madeira, Indians neighbours, Gypsies neighbours, neighbours from São Tomé, Angola and Mozambique, like us. It was a *panoply of everything* on that street, but then everything was dispersed. We were re-located. Once we arrived in the new social housing project, we tried anything to move from there. » (Ana M.)

The new projects are recognizable in the metropolitan landscape of Lisbon: anonymous concrete blocks divided into apartments.

« In architectural terms, the social neighbourhoods are all the same: they have one entrance, one exit, the main avenue and some parallels. The relocation process starts on one side proceeding gradually to the other. » (Ana M.)

Ilhas [islands] and *bolsas* [pockets] are the words that respondents used most often in order to define the social neighbourhoods that resulted from the PER programme implementation.

« On the rail line, you will find many islands, completely in the middle of nowhere, isolated from everything. » (Ariana)

« They are like pockets of concentration, they are areas of difficult access, they are poor neighbourhoods, houses of the resettlement. » (Liliana)

The inhabitants of the slums, mostly black people, lost the places where they were settled and rooted and they were roughly relocated to more isolated areas. However, the memory of those demolished places resonates in the current everyday experience of the housing projects in a kind of active resistance to oblivion.

« ...in Casal da Boba [which is a social neighbourhood that received people from various slums] people identified with their neighbourhoods of origin. That is, “I am from Mina”, “I am from Fontainhas”, and people were still socially divided according to the neighbourhoods from which they had come from. » (Lucia)

THE INVISIBILITY OF CLEANING

In every interview I conducted, the discourse of the centrality of workplaces turned up, in one way or another, in opposition to the marginality of residential areas. « We, black women, do not work in the place where we live, that’s for sure » commented Ana. I asked all my interviewees if it was possible to identify the areas where black people mostly work and all of them, without hesitation, answered my question pointing to the city centre.

« If we talk about black women, almost all of us work in the centre of Lisbon. If you go on the first boat, which leaves the southern bank at around five-thirty in the morning, you will see that it is completely black. The first buses, the first trains are all full of black people. » (Liliana)

« On Bus 717 – which goes from Praça do Chile to Fetais – after a certain point, nearby Areeiro, the population of the bus becomes completely black » (Helena)

A daily flow of black people shines through the words of all my interviewees: early in the morning from the margins to the centre, late in the night back to the margins. It reminded me of the experience that I had on the Sintra Line train (that I related in the Introduction) and, through my respondents’ words, I understood that many buses and trains were so strongly connotated in terms of use during the day. Dwelling-places, workplaces and their connections by public

transport within the Lisbon Metropolitan Area are articulated in a thick urban net and strongly characterized by categories of gender and race.



FIGURE 24

ON A PRE-PRINTED MAP OF THE LMA, THE INTERVIEWEE ROUGHLY MARKED THE TRAJECTORIES OF COMMUTING FOR WORK FROM THE SUBURBS TO THE CENTRE
(SOURCE: SKETCH BY BEATRIZ, 01/08/2019)



FIGURE 25

ON A PRE-PRINTED MAP OF THE LMA, THE INTERVIEWEE MARKED THE TWO MAIN RAILWAY LINES OF GREATER LISBON (SINTRA LINE ON THE NORTH-WEST AND CASCAIS LINE ON THE WEST COAST) AND INDICATES WITH DOTS THE BLACK NEIGHBORHOODS AROUND THEM
(SOURCE: SKETCH BY MARIA, 11/07/2019)

« When there are public transport strikes, the population that suffers the most is the black one. The biggest transport hubs of the city – such as Campo Grande, Entrecampos, Areeiro, Cais do Sodré – are places where people that have to cross more than one municipality have to change means of transport (boat-train, train-bus, boat-bus) from the centre to the peripheries, and vice-versa. Today, in addition to the issue of race, there is a gender issue on certain public transport, at certain times. » (Ana M.)

« Most of them are the women who work in cleansing, the black women who go to clean the offices before others start to work, the women who leave at 9 o'clock when the others enter the offices» (Evalina)

In literature about the job market in Lisbon it is confirmed that black women are (still) over-represented in unskilled jobs such as cleaning work (Pereira, 2008, 2013). They are the « invisible » by all the accounts. In all the conversations, indeed, the theme of *invisibility* arises referring to these cleaning women that are constantly in the city centre but whose presence seems to pass unnoticed to the majority.

« The women you can meet on the Sintra train line are *invisible* women, they go early to work cleaning, they leave before 9 am when the others start, and voilà! *They don't exist* » (Lucia)

A critical point to consider is the total lack of recognition that this kind of job – and people who practice it – receive in opposition to the essential function of their work, the cleansing of shared spaces.

« The most shocking thing is that even when they work next to other people, people do not see them, *people avoid looking at them.* » (Mariama)

« Usually cleaning women work both in companies and in private houses. The companies salary is quite low, between 2,5 and 3 euros per hour; thus many of them combine several jobs. » (Liliana)

« My mother worked in cleaning. It is not an eight-hour straight job, it is a combination of various three-hour jobs. Because of such organization, we grew up mostly without her presence. When we were in Angola, she was always with us, she had her own business there, but here things changed. It happens to so many people and it is really problematic cause of why mothers are unable to accompany the growth of their children. »
(Helena)

The fragmented nature of cleaning work, the overworking, exhaustion, and the daily facing of the *inadequacy* of the support system all around – such as transport networks, for instance – emerge, transversally.

« Imagine a cleaning lady who works in three different places, and in the last place she ends at midnight, it is unlikely that she will have public transport to come back home. This creates a paradoxical situation in which she already receives a low salary, but she is forced to buy a car in order to keep the work that pays her such a small amount. » (Ana T.)

From these reports, two needs come out. On the one hand, the urgency of denouncing the difficulties that arise from these kinds of work conditions, and on the other hand, that of engaging with this specific perspective regarding the urban geography. Indeed, cleaning women are carriers of a particular urban knowledge. Their daily trajectories intersect different places of the city – public or private offices, family houses, schools, universities, supermarkets, and museums etcetera. They cross the city centre every day, but they mostly live on its margins. They are the thin presence of the interiors and the alternate flux that crosses the outdoor urban space, from the margins to the centre, and from the centre to the margins, every day.

EVERYDAY BLACK PUBLIC SPACES

During our conversations, a reference to public spaces, or publicly used spaces, was never missing. I questioned my interviewees about public spaces mostly lived and/or crossed by black folks, considering public space in its broader sense: indoor and outdoor spaces integrally or actually public.

As far as for the centre « There is a long history of black presence that is not told » affirmed Beatriz, who also joins the promoters of the project for the construction of the “Memorial to the victims of slavery” which will be built in a

very central square⁵⁸. A thin thread that links past and present passes through certain public spaces of the city centre currently marked by blacks' presence. A system of three squares – Rossio, Largo de São Domingos and Martim Moniz – combine in the most “African setting of Lisbon centre” (Henriques, 2011; Rigal, 2015).

« The concentration of African people in Rossio is very old. Then, it turned into a meeting point for documentation: the newcomers went there to find out about the necessary papers, and to have general information from the elders. » (Evalina)

Largo de São Domingos, right on the north side of Rossio square, is today considered a kind of *jornal falado*⁵⁹ [a spoken newspaper] – news from Africa in the middle of Lisbon. It also functions as a small outdoor market for typical African products. Since the XVII century, the church of the square has hosted the oldest black confraternity of Portugal (*Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos*). The memory of the religious importance of this place is being lost but the site continues to be a symbol of this secular presence, transmitted from generation to generation (Henriques, 2011: 77; for further analysis on this square see Chapter 5).

Fifty metres from there, there is Martim Moniz, a post-modern square that attracted lots of African immigrants during the 1980s, together with immigrants from Bangladesh and China. The arcades on the east side host several African hair-salons as well as electronic shops run by Asian people. The shop windows are full of advertisement in different languages – Creole, Chinese and Hindi (Oliveira, 2012).

« When I want to buy *comida da terra* [typical food from my own country of origin] we come to Martim Moniz. There is a store where you can find cod, banana-bread and muamba. » (Helena)

Also the mosques around the metropolitan area are « points of reference for the Black Muslim community – Guineans, Senegalese and Mozambicans » (Ana M). In the Lisbon Metropolitan Area there are 9 mosques and more than 25 places of worship⁶⁰. They are important not only for religious matters but also as physical knots which are able to produce important social networks (McGarrigle, 2015; Dias, 2019). Apart from mosques, we find another type of

⁵⁸ <https://www.memorialescravatura.com/> (accessed on June 9th, 2021)

⁵⁹ <https://www.publico.pt/2013/01/27/jornal/ouvem-chorar-as-pedras-queimadas-25918591> (accessed on May 25th, 2020)

⁶⁰ <http://halal.pt/myihp/locais-de-culto/> (accessed on 2nd September, 2021).

black public spaces more or less 'cultural' but critical in the whole black urban dynamic.

« Each social neighbourhood has its own common space, usually, there is an association or a bar where young black people hang out. They are *safe spaces* while the Lisbon centre is considered unsafe by black youth. At night, for example, they are more likely to be stopped by the police in the city centre. » (Lucia)

The issue of *security* takes on a double and mirrored meaning. Black majority residential areas are commonly considered dangerous by the majority of white people and represented as such by the media. However, they are also the secure places for young blacks, « where whites do not arrive » (Ana T.). Thus, two opposite discourses on security, facing each other, mark the invisible line that divides the inside from the outside, on both sides.

Finally, other public spaces emerge as landmarks in this black urban net. Certain shopping malls of the metropolitan area, located near the social neighbourhoods, for instance, are crossed and lived by black people every day. Some shops are even run by black people « Babilonia is the best reference. An organized black economy that works. All the shops are somehow "Afro" there. » (Helena)



FIGURE 26
CENTRO COMERCIAL BABILONIA
(SOURCE: PHOTO BY SARA MATOS/GLOBAL IMAGENS)

However, in some other shopping centres, like those located in the noble peripheries – the ones that are not considered marginal and/since are predominantly inhabited by whites – the presence of black people can be felt as an extraordinary fact, a disruptive event that can produce unexpected reactions, even police intervention.

« This is the biggest problem of this whole urban geography. *When someone tries to pierce this geography*, things like that of Vasco da Gama happen. » (Lucia)

Vasco da Gama shopping mall is located in the eastern periphery inside the recent neighbourhood of *Parco das Nações* [Nations' Park]. The entire neighbourhood was planned, designed and constructed in the occasion of the international exposition of 1998 (Expo'98) to host all the activities of the event and being integrally part of the exposition with its cutting-edge architectures. While the construction workers were mainly black people, today the residents of the neighbourhood are predominantly white rich and middle-class individuals.

In 2014, a group of black youths organized a big meeting in the shopping mall that serves all the area. The meeting was launched using social networks and

many young people, mostly black young people, joined the encounter. However, the presence of the crowd of black youths, somehow unusual for the area in which was held, generated a great controversy. Police was called by residents and shops tenants to intervene. And the law enforcements went so far as to disperse the crowd and then prevent all black people from entering the shopping mall that day.

CONCLUSIONS OF CHAPTER 4

In this chapter, I have presented an analysis of the urban narrations of ten black women who participated in the in-depth sessions. With this empirical operation, my main objective was that of including marginal urban narratives in the representation of Lisbon, exploring the possibility of grasping the edges of black urban geography and that of going deeper in some of the issues that had emerged in the previous chapter. The reduced number of the in-depth interviews has been essential in order to enter the details of the urban narrations analysed and not render any given information as shallow. The words of the ten black women interviewed do not define any black geography of the city, not even all the correspondences within their experiences. However, the individual accounts of urban life by marginalized and racialized subjects is helpful in creating a more articulated and complex idea of the urban dynamics (1), to comprehend historical legacies of the current urban reality (2), and to acknowledge the moments of rupture of an invisible – but effective – urban geography of separation (3).

In the first section, I focused on the concept of margins and I presented my method. First, I demonstrated that in order to engage with the concepts of margins, marginality and marginalization without falling into the vagueness of their notion, a re-contextualization of spaces and a re-subjectivation of people is necessary. Drawing on a wide range of critical insights – picked from different lines of inquiry such as human geography, feminist theory and urban anthropology – I have explained my perspective. I defined spaces of the margins as contested, relationally built and as places of potentialities. Marginal and marginalized spaces emerge as in relationship with the centre – not a disconnection to it – and as the result of a number of social constructions both from inside and outside. I have interpreted people of the margins as entangled, resistant and collective. Indeed, marginal/marginalized subjects are simultaneously subjects in their own specificity and voices of a chorus. A social refrain resounds through the narration of the individual experience. Then, I have presented my interviewees in two distinct ways. I started by highlighting (objectively) their points of contact and differences such as their country of origin, place of birth, place of residence (centre/periphery), age, profession etcetera, and then I introduced how we met and, in particular, how each of them contributed to the work that I presented in the second part of the chapter.

The second section was devoted to the analysis of their narrations by focusing on the concept of place and in particular, the sense of place. I explained how the *everyday urban experience* turns up as the fundamental basis of the urban knowledge developed here, together with the *social memory* of the city. The concept of place was intended as an integral part of the tripartite spatial framework mentioned from the very beginning of this dissertation. In

particular, place regards the sentimental dimension of space, the individual and social meanings attached to certain spaces produce places. The personal feeling of being (considered) inside or outside a certain place was expanded in the five subsections in which I split the analysis, together with the sense of the loss, various forms of resistance and the disruptive effect of certain spatial stances.

The chapter contributes to the overall goals of the dissertation by enriching the understanding of the spatial organization of race in the city of Lisbon with personal accounts by people that experience racial bodily processes every day. The analysis of these urban narratives suggests three conceptual antitheses: centre/margins, visible/invisible, self/other. What emerged is the astonishing congruence of the lines in the background: a common urban geography that entraps and resonates in the words of all of them. It seems there is a common source of knowledge of the city, *a common (black) mental map* made up of shared memories as well as everyday experiences.

If on the one hand, this city narrative is questioned and fought since it is considered the result of structural inequalities, discrimination and racism. On the other hand, the black mental map of the city is also assumed and practised in its various trajectories and vibrates in the essence of “being local”, or rather “being that (black woman) local”. This – imagined, perceived, felt – geography lies beneath the multiple urban routes of these black women. It is never graspable, never definable, never contestable, except *when someone steps out of his/her supposed place*. It is in the disruptive moments that the edges of this fuzzy black geography come into focus. When someone breaks its invisible borders, the whole geography comes to the surface.

ENGAGING WITH THE MARGINS

The urban narrations analysis developed in this chapter brings one to reflect on a few main issues that aroused in the building of the conceptual framework as well as in the interviews. Here, I try to summarize into a few points the challenges launched by this kind of exploration.

- The concept of margins risks being hard to operate in scientific research without a deeper and more flexible understanding of spaces and people of the margins;
- Marginal – or marginalized – spaces are contested, relationally built and places of potentialities, while marginal – or marginalized – people are entangled, resistant and collective;
- The critical instance of collecting the voices of these kinds of subjects is that of combining personal and biographical urban accounts with wider social narratives and trajectories;

- The everyday experience together with urban memories are the basis on which it is possible to construct an innovative source of knowledge of the city and, in this specific case, its relation with race mechanisms and gendered functioning;
- The operation of collecting a restricted number of in-depth interviews seem to be effective to achieve the right extensiveness of analysis and to not lose important details;
- The group of respondents needs to show an objective heterogeneity (age, social class, profession, life trajectory) in order to emphasize the points of contact of the narratives produced by and the result of the commonalities (gender and blackness);
- The focus on the concept of place, and in particular on the sense of place, in the analysis of urban narrations, helps one to grasp the feeling and social representation of the spaces mentioned, beyond the economic and political aspects;
- However, a constant reference to the literature about the urban trajectory of Lisbon provides the crucial link between the biographical accounts and the macro-processes of urban changes;
- The urban narrations presented here vary among a number of different themes; sometimes intensifying, other times questioning, critical binary concepts such as inside/outside; self/other; visible/invisible; in place/out of place; before/after etcetera;
- The black geography of the city emerges not from a well-edged common frame but similar to the negative of a photograph: it is when someone occupies a place that is not supposed to be occupied by that someone that the geography of separation materializes.

On the one hand, these are certainly urban geographies of exclusion made up of visible and invisible borders, while on the other hand, however, a number of uncommon trajectories of opportunity and contact emerge that make one – either observer, researcher, or inhabitant – question articulations between the city structures and race and gender processes, in a more complex way.

CHAPTER 5

Visual materialities and urban imagery

ABSTRACT

The aim of this chapter is to deepen the analysis of visual materialities of specific urban places in order to uncover processes of urban racialization as well as spatial practices of resistance to it. I propose an empirical operation that aims precisely to combine the visual with the material – an analysis of space and race materiality through online digital means of visualization. Race and space are interpreted as socio-material categories that interconnect and mutually constitute the realm of the visible. The analysis of visual supports such as online satellite and street-view images of specific city places permits one to read race spatial processes prioritizing the examination of material urban elements. However, the application of digital means of investigation does not come without critical constraints which require engaging in a first-hand experience of the places analysed and endorsing on a supportive knowledge. Thanks to a detailed content analysis of Google imagery is possible to detect how urban racialization performs in disguised ways: omission, erasure, displacement, replacement, impoverishment, and ghettoization. The absence, the extremely poor quality as well as the anonymity of urban materials enact as vectors of racialization. On the other hand, spatial resistance can take the shape of ephemeral green architectures or temporary street artworks, but it manages to limit the consequences of racialization and to materialize alternative futures.

INTRODUCTION TO CHAPTER 5

The aim of this chapter is to reveal the complexly-layered materiality that emerges out of the analysis of specific places of the city through means of digital visualisation. The specific contribution of this chapter to the overall discussion of the dissertation is the demonstration of how the visible materiality of race spatial processes can be detected by making evident dissimulated racialization processes as well as spatial practices of resistance. This is the last knot of the rope, the last conceptual tangle addressed in the discussion and its central empirical contribution.

In Chapter 3, through a systematic literature review, I demonstrated how the implementation of specific housing policies of the last six years can be considered as the main driver of processes of urban racialization through marginalization of black people across the Lisbon Metropolitan Area. In Chapter 4, thanks to the material collected through the in-depth interviews carried out with a selected group of ten black women, I analysed the biographical urban narratives to highlight the embodied experience of race and gender within the urban context and to grasp the edges of a material and immaterial black geography of the city. Here, in this last chapter, I deepen a significantly empirical level of exploration by finally scrutinizing the *matter* of race and space and how their interconnection is embedded in the domain of the visible.

In the last years, the materiality of the 'social' and the 'urban' has been gradually reaffirmed in new ways in a range of disciplines. Race emerges in space and in its materiality. A socio-material approach allows one to consider race and the urban space as critical categories made of both abstract and tangible elements – representations, norms but also bodies and objects. Each subjective embodied experience of both race and space is actually intimately related to the larger social system of the body politic in which one is inscribed. And the visible is the field in which the city and the racialized subject mutually constitute each other.

These theoretical assumptions suggests a practical consequence: in a space-time imagined as dominantly white – such as that of Lisbon, and for extension that of Europe – blackness appears as a material and visible tracker of race's spatial processes. Among a wider number of urban spaces explored first-hand and regularly visited, I chose only a certain number of places – in which I assessed that race operates and functions more critically and visibly than in others – to develop a visual analysis of their materiality. I combined my personal experience with the knowledge acquired through both the existent literature and the informal interviews in order to select the places to present here.

Some areas of the metropolitan area of Lisbon are characterized by the visible presence of black people or by the historical connection with the black communities. Some others emerge as material signifiers of the black presence. Altogether they are relevant sites in which to explore urban articulations of race processes. The empirical operation that I implemented is based on the visual analysis of publicly available online Google imagery of these sites. This was born as a methodological alternative that I was exploring throughout the whole research process, but after the Covid-19 pandemic and the constraint of the lockdowns, it became an extremely useful tool to finalize the analysis without being physically present on the sites of investigation.

The chapter is structured as follows. I first delve into the operational framework that considers the visual and the material as key aspects of both race and space. I acknowledge race visual materiality as well as that of the urban space. Then, I mention the critical literature about the research practice of engaging with places at a distance to outline the ongoing conversation on digital visual methods and the pros and cons of their application. Next, I provide a content analysis of five compositions of Google Map satellite images and Google Street-View shots to narrate the visible materialities of specific places of the city.

In particular, I utilize the online images to visualize a central public square characterized by the presence of black people and the historical connection with them (i), a symbolic metropolitan route on the northern border that was fully occupied by black informal settlements that were completely demolished between 2009 and 2019 (ii), nine social neighbourhoods with a majority of black population (iii), the wise and ephemeral architectures of three informal urban gardens run by an old generation of black folks (iv) and, finally, a wide range of street artworks that represent black personalities or refer to the global and local black struggle (v).

Ultimately, these means of visualization shows dissimulated ways of urban racialization emerging. Omission, erasure, displacement, replacement, impoverishment and ghettoization are some of the ways in which processes of spatial racialization crystallize within the urban landscape. This study also considers black practices of spatial resistance and black spaces that serve as transformative spaces to excavate historical injustices and may envision and materialize alternative futures for Lisbon architecture and urban development – and, for extension, for the European space.

THE MATTER OF RACE IN SPACE

The 'material turn' that occurred in the last decades in social science academic circles can be seen as a reaction to the previous 'discursive turn' initiated by poststructuralism's crises of representation, and basically looks at the roles that objects play in human action as well as signification. In other words, it is a call to look at the *materials* of our experience in the world. Most things are socially constructed – like money or mountains – but the matter is not indifferent in their construction. As an emerging trend with multiple sources and faces, this 'material turn' varies between disciplines and touches diverse points but it has common roots in a re-interpretation of the Marxist framework of historical materialism as well as in Foucault's analysis of political embodiment.

The 'material turn' in disciplines such as such as geography, urban studies, architectural theory, anthropology or history emerged together with the growing interest (in part because of climate change) in how the natural world is entangled with social practices. Among other new orientations of research, five main lines can be identified: an object-based approach stemming out of Actor-Network Theory; a socio-material study of tools with a different object-centred approach rooted in psychoanalysis and object-relations; an aesthetic approach focusing on sensory and material properties of artefacts (often linked to art or design literature); embodiment perspectives involving the lived body (the gendered body, the racialized body, a phenomenology of being-in-the-world etc.) and materialist approaches based on critical theories that invoke a dialectical conception of society.

Here, my stance is to engage with the materiality of both race and space – or with the materiality of race *in* space – and draws principally on three main broader arguments. First, the socio-political system can be differentiated into distinct (although interlaced) elements, most of which should be thought of as a combination of both material and immaterial dimensions. Second, overall patterns of socio-political causality are determined by the material dimension of such elements. Third, certain elements of the socio-political order have the character they do independent of our personal will (Mills, 2010), or to put it more simply, our embodied experience is subjective but also intimately related to the larger social system of the body politic.

Adopting a socio-material approach, race and space can be conceived as elements consisting of both conceptual qualities and material thickness. Furthermore, I use their visual materialities as the field in which to analyse how the racialized subject and the urban space mutually constitute each other. In the next sections, I substantiate the previous arguments and I introduce the method implied in this final empirical exploration.

THE (VISUAL) MATERIALITY OF RACE

Despite I have already theoretically demonstrated that race is a “ready material” (see Chapter 1), here the question is *how one operationalizes its materiality*. Does it make sense, in terms of methodology, to think of race as material? If so, how, and what insights might this give up into the reading of its dynamics? On the one hand, the claim that race is constructed has long since become a cliché and the consensus in radical academia on this point conceived deep theoretical divergences on the nature of this construction (Mills, 2010). On the other hand, race is real though its reality is internal to certain schemas of social ontology that are themselves dependent on social practice (Alcoff, 1999).

Thus, acknowledging race materiality is not an argument for race in a naturalistic sense, but at least permits one to recognize important aspects of race processes. As I have already repeated throughout this dissertation, race does not represent natural biological limitations or evolutionary laws, it is not material in that sense which nurtured the traditional racist theory. Race is material since its effects are material and race as a matter is nothing more than a product of modernity. Capitalism, as it developed in the modern world, is intimately racist and racialized, although, race leans on a kind of materiality that does not necessarily coincide with that of racism – more abstract and presumably based on biology. Racial biological differentiation is superficial, but race – which is originally not material – has turned material in the modern era.

Thus, race is both temporalized and spatialized. For this reason, it makes sense to look at the global political economy and the history of colonialism for an understanding of why, where, when and how skin shades gained such ontological significance (Alcoff, 2010, 2012).

« To think of race as a sedimented history is to think of how race matters as matter. Something becomes sedimented, when it has settled, often near a barrier, as that which stops a flow. And race is precisely this: a congealing, a solidifying: a history that becomes concrete, a physical barrier in the present. » (Ahmed, 2015).

The black body has the significance it does today because of a particular sequence of historical events by virtue of which the black body becomes located in a larger body politic within which raised a specific significance. In one of the most famous treatments of black embodiment in the literature, *Peau noire, masques blancs* (1952), Fanon says that he is diagnosing a phenomenon of a particular historical specificity and that “the architecture of this world is rooted in the temporal” (Fanon, 1952 [1967]: 12). Blackness is a source of historical contingent fact, rather than one that is eternal throughout history (Mills, 2010). Recognising that race was produced at a specific time and is presently stuck is

essential to address the exceptionality of race as a socio-material element of human experience.

Next, in order to answer the critical question of *how* race is material, one can think about how racially restricted the category of personhood is. Other categories such as that of capitalist and worker, the categories of male and female, are somehow secondary to a more fundamental category, the category of fully human to which instead race refers. It means to think race as material in that it is because of the pretended racial membership that you are entitled to or debarred from normal human treatment. This category which appears neutral is de facto structured in a particular political economy that assumes the human race as coextensive with the white race, and those outside the boundaries of the white race are not really fully human (Mills, 2010). In other words, race is a 'demarcator' of the human and the less than human, which means that you get a category that is central to the structuring of the modern lifeworld.

Thus, race is not merely a category at the conceptual level, it is a category that is manifest in social institutions, by social practices, by spatial inequalities, in a particular population being located here rather than there. Race turned into a socio-material category. Its concept, together with that of racial difference, emerged as that which is visible, classifiable and morally salient. In this sense, bodies acquire an immense racialized significance insofar as the markers on these bodies bespeak their membership in the ranks of the fully human or outside the ranks of the fully human. Our bodies (material) have learned to see other bodies (also material) through an originally conceptual but now materially embedded apparatus to differentiate full persons from those seen as lesser people. A device of division that although established hundreds of years ago continues to influence us today in new ways. In our own materialist society – where science trumps religion and where cultural rituals increasingly revolve around the exchange of material commodities to retain their significance – what is true is what is visible. And race lives in the realm of the visible.

THE (VISUAL) MATERIALITY OF SPACE

Throughout much of the twentieth century, a range of scholars tended to privilege the immaterial dimensions of the city over the material ones. Urban sociologists addressed social formations rather than physical ones. Marxist approaches to the city tended to study abstract forces of capital rather than the physical texture of urban space. And the 'cultural turn' merely amplified this trend towards immateriality. The material world featured in such analyses, but it was relegated to a limited series of roles that left materiality as such largely unexamined. As we have already seen, this trend is beginning to be reversed also in urban studies. New and reworked theoretical tools, drawn from phenomenology, science studies, poststructuralism, post-Marxist materialism

and environmental studies, have allowed scholars to approach urban materiality in ways that transcend the rather exhausted dichotomies of social/material and cultural/natural (Otter, 2010).

In urban sociology, the material is a background and arena within which social forces act and social structures are formed. In conceptions that focus on the key role of economic capital, the material is an outcome, but also a medium or obstacle through which capitalist social relations are reproduced. In cultural studies, the material is a text to be decoded or a symbolic bearer of meaning. Obviously, material things and systems do often function as background, arena, outcome, medium, obstacle, text or symbol but every one of these functions leaves materiality itself – the forms, states and qualities of matter – analytically underexplored. Material objects in space own a physical entity that needs to be addressed.

Here, I simply emphasize three main aspects of spatial materiality. First, attention to the materiality of the urban space reveals its historicity which is crucial to understanding social processes. Second, materiality does not exist outside power nor outside the economic realm, it is embedded in both these domains. Third, another critical aspect to take into account is the relationship between materiality and use or, as formulated in previous decades, between form and function. Exploring this relation is fundamental to urban studies as well as to studies of everyday life (Kärrholm, 2007). Sitting at an urban square and observing, it is quite easy to recognize the material nature of everyday spatial production. The space of an urban square is made, for instance, of benches, trees, cobblestone pavements. People sit where there are benches, they wait for buses at bus stops, and so forth.

One is constantly obliged to take different behaviours related to the material space in which one moves – spaces such as pedestrian crossings, bicycle paths, and parking spaces all have their proper designs and rules of conduct. Some places are signposted with specific rules – “No Smoking,” “No Parking,” or “No Walking on the Grass” – other places have spatial regulations more latent but equally readable. Behaviours and practices regarded as improper also often involve spatialization. Statements such as, “You cannot behave like that,” often imply a tacit specification: “at this place”. Spatial production constitutes and is constituted to a great extent by the materiality of space.

Moreover, as I have already demonstrated in Chapter 1, the urban space can be considered integrally as a visible space in which one becomes a subject of visibility and, in turn, visible to others. Gazing – and, above all, glancing – acquires a crucial role in the navigation of city space (Brighenti, 2010: 134). Our gaze is an essential tool of knowledge, but this same field of gazes, as a field of inter-visibility, makes us constantly visible to others. Visibility defines positions, oppositions and dispositions of subjects engaged in a social relationship within a situation (Brighenti, 2010: 57).

However, placing social interaction at the centre of the definition of the urban space should not lead to overlooking its material qualities. So, I suggest conceiving the urban as a zone of convergence between the materiality of places and the intangible relationships that are inscribed in them (Brighenti, 2010: 123). The analysis requires an understanding of the co-constitution of visibility and materiality and an approach to visual materialities that promotes the dialogues between two modes of inquiry (Rose & Tolia-Kelly, 2012). In the following section, I propose a specific empirical operation that aims exactly to combine the visual with the material – an analysis of space and race visual materialities.

ENGAGING WITH PLACES AT A DISTANCE

The aim of this chapter is to reveal the complexly layered narrative on materiality that can emerge out of and about specific places through means of visualisation. What does or does not the visual allow one to apprehend about spatial materiality? How one might have an engagement with places materiality, remaining at a distance? While cities become increasingly informational, they do not cease to be material (Amin & Thrift, 2002; Crang & Graham, 2007). Yet new media transform the sense of distance and proximity in the city, given that distance is radically altered by the fact of connectivity (Galloway, 2004; de Souza & Silva, 2006). The result is not so much a uniform, seamless and always perfectly networked space, as a heterogeneous ecology of discontinuous configurations, with ebbs, bubbles and spots of various layers in different combinations (Manovich, 2006). There are several contemporary practices and projects that have used digital technologies to render visible places' materialities. They show that while there are many advantages to using digital techniques – not least the possibility of a form of engagement with places that are not easily accessible – such techniques come with their own limitations (Awan, 2016b).

The Covid-19 pandemic challenged, maybe more than ever, researchers around the world to find ways of investigation demanding a higher level of digitalization and virtualization of empirical analyses. Physical presence in public spaces, for instance, has been restricted to inevitable needs and regulated by various and changing laws. In the case of this research, the operation of consulting online urban images – such as the ones publicly available on Google Street Views (GSV) or the satellite photos on Google Maps (GM) – has begun as a complementary visual aid to my direct observations and the constant mapping working. However, in March 2020, with the start of the first lockdown in Portugal, I started using these virtual tools in a more consistent and strategic way and several interesting opportunities emerged. I conducted a fine-grained analysis of some sites of Lisbon using satellite and

street-level images. By doing so, the operational challenge was to attain a deeper understanding of the visual (Saldanha, 2006).

While GM is supported by new technological solutions but relies on traditional geographical modes of views from the sky, GSV is really innovative for two main reasons: it includes the time variable which permits to track changes over time, and it stands on the assumption that what is visible from a public street is publishable knowledge. It is a matter of fact that anything which can be photographed from public streets is photographed in GSV: buildings, objects, cars, animals, people etcetera. Thus, the tool reinforces, or rather problematizes, a hugely debated notion in architectural and urban theories such as that of the *public* (for a sharp analysis, see Cremaschi, 1994). And the very concept of the street – building upon an extensive scholarly tradition interested not only in its public nature but also in the concepts of the 'everyday' and the 'bottom-up' (see, for instance, Fyfe, 1998) – appears a privileged space for the theorization of a particularly urban condition of unpredictable and uncontrolled encounters (Watson, 2006; Amin, 2012). Furthermore, in the experience of the contemporary street, the spatial and the visual converge on multiple levels (Awan, 2016b; Dibazar & Naeff, 2018).

Google tools – Maps and the Street View options – claim to present the visual experience as a fact, mapped, documented, and reconstituted online, an approximation of the real renewing questions of privacy, power, knowledge politics, and access (Elwood, 2010). Even if directly implicated in the politics of representations (Power *et al.*, 2013), both GM and GSV imagery still provide an efficient tool for urban analysis at a fine-grained level and have the potential for grassroots initiatives via democratization of technology (Elwood & Leszczynski, 2013). What is really needed is an ethical and honest signification and interpretation of their operative images – images that do not represent objects but must be considered as steps of an interpretative operation (Hoelzl & Rémi, 2014). It is indeed important to reflect that one is influenced by what one sees, one can comment on it, but one can hardly notice what is missing if one does not have any direct experience of the place that is observed online or any other knowledge of the place. The automated capture primes a casual exposure where the implicit trust placed in the image can influence observations based on what is instead a mediated *representation* (by Google, in this case).

So, the visual source needs to be inserted in a wider fabric of knowledge acquired in other ways, through other means. The places I present, for instance, were selected through a sociological reflection of their significance, with the support of a full bibliographic research and several information collected through the interviews, while the composition of their GM and GSV images was driven by an architectural sensibility and a deep and first-hand familiarity with them. Ultimately, they are, in my opinion, places in which race emerges and operates more visibly and critically than others. And the content analysis which I conducted on the images is the result of sociological, historical and

architectural considerations – as simple as a detailed description of the characteristics of the spaces, of all the visible human and non-human elements and articulations. Through this operation, I managed to increase the objectivity of the analysis without falling into value judgments while inhibiting personal bias, limiting myself to an architecturally detailed, historically informed and sociologically honest report.

RACIALIZATION AND RESISTANCE THROUGH THE URBAN FABRIC

An effective use of an exiguous source as Google Maps images requires basic technological expertise, the ability to extrapolate contents out of the visual source and the competence of connecting the visual information with a wider frame of knowledge previously assembled. It implies a discrete experience in using the digital tool itself as well as the awareness of its advantages and limits, a good knowledge of the geographical area (macro for GM and micro for GSV) in which the online exploration is conducted, and a certain familiarity with sudden scale changes (zoom in-zoom out).

But other than that, nothing is easier than opening an internet server and typing “Google Maps”. A window entirely occupied by a large geographical map pops up automatically representing a portion of the territory around the device location that one is using. Then, by typing on the upper bar the name of the place one is interested in, the window splits into two parts. On the right side there is the map and, on the left, a descriptive panel opens up consisting of a Street View image (if available) of the place one has searched for, user reviews (if available), and various other clickable options (directions/save/nearby/send to your phone/share/report a problem/add a missing place/add your business/add a label).

There are two main modes (Map Types) in which is possible to visualize the map. In the default mode – which remembers somewhat the old paper maps – different element have different colours. Although there is no legend, it is quite understandable: the road network is in white (normal roads), light yellow (high-traffic roads) and darker yellow (motorways), urban centralities are in light brown – whether they are historic centres or large commercial complexes, they are the set of buildings or areas considered by Google to be “Areas of interest” –, hospitals are coloured in red, schools and universities in dark grey, parks and forests in green, water in light blue, and all the remaining urban fabric and ground is in light grey. The other Map Type is the satellite view which is made up of images captured – and constantly updated – by Google satellites. Additional “layers” can be activated on both modes to visualize reliefs, real-time transit, cycle paths, the net of roads that were photographed by the Street-View cameras, Covid 19 info and Wildfire tracking. Also the “labels” such as names of streets, parks, monuments, shops, etc. are automatically displayed, but can be switched off.

This brief description of the basic functions is enough to understand how elaborate can be a Google Maps representation. Actually, it is a set of several different geo-localized information, the product of the most powerful urban data integrator (Google) and something that is changing completely people relationship with space. The pros of this new, and still unexplored, spatial

relation are the possibility of engaging with places at a distance and that of gathering a huge mass of information of places. The cons, or rather the risks, are the excessive trust that one is led to put in the digital tool and the consequent uncritical acceptance of the information acquired and the overall inexperience in doing the complex process of integrating the visual digital information with the (visual and non-visual) reality.

In my research, I start by typing “Lisbon” (wherever I am located) to have the city centre in the middle of my window and the metropolitan area around. I usually take off all the labels and select the satellite mode. Having already a discrete knowledge of the metropolitan territory that I virtually explore, I do not need points of references other than the physical ones. I use the satellite views for specific purposes. I get photos of urban areas that are hardly understandable only through walking by them. I use them to achieve a better understanding of the relative positions between different elements within the urban system or to have an idea of the metropolitan road networks otherwise difficult to grasp. I measure distances between two or more points or the dimension of certain areas (with the available option clicking on the desktop). Thanks to the satellite images, I can also work on a ready planimetry of an entire housing development as well as on that of a little square. I have a better understanding of their physical relation with the surroundings, I identify the physical edges that delimit an area as well as the functions and forms of specific buildings. The scale on which I work is fluid, flexible and depend entirely on what I want to analyse and show. Usually, when I reach the scale of visualization that I pretend, I simply do a screen-shot of the internet window and I save the image on my computer.

Actually, Google Maps allows me to maintain more than a scale together. If I have specific addresses or areas that I want to focus on, I enter the detailed references or I zoom in gradually up to reach the Street View visualization. In Street-View the mode of exploration changes radically. Abandoning the view from above, I pass to have that of the flâneur. I am a virtual (yellow) flâneur that can move easily back and forth with the potential of seeing at 360 degree the street. The Street-View option allows me to capture both the buildings’ elevations on the sides, the central perspective of the street (front and back) and all the human and non-human presences. GSV furnish an opportunity not only to deepen the analysis of materials, colours, urban typologies and uses, mobile elements, barriers, electric poles, road signs and frequentation by vehicles and people but also to track urban changes over time. Indeed, since 2014, on the left side little info box showing the exact address in which one virtually stands and the date in which the images have been taken (for instance, Oct. 2019), there is a new option called “Time Machine” which allows one to see previous shoots of the same spot.

For the overwhelming majority of the metropolitan territory of Lisbon, Google cameras took photos in 2009 and then again in 2019. So, for instance, it was

possible for me to elaborate a sequential description of two segments of a metropolitan route that was radically transformed by the removal of informal settlements that occurred between 2009 and 2019. I also use Street-View to elaborate an overview of an historical central square, as if unrolling its architectural backdrops and showing all the buildings facades on the square. I screenshot the street-views of each spot I want to visualize (twice in the case of the road, first as it was in 2009 and then as it turned in 2019) and I save the images on my computer.

Then, I use Photoshop to edit both the satellite photos and the street-views. On the first ones the work is minimal. I only choose the size and I highlight details of the images that I retain more critical (first rows of Figure 27, 28, 29 and right column of Figure 30). On the street-views, I act in two modes: no edition at all or a more complex editing that requires specific expertise in Photoshop processing. In the case of the panoramic view of the square (second row of Figure 27), for instance, I first place the views from various angles side by side matching the same elements taken from sequential viewpoints and then I overlap the edges of the images slightly distorting the perspectives so as to have a single consistent overall view. In the case of the changes occurred on the road (second and third rows of Figure 28), I first select two segments since it was impossible to work on the entire street. Next, I place side by side the sequential shoots but without juxtaposing the edges of the images. I focus instead on the permanencies identifying the correspondences between the shoots taken at different times such as light poles, bus stops, street signs, exactly to highlight what changed.

Another important component of Google Maps is the possibility to access to detailed photos of exteriors as well as interiors taken and shared online by Google users (normal people, either visitors or locals). I utilize these images available on the description board to show specific details. These photos are a significant source to understand the specific uses of a place (third row of Figure 27) or to catch elements of the urban otherwise impossible to visualize (left and middle columns of Figure 31).

So, an elaborated selection of satellite images, street views and other detailed urban photos is the visual mean that supports the empirical exploration presented below. In the five sections of which the analysis consists (the square, the street, the social housings, the informal gardens and the urban walls), I use the images to introduce the reader to the places but especially to highlight the specific mechanisms of racialization and resistance that I see at work. I balance the weakness of the visual materialities with additional information acquired through other means. And the analysis flows in a continuous dynamic between the tacit – *visual clues* that one can understand only by looking at the images – the unexpressed – *invisible issues* that one cannot understand only by looking at the images – and the *supportive knowledge* in which I embed the visual information.

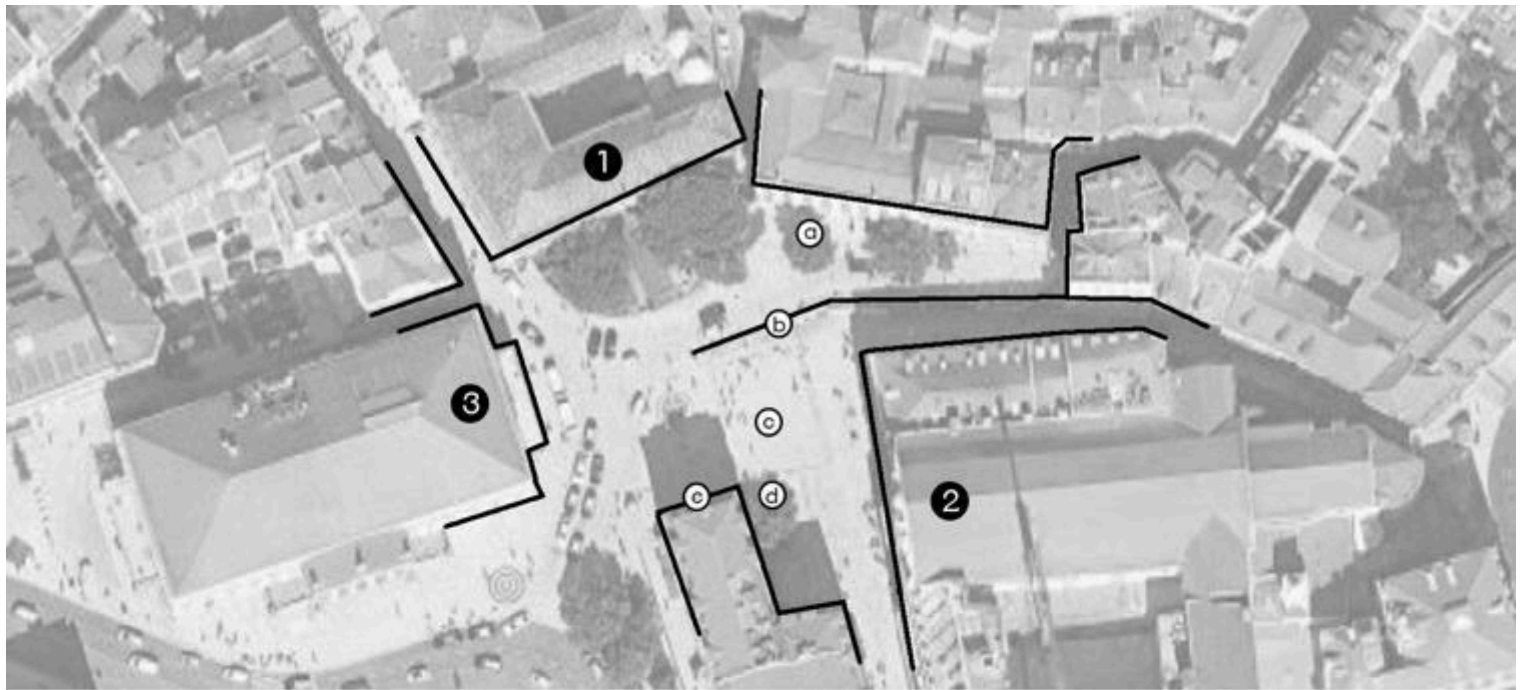
Yet, this empirical exploration is incapable of delineating causal mechanisms of race, whether they are of racialization or resistance to it. Admittedly, causal mechanisms are to be found elsewhere and they rely on the culture, the systems of power, the specific history of Portuguese colonialism etc. However, reinforcement mechanisms emerge from the analysis of visual materialities – spatial configurations that reinforce the constitution of race.

OMISSION: LARGO DE SÃO DOMINGOS

Largo de São Domingos is a dense site and a ‘thick’ place since it includes a range of different socio-material layers. It is entangled with many past and present connections and, at the same time, embeds a sense of false promise. In Figure 27, Largo de São Domingos is narrated by a composition of publicly accessible photos captured on Google Maps and Google Street View. The layout is combined with a satellite photo, a set of street-level images arranged in a single panoramic one, and five detailed photos provided by Google users to highlight a few critical materials.

Largo de São Domingos is not a proper square, rather a *largo* which in Portuguese technically means an enlargement between buildings. It is located in the very centre of the city, on the edge between the rich and noble part of the inner-city and the northern decadent and multicultural one. It serves as a funnel. It is a place of transit, but somehow intimate. It is historically a meeting point of black people coming from the peripheries, it serves as a passage for the inhabitants of the poor neighbourhoods towards the richer part of the centre, it naturally welcomes visitors of all kinds that want to enter the disordered, narrow, and steep area of the inner-city or the ones attracted by the historical *Ginjinha* bar (e in Figure 27) together with some elderly locals.

Its irregular shape recalls the medieval fabric. It develops on two levels, the northern part lies on a slope provided of an iron railing, at a higher level than the remaining part. On the lower part, the difference in height turns into an inner triangular wall, just next to a seating system created with modular parallelepiped blocks of black and white marble. The flooring is made of white cobblestones with black minimal decorations and simple relief details. The square is mainly bordered by residential buildings and the institutional ones are distinguished by size and architectural style: *Palácio da Independência* (1), the church of *São Domingos* (2) and the right part of the theatre *Dona Maria II* (3).



1

2

3



a

b

c

d

e

FIGURE 27

LARGO DE SÃO DOMINGOS

IN THE FIRST ROW, A SATELLITE GM IMAGE OF THE SQUARE; IN THE SECOND ROW, A COMPOSITION OF STREET VIEWS; IN THE THIRD ROW, ONLINE PUBLICLY ACCESSIBLE PHOTOS UPLOADED BY GOOGLE USERS (SOURCE: ONLINE GM AND GSV IMAGES COMPOSED BY THE AUTHOR)

The church, which dates to the XIII century, stands out on the east side with its Portuguese baroque religious architecture, completely rebuilt after the 1755 earthquake. During the 16th century, the first black fraternity of Lisbon – *Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos* – established itself in the church. Black catholic brotherhoods, which rapidly expanded throughout the city and the country, played a complex and even subversive role in Portuguese society under slavery. The conversion of Africans to Catholicism was a pillar of slavery, but these brotherhoods also offered a social life and support to those ostracised from society in almost every other way. They aided enslaved Africans and supported financially those who were Latinized, baptized and freed (Fonseca, 2016: 91). The church of São Domingos provides itself evidence of blacks historical embeddedness in the city centre, however, nothing was institutionally designed and publicly placed to communicate this circumstance, neither inside nor outside, nor even a small plaque to inform. So, this part of history is easy to be totally ignored by an uninformed observer.

On the contrary, another historical event that occurred in the square at the beginning of the 16th century – when a mob persecuted and killed around 3000 Jews – is materially recalled *twice* with a monument and a mural. The Memorial to the Victims of the Jewish Massacre (c in Figure 27), inaugurated in 2008, lies in the centre of the square. It is a white spherical marble block with an inscribed metal star of David, in low relief. Although it is small-sized and not prominent, it holds its position enough to make people stopping and reading. The memorial also includes a mural with the phrase “Lisbon – City of Tolerance” written in 34 different languages (b in Figure 27) affixed on the right side of the slope exactly behind the system of marble seating.

The other institutional building of the square lies at the beginning of the slope almost hidden by two big trees, a cork oak and a maritime pine. The exterior of *Palácio da Independência* (2) responds to a simple bi-chromatic and regular seventeenth-century style. Immediately after the Revolution of 25 Abril, 1974 the palace was occupied and the “Association for the colonial war-wounded veterans” was established there (Rigal, 2015). The main objective of the association, still existing today, was to unite and assist the soldiers who had suffered serious injuries fighting for Portugal in the colonial war, many of whom were (and are) blacks. Soon, a social canteen was opened too. For this reason, even if today the canteen has been replaced by a tourist restaurant and the association has changed its base, the entrance of the building continues to be a meeting point for old, retired soldiers, especially blacks from Guinea-Bissau. No material explanation reveals this part of recent history, nothing was institutionally designed and publicly placed, not even a small plaque to inform.

However, the presence of approximately a hundred black people stands out in the square regularly and expands in various other spots. As an alive memorial – made of an old and mostly retired generation of blacks whose main activity seems to be conversing – this presence occupies specific parts of the square. On

the slope, where there are two cork trees (a in Figure 27), a group of about twenty blacks gather every day. They sit on the two white rectangular marble blocks before the trees or on the low hemispheric blocks placed on the edges of the large sidewalk all around, and others under the trees. Someone has even their own chairs, someone sit on cardboard boxes, someone else on the ground, some others simply stand under the shadow. Many have shopping trolleys, backpacks or plastic bags. There is also an informal and illegal market of typical African products (like seeds, herbs and oils) is run by some women usually dressed in typical and colourful African clothes. Many of them remain there all day, others move, come and go. Everybody chatters. Largo de São Domingos, indeed, is also known as o “*jornal falado*” (the spoken newspaper) since is here that people head for having news about family and origin country.

On the sittings system in front of the tolerance’ mural (b in Figure 27), twenty or more black people use the black and white rectangular marble seats for reading, waiting for someone, having a more private conversation or exchanging information about important issues such as residency pass, citizenship procedure etc. They are mainly men, they remain seated for many hours looking forward and speaking to each other. Some of them dress the *kufi* – a cotton headdress worn by Muslim men – and long tunics, clues that suggest their origin from Guinea-Bissau⁶¹. Behind their backs, the word “tolerance” recurs many times in different languages and triggers a misleading vision as if the city’ tolerance statement refers to them. Women use the marble parallelepipeds also to lean the selling products, which are here mainly second-hand clothes. They slightly dynamize the scene by talking higher and moving more, both the sellers and the buyers – which are mostly women too.

Under the olive tree in front of the church (d in Figure 27), the situation repeats but with more liveliness. A group of almost thirty people gather regularly chatting, selling, buying and sitting on the ground under the olive-tree shadow. On feast days, the congregation expands occupying half of the square. There are many people, Muslims from Guinea-Bissau together with Cape Verdean Christians coming, for instance, from the Sunday service. The coloured clothes and headscarves of the women stand out in the middle of the crowd. The tourists’ queue at the popular *Ginjinha* bar (e in Figure 27) interrupts the black multitude. Especially in the afternoon, but not rarely also in the morning, a long line of (mainly white) people stand in a row and wait for tasting a shot (or more) of *ginja*⁶². The black presence turns again visible at the point where Largo de São Domingos opens up to Rossio, then it dissipates completely in the larger square. A group of old Cape Verdeans men occupy the benches in front of the left side of *Ginjinha* bar and the arcades in front of the principal facade of

⁶¹ Islam in Guinea-Bissau is the predominant religion of the country, numbering an estimated 50% of its roughly 1.4 million citizens are followers.

⁶² The ginja, or ginjinha, is the typical Portuguese liqueur made by infusing sour cherry in alcohol and considered one of the must-do Lisbon specialities.

theatre *Dona Maria II* (3 in Figure 27). Here, in the 1980s, it was the place where the daily labourers of the large urban construction projects in the first outskirts of the city were taken and brought back.

Today, the daily repetition of these occupations of space by black people challenges the fast urban flux with some fixity. Their movements are minimal compared with the fast coming and going that animates the rest of the square. Their firmness mismatches with the flow, movement and passage that characterize other presences. This presence seems to claim a mutual belonging between black people and this place.

Considering, on the one hand, the historical link that exists between the black community of the city and Largo de São Domingos and, on the other hand, the lack of any material institutional reference to this memory, the recurring presence of black people takes on a deeper value. And considering also that the place explicitly embeds some institutional efforts of remembering historical events (such as The Memorial to the Victims of the Jewish Massacre) the material lack of any references to its black memory is blatant. The absences are strident and suggest a mechanism of selective omission by a city community that still does not (or does not want) recognize its black history.

While the mismatch between (black) human presences and (Jewish) material memorials is perceptible through the visual source, the process of racialization by omission is instead understandable only if one has a more in-depth and historical knowledge of the square. In the table below (Table 1.1), I explain and summarize this dynamic between visible clues (tacit) and invisible issues (unexpressed) of the source and the necessary frame of additional information in support of the analysis.

VISUAL CLUES	The symbolic dimension of the square and the inconsistency between the material permanence that reinforces the memory of events concerning the Jewish community and the significant presence of black people who occupy various corners of the square.
SUPPORTIVE KNOWLEDGE	The existence of a strong historical connection between the black community and the square which has been a point of reference for black people of the city since the XVI century until today.
INVISIBLE ISSUES	The specific meaning of the square for the black community, the mechanism of racialization through selective omission at work.

VISUAL / MATERIAL APPROACH TABLE 1.1
OMISSION IN LARGO DE SÃO DOMINGOS

So, GM and GSV images can have an effective role only if backed up by other kinds of sources that in this case are full bibliographical research on the site, a daily experience of the square (I have lived for 12 months at 500 metres far from there and I used to cross the square on average twice per day,) a documented fieldwork (37 visits for observation by taking notes and sketching, see example in Figure 28), and assembling information acquired by informal conversations and interviews (52 in total). Indeed, thanks to GM and GSV images, one can see human and non-human presences, but one cannot acknowledge the racialization processes. Material memorialising elements in specific urban places, even if minimal, reinforce memories and legitimize presences, or to better say, explain and allow one to recognize the existence of a direct link between past and present. Places indeed reinforce the script, though they do not drive it (Cremaschi, 2021). On the contrary, without any material spatialization of the black memory in this significant Lisbon square, the black presence remains completely unexplained, unhistorical. The weight of memory ends up falling on the bodily spatial occupation, on its repetitiveness and fixedness, as a memorial made of living bodies.



FIGURE 28
 LARGO DE SÃO DOMINGOS ON SUNDAY
 FLUXES AND BLACK OCCUPATION, 29/09/2019
 (SOURCE: FIELDWORK SKETCH BY THE AUTHOR)

Finally, if on one hand, it is possible to see in Largo de São Domingos a wide range of different bodies and the peaceful atmosphere could even suggest a certain cosmopolitan/multicultural sense of place, on the other hand, there is a strident mismatch between the material permanencies and the human presences that characterise its everyday life. The square is full of symbols as well as omissions. No material element explains and recognizes the historical roots of black presence, the burden of memory is left to the human bodies. And what will happen when no more bodies to keep that memory alive? A part of history will be lost. It will fall into oblivion, in the ocean of the unspoken of which our cities are full. It will fall like the branches of the olive tree in front of the church of Largo de São Domingos that have just been excessively pruned and can no longer give shade. This is a subtle form of racialization. Based on this discussion, I argue that material omission emerges as one of the ways in which racialization works, while the presence of black people in the square can be outlined as a collective and embodied resistance to oblivion.

ERASURE: ESTRADA MILITAR

At the beginning of the 20th century, the Military Defence Road of Lisbon, known simply as Estrada Militar, was a road that surrounded Lisbon making the interconnection of the various forts and other defence devices. Later, the margin of Lisbon municipality was traced onto this existing road layout. Similar to other European capitals, the frontier between the central municipality and other municipalities of the metropolitan area is a critical site where to analyse the city in terms of urban growth, material changes over time, population dynamics as well as (past and present) representations. Estrada Militar in Lisbon was transformed from a defensive line into a frontier between the formal and the informal city, and after the demolition of shantytowns, recently converts into a border between the certain and the uncertain, between the kept and the erased.

In Figure 29, a segment of this road, between Lisbon and Amadora municipalities, is narrated through a satellite image that shows some infrastructures – the main road (1), a secondary road (2), the industrial area (3), the municipal market (4) and the railway line (5) – as well as the areas previously occupied by informal settlements. *Bairro das Fontainhas* (a) was demolished in 1999, and a huge metropolitan road was built in its place. *Bairro 6 de Maio* (b) and *Bairro Estrela d’Africa* (c) were eradicated between 2015 and 2017 within a large urban regeneration plan⁶³. In the GM satellite photo is possible to understand how the informal settlements fulfilled the space between the main road (Estrada Militar) to the south and the industrial area to the north. Thanks to the GSV time machine option, it was possible to recompose the street fronts of these latter settlements in two different times, 2009 and 2019. The changes are so strong that only with the help of some urban elements – as street signs and light poles – it is possible to recognize the correspondences.

⁶³ The *Plano de Urbanização da Damaia /Venda Nova* was elaborated in 1997 by the Office of Architecture (AO) following a competition promoted by the Municipality of Amadora. The demolition of the informal neighborhoods was a prerequisite for the realization of the plan which never really materialized.

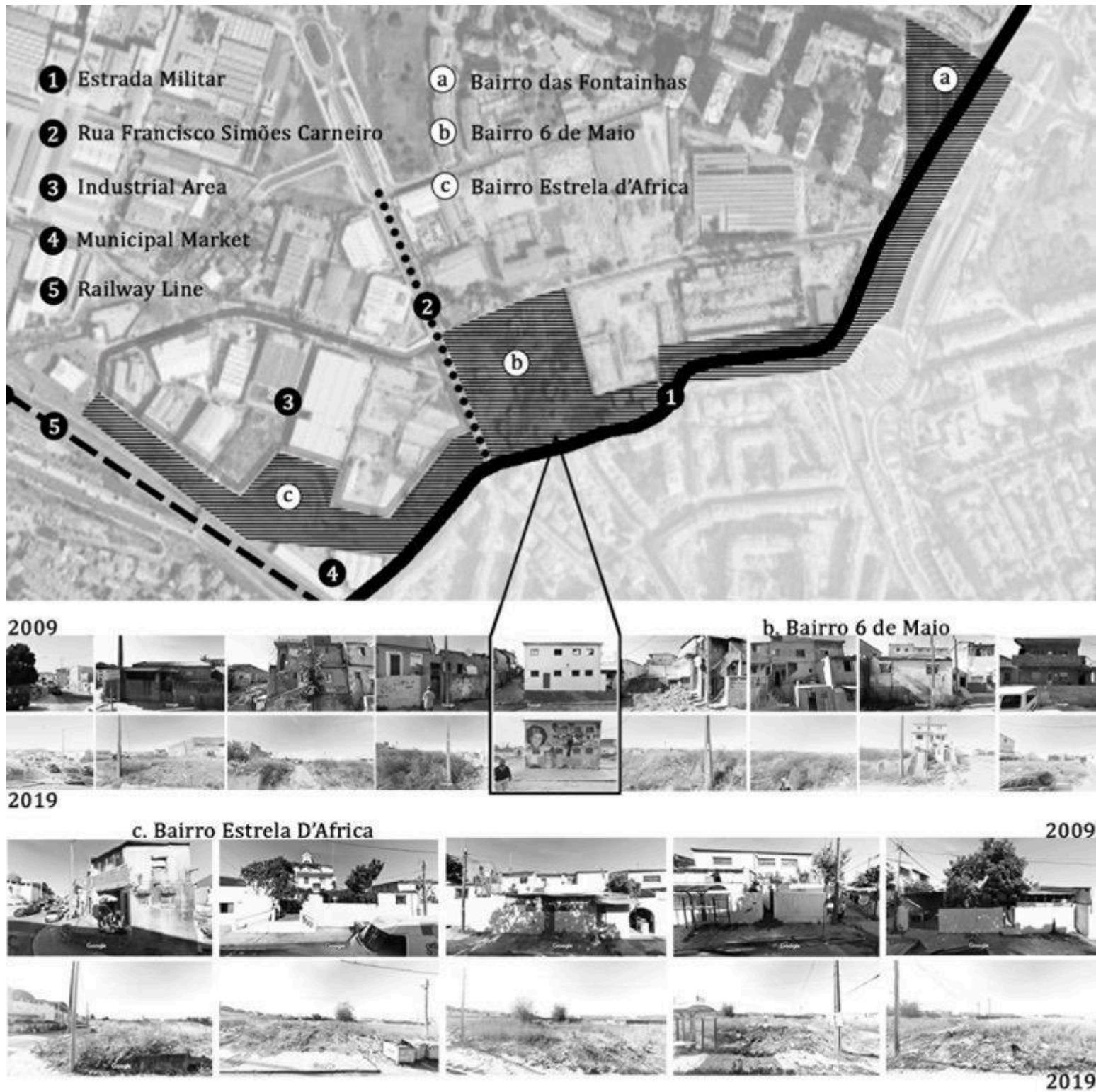


FIGURE 29
ESTRADA MILITAR
 IN THE FIRST ROW, AN EDITED GM SATELLITE IMAGE OF THE STREET;
 IN THE SECOND AND THIRD ROW, A COMPOSITION OF GSV STREET-VIEWS BEFORE (2009) AND AFTER (2019)
 THE DEMOLITIONS OF BLACK INFORMAL NEIGHBORHOODS OF BAIRRO 6 DE MAIO AND ESTRELA D'AFRICA
 (SOURCE: ONLINE GM AND GSV IMAGES COMPOSED BY THE AUTHOR)

In the context of the city of Amadora, the area of Venda Nova/Damaia de Baixo in which these informal settlements are localized can be considered a microcosm with dynamics and tensions that give this territory a paradigmatic specificity of the urban problems of Portuguese cities. This area is located in the first ring of Lisbon urban sprawl. This proximity to the capital is one of the most important aspects of the area, due to the impact it has on the spatial and social configuration. As a strategic border area, at the beginning of the new millennium, it has been crossed by major road axes, which conferred new accesses and centralities. Here is concentrated a great diversity of occupations of space, carried out by social and economic actors with clearly antagonistic interests, whose compatibility would require a prospective vision and corresponding urban planning that was never implemented (Antunes, 2012: 133).

The Venda Nova industrial area is linked to the country industrialization process in the post-war period and to the process of relocating industrial units to the outskirts of Lisbon, where Amadora served as a reception area. Many industrial companies were established there during the 1970s and 1980s, following the general trend of centrifuging economic activities that marked the northern area of Lisbon. Companies benefited from favourable land rent rates which was the reason why several business units (establishments and company headquarters) were transferred in that period from Lisbon to Amadora (Neves, 1996: 76).

The availability of abandoned lands, the presence of big construction enterprises, the proximity to Lisbon and the ambiguity of lands control – (military or civil responsibility?) – led to the emergence of a continuum of informally built neighbourhoods along Estrada Militar (Sampaio, 2013: 2). The lands occupation resulted from the precariousness and the specific difficulty for rural internal migrants and black Africans low-skilled workers to find affordable houses in other areas of the city and from a certain authorities' mode of *laissez-faire* that needed the cheap workers but had no intention to employ any state help to host them. These same factors, however, allowed also great constructive freedom and large creativity that gave birth to uneven geographies.

Lisbon self-built settlements, known as *bairros de lata*, or *barracas* that, in the late 1980s, hosted around 200,000 people (Junta Metropolitana da AML, 1997; NÚMENA, 2003: 143; Ascensão, 2015b: 52) resulted from two main migratory phenomena: first, the rural waves associated with the industrialization of the metropolitan area of Lisbon after WWII, and secondly the great inflows from former colonies (Malheiros, 1998; Craveiro, 2010; Cachado, 2011; Ascensão, 2015a). The latter 'postcolonial' migration was characterized by the great contingents of men – who came to work in the public projects that proliferated at that time in Lisbon – and then by the family reunifications with women – who got to serve mainly in private houses or cleaning jobs (Góis, 2008: 12).

The continuum of precarious housing along Estrada Militar, occupied an area of 5.2 hectares and it is estimated that, in 1995, around 4,249 people lived there in 840 precarious dwellings. The data suggest an index of 5 people per household, a dimension significantly higher than that of families in ordinary housing areas and a very high index of housing density (800 inhabitants/ha). The vast majority of people living in these areas were blacks. The demographic data collected in 1993 for the implementation of the re-housing PER programme (see Chapter 3 and 4 for further details) estimated that in Amadora 11,000 individuals were of African origin with the highest percentage residing exactly in these slums: *Bairro 6 de Maio* (89.3%), *Fontainhas* (82.1%) and *Estrela d'África* (66.8%) (PER/CMA, 1994). The age structure of people living in these *bairros* was quite young, with 75% of the population under 35 years old and 1/3 of the total under 15 years old (PU/CMA, 1997).

Data depict the *bairros* with numbers and figures but they hardly manage to portray what they truly were. Information about the *bairros* is almost all based on the oral transmission by the former inhabitants. In the case of this research, apart from the 2009 images available on Street-View, it was necessary to assemble a wide range of details. I collected reports first-hand through the informal conversations and the interviews as well as through a visit to *Bairro 6 de Maio* before its demolition, through the vision of various documentaries⁶⁴ together with full bibliographical research.

Shortly before being demolished, *Bairro 6 de Maio* (b in Figure 29) appeared as a packed island of concrete, riddled with holes and teeming with life. A composition of different dwelling typologies penetrated the lands in uneven geography of settlement that responded firstly to economic and familiar needs, but also to a certain eclectic style that makes one remind the imagined architectures of Escher, Piranesi or Calvino. Narrow alleys, often full of puddles, tiny steep stairs to go on the roofs or to the upper floors. Many turns, corners, windows, small windows and doors, clothes hanging in the remaining voids. An improvised market: a few boxes with fruit and vegetables placed on a wooden surface and sheltered by a beach umbrella, a barbecue area with roasting cobs and shelves with garlic and little plastic bags full of beans and biscuits. The sign of a small cafe was painted on a wall, "*Cafè Gomes*" it stated. Here, everybody knew perfectly each corner, the colour of each house - pink, orange, light green or light blue the most used plasters.

Apart from its architecture, what is known about the *Bairro 6 de Maio* is that there were more than 400 families living in the *bairro* before the evictions the majority of whom from Cape Verde, who arrived during the 1970s, Angola and Mozambique. The *bairro* was initiated by men working in the construction

⁶⁴ Documentaries on *Bairro 6 de Maio*: "*Os Herdeiros do Bairro*" by Raquel Martins and Ricardo Nogueira (2020), "*Rialidadi na tela*" by Associação Máquina do Mundo (2011). Documentaries on *Bairro Estrela d'África*: "*NÓS TERRA*" by Ana Fernandes aka Ana Tica, Nuno Pedro and Toni Polo (2013).

sector, most of them were employed in the *Pereira da Costa* company⁶⁵ localized nearby (3 in Figure 29). Many of them married by proxy to facilitate the coming of women and children. In the beginning, there was neither water nor light in the *bairro*. People constructed the shacks with the residual materials of the construction company: woods for the walls and zinc plates for the roofs.

Usually, the assemblage of this kind of housing started with the delimitation of an area, always thought from the beginning to include other family members in the future. Then, the first wooden shack was raised. But, little by little, depending on the job conditions and the neighbours' help – a few bricks or a sack of cement – brick walls were raised mostly during the nights from the interior of the shack using the wooden walls as bricklayers' lines. The strategy of constructing buildings during the night and from the interior was implemented to avoid authorities' attention and thus to expose and render visible the (illegal) house only once finished (Ascensão, 2015a; Pozzi, 2017). From that point on, each house could have been potentially transformed by adding more and more units – horizontally as well as vertically – depending on the specific family needs.

Soon, a commission of inhabitants was created to understand and tackle the difficulties of the slum. With the help of a little group of Dominican missionary sisters the first activity carried out in the *Bairro 6 de Maio* was that of alphabetization of the inhabitants, the majority of whom had only the fourth grade. In 1976, when there were already a considerable number of shacks, the municipality of Lisbon⁶⁶ yielded to the commission of inhabitants the necessary material to construct the sewage infrastructure with their own hands. So, the sewers were rudimentary but with specially built deposits and, over time, were even linked to the public network. The water supply was done with private or common tanks. Electricity was shared and stretched in an uneven network of electrical cables that followed the intense everyday life of the neighbourhood made of internal economic exchanges, mutual help and a strong sense of community and sharing. However, as the houses of the *bairro* improved, enlarged and increased in height the quarter corners turned every year narrower and darker, humidity worsened and people circulation, as well as the general living condition, ended up suffering from the *bairro* growth.

With the economic crisis in the 1980s, women started to need to work too. Many of them found jobs in private and public cleansing. It led to a problematic situation in which many children were without any parental control during the day. Many kids used to skip school to go to the centre of Lisbon hang to the back of buses and trains to discover a parallel and apparently wonderful world, far from their reality. They used to arrive in Rossio and then get lost in the big city

⁶⁵ In 1995, the companies headquartered in Venda Nova employed 3,500 workers (P.U., 1997).

⁶⁶ This area belongs actually to the municipality of Amadora, which was instituted only in 1979.

without knowing the way home, while mothers were at work. Removing children and youths from the street was the reason why the *Centro Social 6 de Maio* was born, conducted by the Dominican Sisters of the Rosary, with a nursery school and various activities for the youngest of the bairro. As well as the *Centro Jovens* [youth space] a space given by the municipality and widely used by young people of all ages, especially in the afternoon. Thanks to the presence of social mediators various activities took place there and community services were provided - after-school with homework aid, playful and didactic games, debates, school-family support, problematic situations help and referrals to the employment centre. Both the centres - the one conducted by the Dominican Sisters and the municipal centre for youths (highlighted in the first row of GSV photos in Figure 29) - remain now solitary buildings standing alone on this segment of *Estrada Militar*.

On the opposite side of *Rua Francisco Simões Carneiro* (2 in Figure 29) there was *Bairro Estrela d'Africa*. It was the most recent *bairro* of the informal continuum and it was never considered a neighbourhood as problematic as the *Bairro 6 de Maio*. According to the 1993 PER survey, 296 households lived there in 220 spontaneously built houses. Although the name of the neighbourhood suggests that only African populations live there, there was a whole belt of houses inhabited by white Portuguese internal migrants (especially from the rural areas of Beiras, Trás-os-Montes and Alentejo). These houses were built with much higher quality compared to the ones in the inner part of the *bairro* (and to the ones of *Bairro 6 de Maio*) and they were all plastered white. In this first belt of houses (visible in the second row of GSV photos of Figure 29) the white Portuguese internal migrants lived with their backs turned (physically and symbolically) to what was going on inside the *bairro* which was principally inhabited by black people mostly from Cape Verde, but also from Guinea-Bissau, Angola, S. Tomé and Príncipe and even some gipsy families.

In the inner part of the *bairro*, narrow and winding streets made of dirt were traced in the tangle of the buildings and drew a labyrinth that served as protection for the inhabitants, as if to preserve their privacy and, at the same time, protect them from the eyes of the local authorities to proceed with transformations and enlargements. Around the houses, gardens grew and corrals were built. Chickens, rabbits and pigs were raised to ensure the families food, serving as a resource for the most difficult days or for the habits of hospitality obliged by relative visits or births, marriages and funerals. For many years, electricity was possible only through the practice of the "*luz emprestada*" [borrowed light] provided by neighbours or stolen from the streetlights. The sewages flowed in the streets.

Then, around 1983, the Cape Verdeans residents of the *Estrela d'Africa* constituted a commission of residents who formalized the name of the *bairro*, voted by a general assembly. The constitution of the commission permitted the inhabitants to formally communicate with the municipality and consequently to

receive the material to work on the sewage and other basic infrastructures. Gradually, also the white Portuguese population of the external belt houses understood the importance of this collective work and started to contribute to the structural improvement of the neighbourhood. The neighbourhood began to have even specific toponymy that referred directly to the lands of origin of the majority of the inhabitants. There were identification plates placed at the entrance of the main streets like *Largo Ilha da Brava*, *Rua Cidade Velha* and *Rua Ilha de Santiago* (all locations in Cape Verde). Of these streets, as well as of all the buildings that made up *Bairro Estrela d'Africa*, today only fragments of memory and rubbles remain.

So, in 2009 Estrada Militar divided two worlds, two incommunicable universes – the formal city from the informal one – in 2019 and still today, it is a frontier between the known and the unknown. On its northern side, only empty fields are visible and a sense of suspense hovers. The visual source give one the possibility to grasp the urban context in which the road is inscribed (GM satellite photo) and the urban change extent (GSV before/after images) but it is not possible to understand the complex planning mechanism behind the eradication as well as the social cost of that. In the table below (Table 1.2), I summarize this dynamic between visible clues (tacit) and invisible issues (unexpressed) of the source and the necessary frame of additional information in support of the analysis.

<p style="text-align: center;">VISUAL CLUES</p>	<p>The difference of the urban fabric on the two sides of the road as well as the changes occurred between 2009 and 2019 (empty fields in place of houses).</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">SUPPORTIVE KNOWLEDGE</p>	<p>The road was first a defence line, then considered a border line between the formal and the informal city. The demolished neighbourhoods were multicultural microcosms mainly (but not only) inhabited by black people coming from different Portuguese former colonies in Africa who had created strong social networks there.</p>
<p style="text-align: center;">INVISIBLE ISSUES</p>	<p>The social cost of the slum eradication, the sentiment of belonging that existed between black people and the <i>bairros</i> on this road, the uprooting mechanism as well as that of urban cleaning and people marginalization.</p>

The lands that were occupied by the *bairros* in the 1970s had a reduced market value and thus led authorities to let the informal sprawl continue. Thirty or forty years later – because of the suburbanization and urban growth process – the value of these same properties became much higher and their possession much more coveted. It is a matter of fact that the landowners' urgency to recover the use of their properties illegally occupied only occurred when the urban growth was consolidated, that is when the sprawling city centre caused an exponential increase in the value of the properties (Alves, 2018). This situation coincided with the implementation of the PER programme – *Programa Especial de Realojamento* (see Chapters 3 and 4 for further details). As I have already explained, the programme had two main objectives – the eradication of the slums and the relocation of the inhabitants in new housings – but the informal settlements were affected by a wider meticulous discrediting political discourse that aimed to present their demolition as the only possible way to solve the problem. Lands had to be freed, full stop.

For such an enormous urban manoeuvre, in other situations, equips of psychologists would have been deployed for helping the people to leave their houses and readapt to new housings⁶⁷. On the contrary, many ethnographers and activists documented how slum clearance and demolition practices implemented by the authorities in the whole metropolitan area of Lisbon were violent and filled with racial bias (Pozzi, 2017; Alves, 2018; Tarsi, 2017). That is, the way in which people were evicted and their dwellings were destroyed – as plagues to be eradicated – had to do (also) with their blackness and poorness.

Following this perspective, I argue that in this case racialization did operate through erasure. The meaning of the black neighbourhood's demolition lies beyond the fact of their being illegal houses on private lands. One knows that urban legality is more an excuse than a real purpose of urban governance - land-use plans can be changed, and even lands can be expropriated for public reasons if one wants. What happened here, instead, was that these (mostly black) architectures have been considered easily erasable *and thus* they were erased. They were easy erasable since they were illegally build houses, but actually the legal problem was merely a justification of slum clearance and demolition. They were easy erasable also because their inhabitants were socially vulnerable subjects, mainly black and poor.

Again, racialization subtly works through absences. Today, in the places in which many houses and lives had raised, there are empty fields. This void, this absence, acquires significance only for who knew the past presences of lives

⁶⁷ In 2003, *Aldeia da Luz* – a village in the South of Portugal – needed to be removed to construct a dam. A great effort was publicly made to psychologically support people and socially sustain the community in the process of re-location in another area (see, for instance, Saraiva, 2007).

and buildings. It is a past without a future and with a present of grass and lonely streetlights, histories eradicated from the soil without right to remembrance. A colourful graffiti on the façade of the one-time youth space, spared from the demolition machines, shows the words "*Bairro 6 de Maio*", a tree, and a black woman face smiling. But her smile provokes more questions than reassurance. What was here? What will happen here?

RE-PLACEMENT: BAIROS SOCIAIS

In 1993, the re-housing PER programme was initiated by the central government and municipal governments had the duty to implement it. In total, around 45,000 new dwelling units in 290 social housing neighbourhoods were built thanks to its implementation (Santos et al., 2014), the so-called *bairros sociais*. These social housing estates today appear as excluded and stigmatized spaces, areas of concentration of unfavourable social situations, with a great percentage of black people and gypsies. By evaluating their locations as well as the inadequate urban forms and low-quality materials utilized in their construction, I argue that these architectures imply a specific process of urban racialization that I have already explored in Chapter 3, that of marginalization by dispersal and replacement. In this chapter, however, I acknowledge the same phenomena under the light of the materiality of this specific racialization process. For this purpose, in Figure 30, six examples of social housing projects constructed within the PER programme are narrated through GM and GSV images. Then I focus on Casal da Mira (5 in Figure 30), I extrapolate its planimetry and a few interesting street-views.

From the very beginning, the replacement of people in new apartments blocks was a debated issue. The discussions covered the locations of the new housing estates as well as who were the people entitled to be rehoused and where. Location, indeed, is a clear indicator of urban restructuring processes that require the uprooting of communities from their space to another. In the law text, the stated purpose was to rehouse people *in-situ*, close to the place where they lived (article 5, comma c, of Decree-Law 163/93). However, it went rather differently. The inexistence of public land to accommodate the rehousing near the original settlements and municipal authorities' financial constraints (despite central government covering 50% of the costs) resulted in the displacement of populations to far-away sites as well as the rupture of existing social and labour networks (see Chapter 3 and, in particular, Figure 16). Indeed, each municipality implemented the PER within its territory and following its own procedures at a much smaller scale, thus, a potentially beneficial metropolitan dimension of the programme was lost.

Moreover, the municipalities followed different models of implementation: through concentration – households living in informal settlements in many different locations were rehoused in one or two large housing estates (as happened in Montijo and Almada) – or through dispersal – households living in the same informal settlement were rehoused into various housing estates (as happened in Oeiras, Cascais and Lisbon) – or also through a hybrid model due to specific configuration of municipal territories (as happened in Odivelas). But apart from the specific model implemented, in general, data points to an increasing of *peripheralization* of the people involved in the whole process (Ascensão & Leal, 2019).

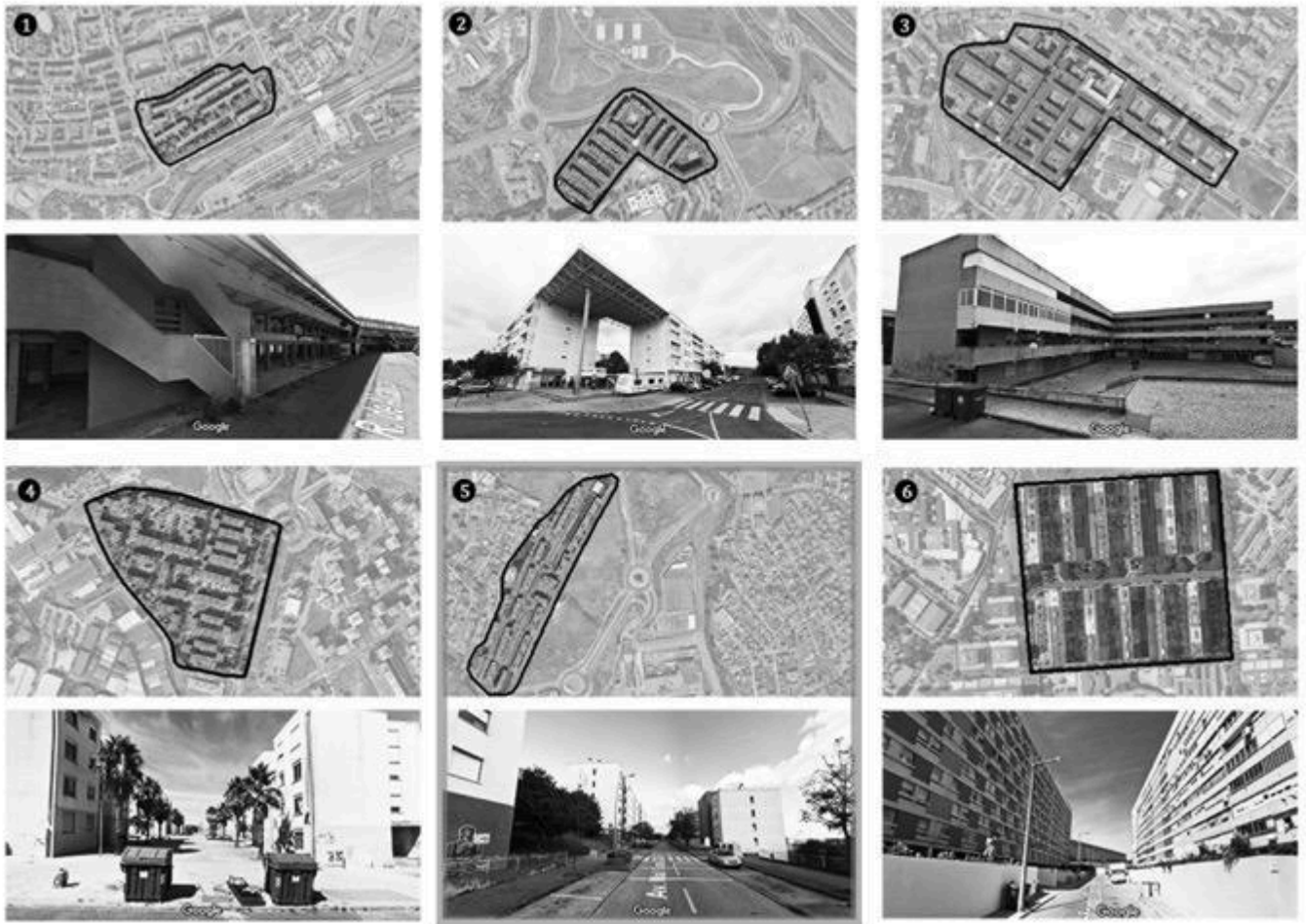


FIGURE 30

BAIRROS SOCIAIS

MONTE DA CAPARICA, ALMADA (1), CASAL DA BOBA, AMADORA (2), BAIRRO DA BELA VISTA, SETÚBAL (3), QUINTA DO MOCHO, LOURES (4), CASAL DA MIRA, AMADORA (5), QUINTA DA VITORIA, LOURES (6),
 (SOURCE: ONLINE GM AND GSV IMAGES COMPOSED BY THE AUTHOR)

If one tries to analyse the programme through its racial dimension reaches highly controversial outputs. However, many researchers, intellectuals and activists mentioned a hidden, but persistent, element whereby black people were displaced from their settlements more forcefully than whites (Alves, 2019), and were relocated in more marginal sites than whites (Ascensão & Leal, 2019). It is a matter of fact that the areas where the housing estates with a great percentage of black people lie today are isolated (2 and 5 in Figure 30), devoid of infrastructures (1, 3 and 5 in Figure 30), close to industrial centres (4 and 6 in Figure 30), or cemeteries and even dumps. Comparable to the post-WWII social architecture of other European capitals, the architectural solutions adopted in these social housing projects were already dated when they were constructed. These typologies had already proven to actively contribute to the segregation of inhabitants. The low quality of the materials triggers a mechanism of reinforcement of negative stereotypes that weight on both places and people. So, they are considered “ghettos” of the metropolitan area because of their socio-material consistency.

In the GM satellite photos of Figure 30, I highlight the external perimeters of the social housing projects – their borders with the surroundings – to emphasize their physical disconnection with the context in which they are inscribed that mirrors their symbolical and social distance. Their plan layouts is closed to the rest of the urban fabric and it is distinguished by rigid grids that make them standing out within the view from above. The geometrical urban morphology of the resettlement neighbourhoods as well as the dubious quality of the materials used in their construction seems to have established a recurrent *institutional architecture of poverty* that, for an attentive observer, establishes “spaces of exception” (Agamben, 2003). Further, neither public spaces nor commercial activity were envisioned and implemented in the projects. Greenery is minimal. Some trees have been planted on the sidewalks, but usually neither parks nor kids playgrounds were designed. Oftentimes, primary schools have been constructed near the settlements.

However, this took to the contradictory mechanism of increasing segregation also in education. Indeed, the children of the social housing estates are led to attend the closer school, while people living in other areas will never choose these same schools since they are considered problematic as well as the adjacent neighbourhoods. Consequently, classrooms tend to be homogeneous in terms of social background (black and poor families) and so they hardly trigger a virtuous circle of social escalation. In short, the architectural forms designed for these spaces are non-functional to reproduce the old social networks or to enhance new ones, instead they have worsened already delicate situations. It is exactly a primary school that can be seen at the entrance of Casal da Mira (1 in Figure 30) and the first building described in the long extract of my fieldwork diary that I present below as an additional source for the inquiry.

The school lie on the left of the slope. It is a light pink linear building with only two floors and the windows facing the opposite side of the apartment blocks. Ironically, the entry street of Casal da Mira is named Rua Cidade da Nova York. Yet, the landscape could not be more different from the great North American city. Four perpendicular streets open to the right. The first takes the name of a Portuguese journalist (Avenida Raul Rego), the second that of a sociologist (Rua Alberto da Coinceição Guerreiro), and the third has the name of a military commander of the Portuguese colonial war who took service both in Mozambique and in Angola (Avenida Marechal Costa Gomes).

Ironically, again I think, since Casal da Mira, like many others social housing projects, is mostly inhabited by black people from the former African colonies that probably would have fight against the commander that gave the name to the street. Further on, there is the last side street that takes the name of a Portuguese compositor (Rua Fernando Lopes-Graça).

As often on weekends, I head right in the street named to the colonial commander, house number 14.

Here the buildings are made of red bricks and white plaster, apart from the common stairways exterior that varies in colour. In this street, as well as in the first one, they are half grey (from number 2 to 12) and half blue (from number 14 to 22). In the street below, they are all yellow and, in the one above, dark pink. The street is large, there are parking lots on both sides and also wide sidewalks with thin trees planted every three meters. The Gypsy families who occupy the ground floors often hang their clothes on a line strung between two trees.

The clothes dry in the wind and in the sun.

There is often wind in Casal da Mira, since it is located on a slope and faces a great valley. The valley is almost completely occupied by the huge commercial stands of Leroy Marlin and the UBBO Shopping Resort which was once called Dolce Vita Tejo shopping centre.

Apart from the commercial area, the view can be amazing.

On the other side of the street, just before door 14, at number 7a, there is a small cafe. On the black awning its name written in white is well legible: "Black Coffee". Inside they serve coffee, beers and various alcoholics. They also sell simple pastries, sandwiches and single cigarettes out of the pack, 20 cents each. The interior of the cafe is a simple room decorated in orange. There is also a television where people watch football matches. This café has been recently opened, in 2018, together with other little activities that opened in the ground floors of the blocks. It is possible to see about fifteen guys in front of the café at almost any time of the day – the majority of them are boys but there are also a few girls – everybody between 18 and 35 years old.

Many are in slippers.

The road here is like an extension of the insides. Often a car passes by on the road. The driver greets the group without getting off. Someone leaves the group in front of the coffee and approaches the car to have a more private conversation. The car can block the roadway even for an hour, but no one protests. Those who have to park or continue on the road simply surpass the car, without complaints.

I proceed on my way to number 14, but just before entering I glance at the wall tiled with bricks of the opposite building. The black writing is still there, near the Shisha-bar, even if someone tried to delete it.

"Fuck the Police", it says. I enter.

The handle of the entrance door of block 14 is broken again. In its place, there is a hole. I am not surprised given the fragility of the materials, a single-glass door with an electric blue steel frame. The scotch, however, that someone put a few weeks ago continues to hold the broken part of the door glass. There is a little lift to the left, but as usual, I prefer taking the stairs to the right. I pass through a metal doorframe, the door has been removed and only the hinges remain. On the landing, a bicycle is leaning on the wall. The stairs go down to the basement or go up to the upper floors. I am headed to the first floor, so, I start going up.

The staircase reeks of smoke.

There are also a few cigarette butts on the steps, but apart from that, it looks clean. One of the ladies of the building must have recently cleaned, I tell myself. The handrail is cylindrical in white painted iron, scraped off at some points. I get to the first floor. Here, there is the door, a white metal one with a large black handle that for its size it reminds me of a hospital door. I go left and, finally, at the end of a long corridor, there is the entry door of the apartment. I knock on the light wooden door.

M. opens me smiling.

The first floor on the left of number 14 in Avenida Marechal Costa Gomes in Casal da Mira consists of three rooms, two bathrooms, a kitchen and a hall. The floor and the skirting board is in fake plastic parquet, light wood colour and dense texture. In the kitchen and in the bathrooms, instead, there are white tiles on the floor. The walls are all white except for the recurrent humidity marks. The interior doors are in light-wood coloured plastic material. From a small entrance, a spacious hall opens on the right, with a large window on that overlooks the rest of the social housings, the valley, and Lisbon, in the background.

From here, I can see the planes landing at the airport.

The kitchen is on the left of the entrance. It is very undersized and apart from the essential – stove, sink, fridge and shelves – a table for two barely fits.

There is a pungent neon light and two windows.

The window on the right overlooks the street and allows to see the guys in front of the coffee bar and also to know in advance who is coming to visit. There is always someone who arrives suddenly at M. house. The second window overlooks the gap between the staircase and the external cladding. Unfortunately, over time it has been filled with waste and trash especially by those who live on the lower floors. Thus, it is better to keep it closed to prevent bad smells. Luckily, there is always something good on the stove that gives a delicious aroma to the whole house. Usually, it is a large pot with white rice to be accompanied with meat or fish cooked in various ways with vegetables and legumes and flavoured in the Cape Verdean manner. The recently opened minimarket in the downer street has everything, even the “midjo” (corn) for “catchupa”⁶⁸.

At M.’s house, each serves oneself.

Usually, A. eats in the little table of the kitchen and the others in that of the salon. The kitchen ceiling is grey with humidity, small black spots stand out on the white plaster. Every year, T. removes the humidity and paints the ceiling, but every year the patches of humidity return. The window frames are not insulating enough. They are made extremely low quality steel and they let the drafts pass. Further, there is no heating system and, in the colder months, electric heaters must be used. Between the living room and the kitchen, a corridor leads to the sleeping area. In the first room on the left, there is only a double bed and a wardrobe. In the second room, a single bed with another pull-out bed, a desk and a small wardrobe divide the space with some difficulty. The black plastic handle of the window of the room and the shutter are always broken, and this is why they often remain closed – window and shutter.

So, no natural light in the room, but neither noise from the street.

The corridor turns right and the doors of the two bathrooms open to the left. The first is minuscule and without a window and is used as a storage room, while in the second there is a small vertical window and also a large bathtub, but humidity is a big problem here, too. Finally, in the last room, window overlooks the valley like that of the hall. There is a beautiful view and, on New Year’s Eve, magnificent fireworks can be seen from here.

⁶⁸ It is a slow-cooked stew of corn (hominy), beans, cassava, sweet potato, fish or meat (sausage, beef, goat or chicken). It is considered the Cape Verdean national dish and each island has its own regional variation. The version of the recipe called *cachupa rica* tends to have more ingredients than the simpler *cachupa pobre*.

Here, on that night, the fireworks sounds mixes with that of the gunshots.

Just like that, Casal da Mira is also the place of the sound of gunshots.

The place of the deafening rumble of brand new motorcycles at 3 in the morning.

The place of vending drugs.

The place of unemployment and teen pregnancies.

When the police arrive in the neighbourhood, they close all the access roads and enter with armoured vehicles. They search all the "suspicious" apartments, but usually even many more than is really necessary for the investigation.

People here do not like the police.

The last time police were here, residents greeted them throwing stones from the roofs.

But apart from the extraordinary moments, life here is peaceful and monotonous.

The pace of the neighbourhood is marked by those who wake up in the morning at 5 to go work. They have to take the buses – sometimes even more than one – to reach the nearest metros (Pontinha, Amadora Este or Reboleira) or train station (Amadora). The stations are all approximately 4 km away from Casal da Mira and if one loses the bus connections it takes about one hour on foot.

S. had to buy a car to reach the metro station to go to the house in the city centre of the old Portuguese lady where she works as maid.

At lunchtime, children and teenagers return from school. They are a lot, considering that more than half of the population here is under 25 years old.

A. is 12 now. He passes the afternoons playing on his computer, but M. and S. are agreed that this is better than hang on the street.

In the evening, adults return from work.

Every day, the same.

Every day, again.

In the wide field in front of Casal da Mira, the paths beaten by the inhabitants draw lines within the high grass.

They are trajectories to reach the bus stops and the shopping area.

Lines to escape from here.

Once, I saw a white horse in this field.

It had a strange effect on me. Something as poetic as a white horse in the middle of fast-flowing roads, cars, concrete buildings and a shopping centre. It was the same when I saw the red velvet chair outside block 22, in the middle of the trash.

I did not expect it, that is all.

Here, in Casal da Mira, everything is a mixture of poetry and tragedy.

And, on Sunday, there is music in the houses, lots of friends and family visiting and the smell of well-cooked food all around.

(author fieldwork notes, Casal da Mira, 23/11/2019)

The case of Casal da Mira is not an isolated case but a representative one. It is well known that all the projects of social housings around the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon constructed within the implementation of the PER programme between 1995 and 2005 are similar to each other⁶⁹. There are a few elements which are the matrix and then little variations. All these architectural solutions present ambiguous features in their primary materiality. The materials used to construct the apartment units are of extremely poor quality. Within a few years, damages were visible inside and outside the blocks all over the different projects. The plasters absorb a great amount of humidity, the window frames are made of aluminium and the single glazing is not insulating enough. The houses are equipped with water and electricity in a canonical way, but not with heating. The common areas – entrances, stairs and landings – evocate those of the worst hospitals or even that of prisons.

Usually, the kids' playgrounds of the social housing projects are as decadent as the one in Casal da Mira (e in Figure 30) – an iron slide and a shabby structure, nothing else. In the best cases, the ground floors of the blocks are occupied by little shops, cafes and associations. In the worst cases, they remain empty rooms full of rubbish, perfect for the rats as well as for the illicit commerce. In the case of Casal da Mira, it took more than 15 years before the administration allows local residents to rent the basements of the blocks for low-rents. For more than 15 years, there was only a pharmacy and an association for elderly people. Today the situation has improved. There are two coffee bars, one in the downer street and one in the upper street (a in Figure 30), a little food market (d in Figure 30), an electronic shop, a barbershop, a beauty salon, and a youth association – *Raizes* [roots]. There are even a Shisha bar (b in Figure 30) and a burger house (f in Figure 30).

From the GM and GSV images is possible to detect the isolated position of the social housing projects within the surrounding urban context, their geometrical/regular configurations, the closed layout of their planimetries, the design of the facades, the activities on the streets and even the dubious quality of the buildings. However, it is impossible to have an idea of the apartments interiors or to understand the meaning of living in such places. While for accessing to an insider look and for achieving a deeper and comprehensive understanding of the life inside is necessary at least to have a first-hand

⁶⁹ I visited more than once also Casal da Boba (1 in Figure 30) and Quinta do Mocho (in Figure 30) and I detected analogous urban and architectural elements and I witnessed very similar social dynamics to that of Casal da Mira.

experience or better to know someone living there. On the contrary, it is not difficult to assess the sort of stereotype that weight on places and people. It is enough to switch on the TV and look at news to see how the bairros sociais [social housings] are negatively depicted. On the media, they are deemed “ghettos”, bubbles of crime, pocket of poverty, enclaves of minorities. It is enough to make some question randomly to people living around or, even more, in the city centre to understand how is a shared and embedded commonplace the portray of the bairros sociais as dangerous places. In the table below (Table 1.1), I summarize the dynamic between visible clues and invisible issues of the visual source and the necessary supportive knowledge.

<p>VISUAL CLUES</p>	<p>The urban morphology typical of large social housing complexes, the weakly connection with the surrounding urban fabric, the degradation of the building facades.</p>
<p>SUPPORTIVE KNOWLEDGE</p>	<p>The interiors of the apartments is made of very low-quality materials that degraded rapidly. The bad quality of the constructions together with racial motivations make these areas being not only physically marginal but also politically marginalized, stigmatized by social media as enclaves of crime and thus socially stereotyped.</p>
<p>INVISIBLE ISSUES</p>	<p>The stigma that weighs on these places and the mechanism of criminalization of poverty, the other negative consequences that living in these places have on the inhabitants.</p>

VISUAL / MATERIAL APPROACH TABLE 1.3
REPLACEMENT IN THE BAIRROS SOCIAIS

The main contradiction, however, – that has the flavour of a bad game played by the administrations – lies in the fact that these projects had been presented to the inhabitants coming from the informal neighbourhoods as an improvement in terms of living conditions. And the results have been almost the opposite. People who lived in self-built houses – with all the structural constraints but also all the familiarity, freedom, and creativity on the building itself – have been placed in “new” apartments that quickly became “not so new” or even “decadent”. People whose house was surrounded by family and friends houses, inscribed in an atmosphere of mutual help and community support (see previous paragraph), were dispersed in social housing blocks lacking any

collective facility circled by new and unfamiliar neighbours. People whose houses stood in areas once devoid of any urbanization and low-valued, but then turned into familiar for them and high-valued for the investors, have been placed in isolated districts of the urban fringes.

Then, it is not surprising that many of these new social housings neighbourhoods have become pockets of youth crime. It makes one wonders, with these premises what else they could have become? The establishment of a *second (or third) periphery* driven by the implementation of the PER programme seems to correspond to a reterritorialization of colonial relations in urban space, which relegates the racialized subjects of modernity to the margins of the city. Racialization did work as marginalization through dispersal, as ghettoization through isolation, as impoverishment through urban and architectural degradation and it is difficult to imagine an effective resistance to these processes.

MATERIAL AGENCIES OF BLACK RESISTANCE

The complex process of spatial racialization described above – through its proxies of *omission*, in the centre, *erasure*, in the first periphery, or *marginalization*, in the second periphery – affects and subjugates black people across the metropolitan area of Lisbon. However, certain practices of resistance implemented by them manage to somehow counteract this manifold process or at least limit its consequences. In this section, following Scott (1985, 1989, 1990) – who demonstrates how daily, disguised, discreet, subtle or hidden spatial resistance can be fundamental in social change – I introduce two kinds of everyday spatial resistances that interrupt and question the Lisbon landscape as an affirmation of black presence. I first analyse three informal urban gardens as black *place-making* and, secondly, several chosen graffiti on various city walls as operative devices of black *emplacement*.

PLACE-MAKING: THE INFORMALITY OF BLACK URBAN GARDENS

In architecture and urban planning, place-making is the idea that people “transform the places in which we find ourselves into places in which we live” (Schneekloth & Shibley, 1995: 1). It refers to a collaborative process by which people shape a place to maximize its shared value. However, black place-making carries other specific and intrinsic features: it usually occurs within a context of racial segregation, unemployment, bad schools, urban violence, police brutality and a broad array of unjust urban policies. The case of the metropolitan area of Lisbon is an example of this. I consider the non-regulated urban gardens conceived and carried out by an old generation of Cape Verdeans as interesting examples of black place-making. They are not adaptive strategies, rather they are *disruptive practices of insubordination* with positive effects on the whole urban space.

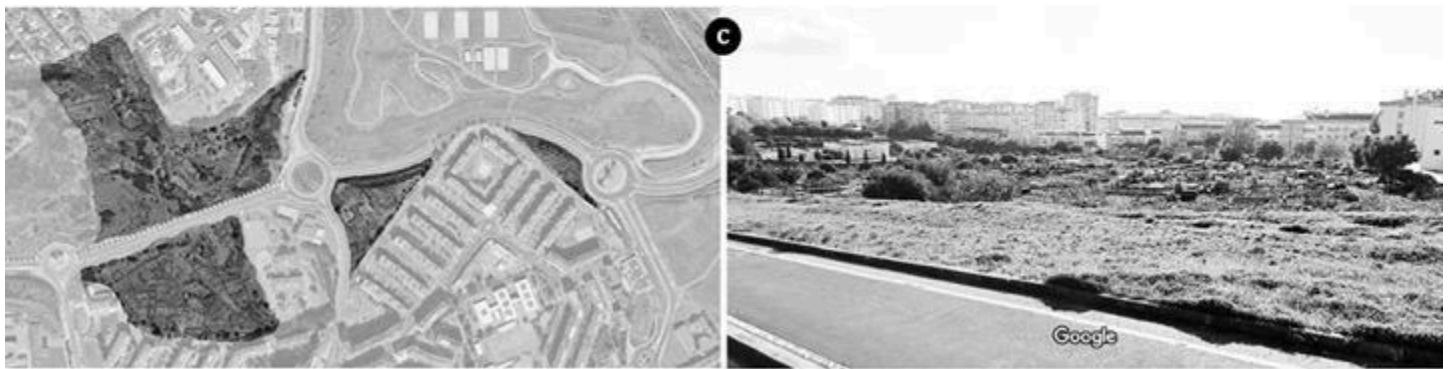
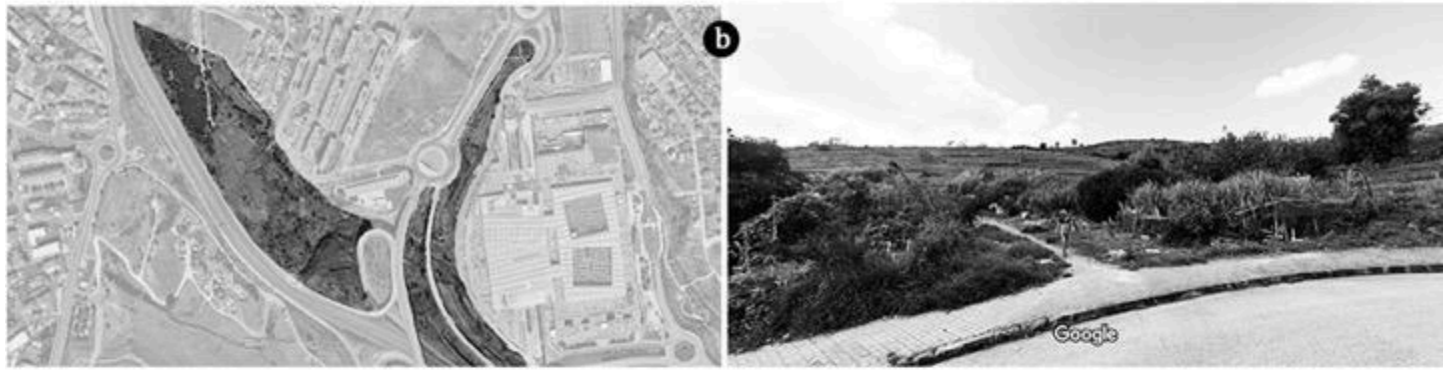


FIGURE 31
 NON-REGULATED URBAN GARDENS:
 NEAR THE INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS OF COVA DA MOURA AND BAIRO DO ZAMBUJAL (A)
 AND NEAR THE SOCIAL NEIGHBOURHOODS OF CASAL DA MIRA (B) AND CASAL DA BOBA (C)
 (SOURCE: ONLINE GM AND GSV IMAGES COMPOSED BY THE AUTHOR)

Across the metropolitan area of Lisbon, informal urban gardens are part of the landscape. Most of them arose on public lands, in the voids between the infrastructures. They are not legally or institutionally regulated but a legal vacuum allows them to not be considered “illegal” (Cabannes & Raposo, 2013). They result from the gradual occupations, reoccupations, disguised and collective appropriations of free lands by black people living in the informal settlements or in the new housing estates. Amadora urban gardens are an impressive illustration of that. The ensemble of allotments along the IC17 CRIL (a in Figure 31) were created and are worked by the inhabitants of the self-built neighbourhoods of *Cova da Moura* and *Bairro do Zambujal*, while the ones close to *Casal da Mira* (b in Figure 31) and *Casal da Boba* (c in Figure 31) were carried out and are managed by the residents of the recent social housing projects.

One of the interesting aspects, in my opinion, is how this practice of occupation and agricultural working of the large empty fields between the highways has persisted despite the relocation process. In other words, if previously the fields around the informal settlements were cultivated, today those adjacent to the new social housing estates have also been occupied and cultivated. This agricultural quiet and undercurrent motif holds together a “before” and an “after” whose link has no other material grip. After all, the people involved are the same, even though they have aged today. The practice of informal agriculture is, indeed, carried on by an old generation of black people. They are mainly Cape Verdeans belonging to the first wave of immigrants that arrived in Portugal in the 1970s to work in the big projects of the construction sector. They have a great knowledge of the peripheral space of Lisbon since they saw with their own eyes the urban expansion and they worked with their own hands in the buildings that today occupy this peripheral geography. They know the terrain and its corrugation. They know the water sources and the access to them. Further, they carried with them great wisdom concerning agriculture.

Most of them came from the inland and rural areas of Santiago or Santo Antonio island in Cape Verde where agricultural activity was (and still is) at the basis of the population employment. Furthermore, Cape Verde islands suffer from shoals and agricultural engineering has had to make up for the lack of water. In the inner area of Santiago island, each small piece of cultivable land is actually cultivated, even the steepest plot is exploited thanks to the terracing technique⁷⁰. The irrigation system is a job shared by the entire community that takes care of the land, water is sparingly used and not a drop is wasted. When these Cape Verdeans arrived in Lisbon and found an abundance of water and cultivable lands, nothing seemed more reasonable than to make these lands productive. Even though the concrete of the relentless urban sprawl has eaten up much of the space, there is a little left. And between the ramp of one highway and the other, it is possible to see the clever strategy of terracing in the fertile

⁷⁰ I lived in Santiago island for a year and I saw how people are able to make productive any piece of land.

and otherwise unused lands. The tiny materiality of the urban gardens and the human bodies of those who work in them contrasts with the gigantic civil engineering works of the streets. They seem to belong to two different universes, with mismatched scales and dimensions and clashing rhythms.

The architecture of the urban gardens is ephemeral, delicate, and wise: fences, nets, canalization, divisions, tool sheds are made of simple and usually remedied wooden, metal or plastic materials. Following and interacting with the natural reliefs, an entanglement of almost straight lines creates various rectangles of different sizes. From the street, they appear as a marked and articulated set of green between the concrete of the buildings and the suburban streets, colouring the otherwise grey landscape. Still, these informal gardens are much more than this. They are the fruit of daily resistance and essential economic support for several families, for some of them the harvest can cover up the 25% of food expenditure. In these allotments, indeed, vegetables and legumes are cultivated such as potatoes, sweet potatoes, broad beans, peas, corn, different varieties of beans, tomatoes, cassava and sugar cane. Some of these products, such as sugar cane, yams, or congo beans, were introduced or re-introduced into Portuguese agriculture rightly from these Cape Verdeans peasants (Varela, 2020). Sometimes, some farmers produce sugar cane in quantities that are then distilled in the traditional Cape Verdean *grogu*⁷¹ and sold even in other countries of Europe like France, the UK and the Netherlands.

Atanasio' vegetable garden is located near Casal da Mira (b in Figure 31) and it is an explicative example of these informal cultivated places. Once, he told me that he has been cultivating it since he was re-located in the social housing with his family in 2008. Atanasio is 74 years old and has a problem with his left arm, he does not move it anymore. However, every day early in the morning, he takes his walking stick and leaves the house for reaching his vegetable garden, 300 meters far from home. On the left side of the main road there is a well visible path penetrating the field. The path is definite but narrow. There are fences both sides. Atanasio' vegetable garden is fenced, too. It is a plot of land of about 400 square meters, with a green net all around supported by wooden poles of different sizes and quality, placed every two-three meters. He pulled the fence up slowly with the help of friends, finding reusable pieces.

The little entrance gate is made of a wooden rectangular frame (80x180 cm), divided in the middle by a board, and two overlapped layers of the same net of the fence, pinned down the frame, covering the voids of the sash. The door hinge is made of three pieces of rope that hold the frame to the post on the right. The lock is made of metal – two steel hooks, one screwed to the frame and the other to the post on the left, closed with a padlock. At the entrance, there are wooden planks on the ground. To the right is the neighbour's garden and to

⁷¹ The word derived from the English *grog*. It is a typical Cape Verdean alcoholic beverage made from sugarcane which production is fundamentally artisanal, and nearly all the sugarcane is used in the composition. The cane is processed in a press known as a *trapiche*.

the left a small shack of 4 metres squared in total, and not even two meters high. Inside, there are only a small table, a chair, a hook with an old shirt hanging, a bottle of grogu and three little glasses. The shack is made of wooden boards and panels and a sheet ceiling. It has two opposite openings without doors, one of the entrance the other to access the cultivations. As soon as Atanasio arrives here, he dresses up the work clothes. On the too sunny days, he rests in the shack in the shade and if a friend of come for a visit it is in the shack that he can serve a grogu.

The cultivated lands in Atanasio' garden are an explosion of green. They lie on three terraces. In the lower part (which is 5x20 meters) there are tomatoes, onions, salad and sugar canes. In the middle portion (which is a strip of land of 2x25 meters), there are various kind of beans, broad beans and peas. While the upper part as well as all around is occupied by the sugar canes. In the lower part of the allotment, near the shack, there are other elements: two cylindric plastic buckets (60 cm high) that can serve to sit or to gather the harvest, an irrigation hose, and a 220 lt blue polyethylene barrel (1 m high and 60 cm large) closed with a black lid. It is the typical "*bidon di encomenda*" [barrel for delivery] that is used in the maritime transport of goods that Cape Verdean immigrants send from Portugal to Cape Verde for their family. A used barrel of these costs around 20 euros and, in the allotments, they are employed to store rainwater and irrigate with it.

For water supply, there are also common channels made in compacted earth with few plastic and wooden joints that start directly from the waterways present in the area and branch off towards each plot. These small channels are opened or closed by the farmers when necessary. Yet, Atanasio cannot manage to do everything alone and neither with the support of his wife that helps with the harvests. This is the reason why his friend Ivo, about ten years younger than him, provides with the cultivations growth, with the fence maintenance and the water storage. And in return, Atanasio gives him part of the harvest and a percentage of the sugar canes to produce grogu.

Atanasio' allotment is not different from others in Casal da Mira neither from others in different areas. They can differ in dimension, in the quality of the materials utilized, or in the crops. But they are all quite similar in their social function and material consistency. In this case, it is important to notice the incapability of the GM and GSV images to narrate these places. From the images presented in Figure 31, indeed, one can only understand the dimension of these gardens as well their position in the interstices of the infrastructures beside the highways. But it is impossible to grasp the intelligence of the informal gardens architecture as well as the social value of their maintenance. From the street, one cannot understand the regular grid of paths that divide the slopes in different allotments since the perimeters create a kind of green curtains to prevent unpleasant visitors and even unwanted glances. Without passing through the external green curtains, one cannot comprehend the equilibrium

and mutual help that reign between these urban farmers. The law of *appropriation by care* seems to prevail here: those who took care of these lands and made them productive, reap the fruits today. Without penetrating the green, one cannot have an idea of this agricultural microcosm. In the table below (Table 1.4), I explain this dynamic between the visual clues and invisible issues of the images and the necessary frame of additional information in support of the analysis.

<p>VISUAL CLUES</p>	<p>The localization of the gardens in the voids between the metropolitan road infrastructures, their dimension and the ephemeral materials used for the divisions and the little constructions in support of agriculture.</p>
<p>SUPPORTIVE KNOWLEDGE</p>	<p>The informal gardens have a considerable economic and social value for people who work in them and for their families who are mainly black and originally from Cape Verde. The system of irrigation and terracing used in these gardens remembers the typical Cape Verdean mode.</p>
<p>INVISIBLE ISSUES</p>	<p>The transformative power of these places in the lives of people involved, the subversive extent and the dimension of resistance embedded in the informal horticulture practice.</p>

VISUAL / MATERIAL APPROACH TABLE 1.4
PLACE-MAKING THROUGH INFORMAL URBAN AGRICULTURE

These informal suburban gardens are far apart from today “greening” agendas and the fashionable ecological turnaround that is filling metropolises with radical chic “city gardens” with the risk of co-option to the neoliberal project (Tornaghi, 2014). These are places of resistance to annihilation, places of freedom and vitality. These are the places of shared lunches and weekend encounters, the places of chats and work, of fights and survival for a large old generation of black people (Varela, 2020). In this sense, this urban agriculture acquires the essence of a subtle but persistent space-time continuum of resistance to racialization – a link between the past and the present and between the first and second periphery. People were forced to move from the informal neighbourhoods to the social housing estates but, throughout this drastic change, they maintained the informal urban agriculture practice. Further, this constellation of urban gardens in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area

contests urban growth and intersects it. It is a process that envisions but also actualises an alternative future for peripheral urban voids and urban agriculture in general. It is a process of black place-making that materially and productively resists racialization.

EMPLACEMENT: URBAN WALLS SPEAK OUT BLACKNESS

The youth are almost completely excluded from this cycle of land appropriation and cultivation. Probably none of the Atanasio' sons will continue to work the Casal da Mira vegetable garden. Indeed, the new black generations consist of suburban subjects without almost any link with the agricultural universe, they live at the edges of the metropolis without connection with the rural. They produce instead other kinds of places and forms of resistance. These places are for example, associations, cafes, restaurants, sports clubs, dancehalls, music studios and spots of encounters at the margins of the city as well as in the city centre. But, the visibility from the street of most of these places is minimal. It is impossible to know the exact reason for that but, admittedly, their invisibility can be considered as a form of protection and self-defence.

However, since my methodological approach is based on a street perspective, I consider here what is visible of this young black dimension of the city. The urban walls and the artworks on them, for instance, are extremely related to black self-visibility throughout the metropolitan area of Lisbon in deep and powerful ways. Indeed, urban walls are one of the archetypes of architecture and have a lot to do with the politics of visibility. They form material curtains that define the invisible while at the same time can be turned into "surfaces of projection for visible traces and assertions" (Brighenti & Kärrholm, 2019). Moreover, not only are walls physically connected to the street, as its edges, but street life is intimately connected with the expressions of walls and even shaped by them.

Following this perspective, graffiti and street art in the metropolitan area of Lisbon represent an important way in which urban walls are mobilised and turned into operative devices for affirming processes of black emplacement. Indeed, a considerable number of urban walls across the city are charged of messages and figures of the local and global black experience, history and struggle. A *fil-rouge* that links the centre to the margins, the local with the global. Based on my personal knowledge of the graffiti scene in the whole metropolitan area, I present some of these eloquent vertical surfaces or pieces of street-art with a composition of photos using those ones publicly accessible online provided by GSV users. I identified three groups which are organized in the three distinctive columns of the layout.



FIGURE 32

ARTWORKS ON URBAN WALLS ACROSS LMA:

ON THE LEFT ROW, THE ONES LOCATED IN COVA DA MOURA; ON THE CENTRAL ROW, GRFFITI VARIABLY LOCATED BOTH IN THE CENTRE AND IN THE PERIPHERIES; IN THE RIGHT ROW, SOME OF THE ARTWORKS IN QUINTA DO MOCHO

(SOURCE: ONLINE GSV IMAGES COMPOSED BY THE AUTHOR)

In Figure 32, the column on the left shows the graffiti depicted on the walls of Cova da Moura, the black self-built neighbourhood extensively mentioned above, characterized by a strong identity and an engaging youth presence. The central column shows a collection of graffiti variously located in the metropolitan area: the upper ones are in the city centre (Bairro Alto and Estrela) while the ones at the bottom are depicted in the suburbs. Eventually, the third column, the right one, shows the graffiti that resulted of a big street art contest hold in 2014 in the peripheral rehousing neighbourhood of Quinta do Mocho (Loures) which, thanks to this event, turned into the widest open-air street-art gallery in Europe .

The street artworks reproduced on the urban walls of Lisbon that I present here speak about blackness in articulated ways between local frames and global references. The portraits of Malcolm X, Martin Luther King, Tupac and Bob Marley and that of the woman that is unmasking herself with a reference to Fanon's book *Black skins, White masks* (first on the right column) point to global projects of revolutionary blackness. While the pictures of Amilcar Cabral – the leader of Guinea Bissau and Cape Verde independence – as well as Eusebio – the most famous Portuguese football player originally from Mozambique – and of the woman playing *batuku*⁷² and dressed in Cape Verdean typical style (second in the central column) reframe blackness in a locally specific way, that of Lisbon. Others are graffiti artwork denouncing the violent police attitude towards black people or serve simply to identify black establishments, such as an hair saloon or a café or an association.

One can find these drawings in different forms: as extensive artworks on large walls as well as stencils on the lower corner of any urban surfaces. Some of them were part of municipal agreements, others are the results of associations activities and others the marks of individual or collective denounce. The firsts are part of a collective black stance carried out by a number of city's anti-racist movements that use these kind of urban visibility as part of a wider political engagement. The latter ones, instead, are the visible signs of the daily black conflict that dominate individual lives of black youths across the metropolitan area and for whom having a spray-painted is enough to speak out their experience and to question the city and its inhabitants.

⁷² The *batuque* is probably the oldest musical and dance genre in Cape Verde, but there are written records of it only from the 19th century. The Portuguese administration and the Church have always been hostile to the *batuque* because it was considered "African", but during the policy of Estado Novo this hostility was stronger. The *batuque* has even been forbidden in urban centres and it was a dying musical genre from the 1950s. However, after independence, there has been an interest in the revival of some musical genres among which the *batuque* was fully restored as a national symbol. It was in the nineties that the *batuque* experienced a true rebirth with young composers doing research work and giving a new form to the style and now sung by young singers. Finally, in 2020, the *batuque* was declared an intangible heritage of humanity by UNESCO.

Indeed, these urban artworks speak about a generation symbolically situated in a continuum of identitarian negotiations - at the intersections of multiple belongings, at best, or in a condition of double “non-belonging”, at worst. The youths that practice this kind of street-art are not tied to their countries of origin like their parents and, at the same time, they do not feel completely Portuguese. “*Não sou de lá, nem de cá*” [I am not from there, nor from here] they often say. Their identity construction – intended as a continuous and unfinished process of formation that relates both to self and social identity – depends on several variables as class, gender, nationality and country of origin and oscillates between similarity and difference (Ortiz, 2013). However, there is a persistent, visible and invariable element: blackness.

No matter whether they have or not Portuguese citizenship, no matter whether they know or not their African countries of origin, no matter whether they speak or not other languages apart from Portuguese, they are black and, as blacks, they are seen by society. So, blackness is attached to them and simultaneously reinvented by them, and it materializes at the crossroad between self-determination and hetero-determination. Being young and black in Lisbon means being physically peripheral but symbolically central, as something opposite of normative. It means to be considered African without feeling it, and criminal without committing crimes.

However, other tangible and intangible elements constitute this young blackness of Lisbon and refer to a more global construction of collective black identity – hip-hop and rap style, dreadlock hairstyle, showy sneakers and a language in which Portuguese, *Kriolu*⁷³ and American-style English coexist without conflicting. The expression, self-visibility and emplacement through urban street-art is inscribed in this wider process of young version of blackness, a critical material component of its spatialization in the metropolitan landscape of Lisbon.

GM users’ photos are valuable sources for the visualization of the graffiti and to understand the kind of art-works as well as their dimension and considerable number. However, what remain unspoken is the symbolical meaning of certain local figures and the denouncing extent implicit in their representation. Another issue that stay hidden in the images is the deep reason behind their position that can be a random choice, but also a specific provocation, a narrative interruption or a self-declaration. In the table below (Table 1.5), I summarize this dynamic between tacit issues and unexpressed issues of the visual source together with the necessary supportive knowledge.

⁷³ Kriolu is a Cape Verdean and diasporic expression of language within the larger category of “creole,” a derivative of the Latin and subsequent Portuguese verb *criar* meaning to “educate, breed or bring up.” The story of Kriolu is conflicted - it includes colonial mimesis and assimilation as well as racialized difference and African diasporic pride (Pardue, 2015).

VISUAL CLUES	The presence of several black figures depicted on the urban walls (both as complex artworks and small stencil), the political messages related to the local and global black struggle.
SUPPORTIVE KNOWLEDGE	There are specific reasons why certain black local personalities are depicted and the spots where they stand are not always random. Indeed, their representations are full of meanings that vary from emplacement, recognition and denounce. These graffiti are the symptom of a strong political engagement of the black youths and parts of a specific code of communication.
INVISIBLE ISSUES	The meaning of certain local figures localized in specific city spots.

VISUAL / MATERIAL APPROACH TABLE 1.5
EMPLACEMENT THROUGH URBAN ARTWORKS

It is worth to say that the ensemble of graffiti presented in Figure 32 were almost randomly chosen among the multitude of black graffiti that I saw during my fieldwork and, admittedly, it is nothing more than a tiny sample among all that exist. This collection has the only intention to bring attention on how the Lisbon urban space and its vertical surfaces is visibly marked by blacks' presence. The intensely expressive practice of black street art, exercised mostly by black (but also white) young people, produces as much communication as divergence in public space.

These affirmative means are the possibility that brings about revolutionary changes (Badiou, 1988). That is, the future is conceived not through sameness but through difference, a difference conceived through divergence. Indeed, the ultimate objective of this analysis – both that of urban walls as operative devices of black emplacement and urban gardens as black place-making – it is that of drawing attention to a specific black articulation of places that seeks not only to validate different black experiences but also to bring into being alternative black visions of the future.

CONCLUSIONS OF CHAPTER 5

In this chapter, I developed a visual analysis of online satellite and street-view publicly accessible images to explore the material aspect of the relationship between race and space. The aim was that of showing the layered materiality that can arise in exploring specific places of the city through certain digital means of visualisation. Admittedly, there is problematic filtering that occurs through the technological gaze, which is related to the way in which it has transformed the practice of witnessing. Indeed, I employed Google imagery only after having had an embodied and first-hand experience of the places that I presented. However, the restrictions imposed by the Covid-19 pandemic turned into opportunities to experiment with new research techniques and, in particular, virtual methods of analysis that do not require a physical presence in the urban spaces. My overall consideration of the implementation of virtuality in urban analysis is that the digital realm does offer a critical space of reflection and new opportunities, but one that comes with its own constraints.

In the first section, I focused on the visual/material combined approach that I adopted to both race and space before introducing the empirical operations specific to my analysis. I considered race and space as critical socio-material components that detain both ideal qualities as well as material thickness and I argued that the visible is the field in which the city and the racialized subject mutually constitute each other. Race, which is originally not material, turned in a material category and owns specific materiality that was brought into existence at a particular time period. Its materiality refers to the category of the fully human. Race indeed is a powerful frontier between the human and the less-than-human and its concept – together with that of racial difference – emerged as that which is visible and classifiable. So, race materiality lives in the realm of the visible. On the other hand, acknowledging the materiality of urban space reveals its historicity – which is crucial to understanding social processes such that of race – it is embedded in the power system as well as in the economic realm and it is strictly linked with the uses of space. Furthermore, the urban space can be considered integrally as a visible space in which one becomes both a subject and an object of visibility. So, also space materiality lives in the realm of the visible.

With these premises, the operational challenge was to achieve a detailed understanding of how the visual can be outlined as part of the complex and phenomenological materiality of race spatial processes. In practice, I selected, recomposed and elaborated a collection of Google Map satellite images and Google Street View shots in order to explore many dissimulated processes of urban racialization and two distinctive forms of spatial resistance.

In the second and third sections – which are in turn divided into five subsections – I presented the analysis of the materiality of the places I chose to visualize. The content analysis of the images that I conducted was as simple as a detailed description of the architectural and urban characteristics of the images, of all the visible human and non-human elements and articulations. I added to this report several historical detailed information collected through the bibliography and the informal interviews and additional data gathered during my visits to these places.

First, I analysed a historical public square characterized by the presence of black people in which racialization operates as omission and lack of historical recognition while the resistance takes place through a constant physical presence. Secondly, I examined the urban changes that occurred between 2009 and 2019 along a symbolic metropolitan street of which the northern border was fully occupied by black informal settlements that were completely demolished, recomposing and comparing the street-view shots archived in GSV. Here, if the creativity of the demolished informal buildings could be outlined as a form of resistance to racialization, then it was flushed out by a violent erasure. Third, I analysed the localization, urban morphology and the facades of six peripheral social neighbourhoods with a majority of the black population (taken as examples) by highlighting the extremely poor quality of the urban structure, the geometrical and closed planimetries design and the construction materials as the main drivers of racialization through ghettoization, degradation and impoverishment.

After having analysed the materiality of racialization processes I tried to unveil that of spatial actions of resistance. So, I explored the practice informal agriculture developed by an old generation of black folks in three non-regulated urban allotments as a powerful form of black place-making, contestation and positive future envisioning. And finally, a collection of graffiti that represent black figures or refer to the global and local black struggle closed the exploration by drawing attention to the visible black (young) emplacement of street artworks as disruptive operative devices that animate several urban walls of the metropolitan area of Lisbon.

The visual/material approach results in an appropriate means through which to denounce racialization processes (omission, erasure, replacement) and recognize the spatial actions of resistance (place-making, emplacement). However, the effectiveness of the approach seems to be based to a varying extent on the supportive knowledge which provided a form of controlling fallacies derivable by the presence of issues impossible to detect in the visual source. The previously assembled knowledge obtained through other means has weighed on the final analysis in different ways. Or rather, the visual/material approach appropriateness varies from case to case. In Table 2, I summarize the extent of information acquired by the visual source (that I call in the table visual clues), of the ones obtained through other means (supportive

knowledge) and of that impossible to be achieved through the visual source (invisible issues). In the last column, I rank the method appropriateness with three points (high suitability), two points (medium suitability) and 1 point (low suitability).

EMPIRICAL CASES OF RACIALIZATION AND RESISTANCE TO IT	VISUAL CLUES	SUPPORTIVE KNOWLEDGE	INVISIBLE ISSUES	RANKING OF METHOD SUITABILITY
OMISSION IN LARGO DE SÃO DOMINGOS	●●●	●	○	●●●
ERASURE IN ESTRADA MILITAR	●●	●●	○○	●●
REPLACEMENT IN THE <i>BAIRROS SOCIAIS</i>	●●	●●	○	●●●
PLACE-MAKING THROUGH INFORMAL AGRICULTURE	●●	●●●	○○	●
EMPLACEMENT THROUGH URBAN ARTWORKS	●●	●●	○	●●

SUMMARY TABLE 2
RANKING OF VISUAL/MATERIAL METHOD SUITABILITY IN THE FIVE EMPIRICAL CASES

Table 2 shows at a glance that the method is more effective in denouncing processes of racialization (omission, erasure and replacement) than in rendering of practices of resistance (place-making and emplacement). Spatial resistance is more disguised than racialization and even more difficult to detect through “objective” images such as those from Google Maps and Street View.

Presumably, practices of resistance have a less transformative power on the places, or rather, their spatial transformation is less visible (maybe by choice of the actors involved). Admittedly, the case of the square together with that of the social housing estates are the ones in which the approach works out better compared to the others. In the square, the uses of the space, its symbolic value and the mismatch between memorial materials and black human presences are all visual/material details captured by the images. It is enough to know the historical link between the place and the black community to understand the ongoing process of omission which, although not directly visible, is easily comprehensible thanks to the analysis of the visual sources. In the case of social housing neighbourhoods, what is not visible, and is thus part of the essential supportive knowledge, is merely the social stigma that weighs on these places. As for the rest, their isolated location, their closed and geometric urban morphologies and the low quality of the materials used in their construction are all features that can be easily deciphered from the images.

The case of the informal neighbourhoods demolished on the street is particularly interesting. Although the images allow one to fully appreciate the enormous urban change that occurred during the time period considered (2009-2019) – the northern side of the street occupied by houses and then by empty fields – it is necessary to know in-depth the history of the street, the entire (urban, economic and social) process that led certain (black) communities to build their homes there, and the strong social networks that these people had woven in the territory to truly understand the significance of the (visible) transformation. The need for integrating the visual sources with a wide amount of information collected by other means basically means reduced effectiveness of the visual/material approach. This is true, for instance in the case of the street-art works for which the images become mediums of (black) political content (either global or local) but do not manage to convey the process of youth resistance that these expressions represent. And even more so in the case of informal urban gardens in which the images they manage to give only a vague idea of the location, dimensions and materials used but they do not give any justice to the everyday resistance enacted by a black old generation taking care of these places.

Omission, erasure and replacement are different and overlapped forms of racialization and affect black people of all ages and genders, both in the centre and in the peripheries. On the contrary, resistance practices are distinct ones. Usually, the old black people involved in informal agriculture do not produce street artworks and vice versa the youths that make graffiti are not interested in the suburban gardens. Further, both racialization and resistance spatial processes appear new versions of anti-blackness colonial spatial traditions on one hand and of (ephemeral but disruptive) black appropriation of space on the other hand. The ways in which racialization is conveyed in space by institutions is subtle and dissimulated, there are no explicit prohibitions nor evident divisions between whites and blacks but it is equally effective in separating

bodies, isolating them and violent in defining who is entitled to occupy certain spaces and who is not. Any sort of resistance to racialization performs in space in even more nuanced forms if possible without losing, however, its high transformative potential.

The actors of these processes are diametrically opposed. Rationalization is in fact implemented by institutional actors who operate far from the spaces in which it emerges as omission, erasure or replacement. It is the architects, together with the final decision makers of the central square urban design - the ones who design and approve a square' arrangement without any element that refers to its black memory. The actors of racialization are the municipal administrations that send bulldozers to demolish the black informal neighbourhoods. But also, and above all, the legislators who draft and endorse the PER programme by considering the demolition of the informal settlements an infeasible condition for the city embellishment, without offering however valid alternatives to the people involved and without creating moments of active participation for the people whose lives would have changed radically following the implementation of the programme.

The actors of racialization are also those who designed the social housing estates together with those who approved the projects - and possibly even those who executed them (although at that point the margin of choice was probably very limited). These actors are (symbolically and physically) far from the places on which their decisions have fallen so that their accountability ends up vanishing away and only the materiality of their spatial choices is what remains. This is why it is very difficult to define cause-and-effect mechanisms and almost impossible to impart responsibilities and faults. On the contrary, the actors involved in the processes of spatial resistance are very close to the places where their decisions and actions materialise. Their own hands transform spaces into places, sowing fields as well as drawing and colouring urban walls. Since they are to a different extent subversive or even illegal actions, those who practice graffiti and informal gardens can be charged and punished by law.

Actually, the focus on material/visual elements of the urban does not allow one to exactly define the actors of these processes (and it is not its objective) but only to detect spatial forms that reinforce mechanisms of racialization and resistance by reducing or enhancing black people freedom across the metropolitan area of Lisbon. Patterns of racialization, even the more disguised ones, become visible and discernible if one considers their materiality. And, on the other hand, processes of urban resistance to racialization are equally material but less visible since much more ephemeral. Yet, the evanescent green architecture of informal allotments together with the intrinsic temporary nature of the colourful street artworks is powerful enough to counter and contest the anonymity of the social blocks made of concrete, the omission of historical recognition and the deafening silence of the empty fields in place of the old informal dwellings.

QUESTIONS OF VISIBLE MATERIALITIES

This last chapter contributes to the wider purpose of the dissertation by enriching the understanding of the complexly layered materiality of race spatial processes in the city of Lisbon thanks to the usage of online digital means of visualization. The analysis of Google imagery serves as a basis for a detailed description of urban material and physical presences and to combine an informed reflection on race and space articulations with an innovative narration of certain critical places of the city. The visual/material approach to online digital urban images to explore race spatial processes here developed brings one to consider a few main conclusive thoughts. Here, I try to summarize in a few points the challenges launched by such a kind of analysis.

- An approach that combines the visual and the material can be truly effective in detecting race spatial processes such as urban racialization and practices of spatial resistance to it;
- Race and space can be considered as socio-material categories that live in the realm of visible;
- Race materiality unfolds in the reference to the categories of not-fully human or less-than-human that was brought into existence and started to structure the lifeworld only in modern times;
- Visibility is a key element for understanding the ways in which race functions as a category for classifying people;
- The materiality of urban space is embedded in the economic and power structures and its acknowledging is critical for understanding both the historicity of race spatial processes as well as for reading the usages of space;
- The urban space is also where one automatically turns in an object and a subject of visibility – architectures and in particular the vertical surfaces act as boundaries of visibility within which one is inscribed;
- The analysis of visual devices such as satellite and street-view online images of specific city places permits one to read race spatial processes prioritizing the examination of material visible urban elements;
- The application of digital means of investigation comes with specific constraints that one has to recognize to not fall into naïve arguments of objectivity, indeed, the engagement with places at a distance still needs a

previous embodied and first-hand experience of such places and a supportive knowledge;

- Urban racialization performs in different and dissimulated ways such as omission, erasure, displacement, replacement, degradation, impoverishment and ghettoization;
- The urban materials enact as vectors of racialization through their absence, extremely poor-quality and anonymity;
- Spatial resistance can take the shape of black place-making and black emplacement and these material operations although ephemeral manage to *limit* the consequences of racialization or even to materialize alternative futures;
- The various forms of urban racialization are overlapped and affect black people of any gender and age across the metropolitan area of Lisbon while the practices of resistance are developed by distinct groups;
- The actors of urban racialization are mainly institutional (either they decision-makers, designers or executors) and they are physically and symbolically far from the places transformed by their decisions and actions while the actors of spatial forms of resistances are physically and symbolically close to the places transformed by their practices and directly chargeable by law;
- The visual/material approach demonstrates to effectively work out in detecting racialization effects on space more than in visualizing the material transformative power of resistance practices.

CONCLUSIONS

My interest in the question of the lived experience and materiality of race-urban connections and the debates surrounding it was the initial driver for this research. The research responds to the need for more articulated approaches to the relationship between race and the city as part of a wider socio-political agenda concerned with justice and equality. As an architect and an urban designer, I was keen to explore the extent to which space acts – fostering, limiting, promoting or narrowing – in relation to race-urban configurations. Ongoing international discourse, within both academic and political contexts, have reiterated the urgency and relevance of conducting research that engages with complex social issues and the lived experience of them as a means of developing an in-depth and situated understanding of race dynamics in the urban context.

I wrote this dissertation as a young scholar for whom race is not simply an idea, but a powerful device that envelops all of us – in how we see things, in how we do things, in how the world appears to us, in how we fall into darkness, into light or into shadow. From my personal point of view, the acceptance together with a more articulated comprehension of the shadows is probably the major achievement of this research journey.

This thesis began with a somewhat risky assumption: that it was theoretically and empirically viable to analyse race through space. It meant that a properly articulated spatial framework could be effective in reading and uncovering race processes which unfold in the city. In other words, my assumption was that space could be conceived as a critical lens through which to analyse race and that a race-urban nexus could be found at different spatial scales. The scales I have referred to throughout the text were both topographical and topological. Race and ‘the urban’ indeed result as interconnected and even interdependent at micro and macro levels of analysis and on different degrees of depth.

Admittedly, this hypothesis occurred to me upon observing race spatial dynamics in the metropolitan region of Lisbon. But the outcomes of the spatial analysis exceeded, to a certain extent, the theoretical expectations. If analysed through the lens of space, race processes in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area displayed a number of critical dynamics that resulted from both material and immaterial forces: national discourses, urban policies and materials, architecture and stereotypes. The metropolitan territory of the city was an excellent example in understanding how the urban-race nexus evolves in various spatial dimensions and lives in the realm of the visible.

Historically, Lisbon has been a 'city of slaves'. It is a matter of fact that black people have lived and crossed the city since the 15th century articulating various and elaborate spatial organizations within its urban structures. However, with the end of slavery in 1773, there are no more official records of black people since they were then considered citizens of the empire, in the name of the law, and thus they did not appear in governmental statistics. But the penetration of the black population into the social fabric of the city has continued over the centuries and increasing constantly.

There are a number of clues to demonstrate this claim beyond the evidence of official records: the rise of black religious fraternities, the constant presence of black people appearing in many urban representations, the publishing of a journal called *O Negro* [The Black] – about black people's experiences of living in Lisbon – launched in 1911 and the organization of the Third Pan-Africanist Conference in 1923, amongst others. Thus, 'black spaces' within Lisbon are anything but a novelty. They have existed since modern history, they changed over time and they have been structured in various ways.

Today, the dominant idea that the current political discourses and institutional urban representations aim to transmit is that Lisbon is a city open to social differences since its society historically contains social differences – that it is a multicultural and cosmopolitan city. Although full of hope, this argument is illusory as its premise is deceptive. Unfortunately, a significant amount of evidence points to the fact that Lisbon is neither an open city nor cosmopolitan nor multicultural. It is not true today, as much as it has never been true. A wide range of diverse people have been co-habiting within its urban space for a long time, but neither in the past nor now, has this cohabitation been simple and unproblematic.

At the present moment, Lisbon's urban space is fragmented and divided by internal boundaries of differences that work on distinct axes. Not only is a class axis clearly detectable that tends to exclude low wage inhabitants from the city centre, but there is also a race axis that tends to marginalize black people to poor, degraded and non-representational urban areas. Although this race axis is more dissimulated, subtle and less easily detected, it exists and has its own effects on the whole urban structure.

It may be argued that Lisbon is a racialized city – or rather a racialized metropolitan system. Indeed, the specific impact of race in structuring the urban spatial organization is more readable if one considers the metropolitan scale. Indeed, Lisbon is only one of the municipalities, the central pole – on which all the urban trajectories converge – of a wider network composed of 18 towns – the most African metropolitan region of Europe. The area boasts a rich black cultural scene and has become a nodal point of an Afro-diasporic network internationally.

However, all the available official statistics are blind to the number of descendants of African immigrants and only count the foreigners from the African continent. It is precisely the lack of black population data that at the beginning seemed to be a primary limitation for such a study, then has given rise to a number of unexpected possibilities of analysing race and blackness in Lisbon, beyond the numbers. As is sometimes likely to happen, something that previously was considered a shortcoming of the inquiry turned out instead to be a source of opportunities.

THE NECESSARY PRAGMATISM TO SUCCESSFULLY GET INVOLVED WITH COMPLEX SOCIAL ISSUES

Undoubtedly, the lack of data added complexity to the investigation. However, throughout the dissertation, I have demonstrated how complexity is productive, not barren. I believe, indeed, that one of the main achievements of the discussion on race-urban configurations developed over the previous pages is that of enriching the contemporary debate by demonstrating how alternative methods shed light on the ways in which blackness can be spatially inscribed in a certain city.

Moving the focus onto space was the key operation for dismissing the attention from numbers and enlightening other layers of analysis. Theoretically, both the concepts of race and space have been fully unwrapped in all their dimensions. The concept of space has been framed in order to use it as an effective lens of analysis offering a combined approach to different topological and topographical scales. Similarly, the notion of race has been deeply pondered and re-proposed through a material perspective to use it as an operational category (Figure 31).

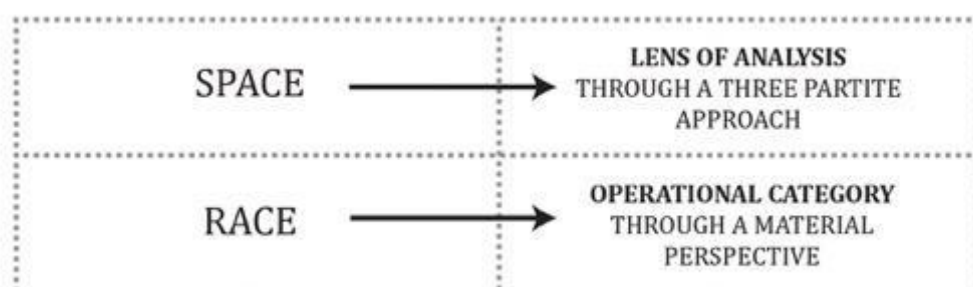


FIGURE 33
THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

Considering space as a multidimensional and plural whole, I have pragmatically unpacked its concept into three main extents: space, place and matter. Space relates to the relative positions of objects and subjects, place concerns the affective dimension of space and matter refers to its material thickness. My

meaning is that these are distinct aspects that co-exist simultaneously in every spatial configuration. And, swinging the focus from one dimension to another permits one to reveal the varied interconnections between race and space and to decline them at different scales of observation.

As for the thorny concept of race, at the end of this analytical journey, I fully believe that something can matter without being something. For instance, race matters because it is made to matter, not because it is something that matters *a priori*. This materialistic and pragmatic assumption, at the basis of all the reflections exposed here, provided the possibility of dealing with a truly delicate and intricate social issue without being trapped by its notional conceptions. It permitted me to turn “only” towards its effects, focusing, in particular, on the spatial analysis of them.

It is thanks to the innovative combination of various registers, databases, different lines of bibliography, and various forms of investigation – that I have considered and made use of both in designing the research and in exposing its achievements – which resulted in what I have called a “pastiche”. Although unusual, it is an innovative demonstration of how complexity can be addressed with pragmatic assumptions and mixed – but accurately selected – research operations. Indeed, I have shown that mixed methods are strongly associated with pragmatism particularly in a study that engages with a multidimensional question like the one that has driven my inquiry – *how does race emerge and operate in the metropolitan space of Lisbon?*

I opted for multiple qualitative approaches using many research tools that reflect both deductive (objective) evidence and inductive (subjective) evidence. The theoretical premises – as well as some conceptual advances – were exposed in Chapter 1 drawing on a wide range of international literature about space and race, while Chapter 2 provided the contextual frame to the case study focusing on the geographical area of the European South. Chapters 3, 4 and 5 were devoted to the unfolding of three distinct empirical analyses: a detailed examination of urban policies (3), an interpretation of the “sense of place” of ten in-depth interviews with black women (4) and the content analysis of online urban images (5).

In the following closing pages, I discuss the ways in which each piece of the argument has enriched the whole discussion, together with the limitations that each part has set to the research. Next, I resume the overall achievements of the analysis proposed in terms of empirical evidence and practice of investigation. And finally, I expand on the advances that this investigation offers to the specific debate to which it aims to contribute as well as on the challenges that it has opened for further future research.

SCALAR INTERCONNECTIONS BETWEEN RACE AND THE CITY

In the introduction to this dissertation, I mentioned the research question, the case study and the theoretical background on which I grounded the spatial analysis of race processes. Then, the thesis was unrolled in five chapters. The order of the five chapters was arranged following a logical path: from a theoretical level to the empirical analysis. As I have already stated, however, each chapter can be considered as a single conceptual knot, being almost independent of the whole. Each chapter indeed advances critical insights, proposes both theoretical and practical key operations and launches multiple challenges. In this section, I recapitulate how every piece of the study has contributed to the entire argument of the dissertation yet maintaining each ones autonomous prominence.

Theory (Chapter 1)

The principal objective of the first chapter was to provide an overview of the possible interconnections between a critical, processual and material understanding of both race and the urban space. I started by exploring how race has been framed within notable international discourses touching on and combining the relevant contributions of Du Bois (1899), Omi and Winant (1986), Goldberg (1993), Delgado and Stefancic (2001), Saldanha (2006), Mbembe (2019a), amongst others. What emerges is that race needs to be comprehended both as an epistemological as well as an ontological issue. The challenge is that of considering the operativity of such a category without failing into the risk of essentializing its notion but also without dissolving it into epistemological wrangles.

Critical Race Theory promotes a specific perspective that implicates the understanding of race as a social construction and the acknowledgement of its historicity. Racial Formation Theory entails a recognition of race as a chain of contingencies and looks at race as its very own process, that of *racialization*. A material perspective involves the recognition of phenotype and of specific body connotations as carriers of a critical significance in the process of race. I argued that the material understanding of race needs more in-depth reflection. However, without this angle of analysis race dissolves into an issue of representation and discourse, being deprived of one of its fundamental aspects. Drawing on this critical, processual and material perspective, the studies that go under the label of Black Geographies provide innovative insights about race and space connections by framing blackness as an appropriate lens of analysis through which analysing race spatial processes.

I then focused on the concept of space. I argued that in order to effectively mobilize a spatial approach to the analysis of race processes, space has to be

intended in its multidimensionality and plurality. In particular, the framework that I adopted throughout the investigation is made up of three interlaced spatial dimensions: *matter* (physical masses of bodies, natural elements and artefacts), *place* (their social representation and cultural meanings) and *space* (their relative positions). Understood as such, race and space share common traits. Moreover, the specific relationship between blackness and the urban lives in the domain of the *visible*, which permits one to operationalize them in order to examine processes of racialization in the city.

The ways in which race and space are intertwined in Europe today is historically related to the European colonial past but has also been refined into new schemes by the current relationship between Europe and Africa. A generalized institutional negligence and, admittedly, also the wide range of different languages in which knowledge is exchanged in Europe have delayed studies on race and space, which have been a rarity until recent years and have limited the collaboration between scholars. However, these studies are increasing in number and improving in quality. Black Europe is emerging as a new framework of analysis, as a new concept of blackness in Europe and as a new methodological perspective within academic and activist circles. It aims to join the plurality of black voices around Europe in a plural and choral reflection upon the similarities of black experience across the continent.

Although relevantly informed and inscribed in the most advanced current academic debates, the theoretical conceptualization of race and space – and, in particular, of blackness and the urban – proposed in the first chapter, is far from being fully accepted and adopted in the area of European urban studies. But, again, there are notable exceptions (Keith, 2005; Fassin, 2013; Gressgård, 2017; Picker, 2017) which have inspired this study and simultaneously delineated the critical aspects that I aimed to overcome through this dissertation – the consideration of race processes limited to extra-ordinary cases (such as episodes of police violence in black neighbourhoods) and the focus of analysis confined to the peripheral areas of the urban context.

The challenges launched by this first theoretical scrutiny of the notions of race and space, and their practicability in the empirical research in Europe, were multiple. The management of the two overlapping levels of global and local of any race process in space was the first one. The attention to race in the ordinariness of everyday life and the inclusion of the inner city as a focus for the analysis of race processes were two other important requests. And finally, the most interesting test was that of demonstrating the inadequacy of the premise proposed at the beginning about “urban Europe” that motivated a narrowing of the geographical lens in order to properly frame the case study.

Frame (Chapter 2)

The main aim of the second chapter was to build a historical, geographical and symbolical meaningful horizon in which to inscribe the Lisbon-specific spatial

articulations of race. I used a narrative register and the chapter had a funnel-down structure meaning that I first focused on a supranational level – identifying the area of the European South as a relevant European sub-group in which exploring race-urban configurations – and secondly, I narrowed the focus on Portugal and, finally, on Lisbon.

Race and blackness have been historically linked with a range of debilitating stereotypes in the European South, beyond strict discourses of skin colour. The fascist regimes that characterized the 20th-century trajectory of this region played a key role in mediating these negative images up to the present. I demonstrated that fascist regimes acted as *vectors* of racial beliefs bringing them into the current democratic courses of the European South. Black people are excluded from the national identity since they are considered as if they do not belong to the material and immaterial national spaces. Thus, it was shown how the relationship to space emerged as central in questions of race. Indeed, black people are often considered out-of-place or placeless, in general they are considered to not belong to the territory in which they are.

As an area of study, the European South has been marginalized for a long time while the scientific knowledge produced in cities of northern Europe (and North America) has been normalized and utilized to analyse also southern cities without relevant outcomes. The intrinsic characteristic of the region of being in-between the South and the North has been overlooked as a potential. However, in recent years, scholars have been proving how the European South's specific position can be productive of new knowledge also on race matters. In cities of the European South, race operates on an axis that is of course interconnected with other issues such as class, gender and nationality but has autonomous features and produces distinct outcomes. In these cities, social distance is not always translated into spatial distance, or in other words, spatial proximity of different race groups – which is common – does not mean inclusion and integration.

Portugal is integrally part of this southern sub-region of Europe but I demonstrated how it adds much more complexity than consistency to the group itself regarding race matters. Portugal has detained long-standing relations with the African continent and Brazil since the beginning of modern history. Violent processes of miscegenation and unequal power relations have always characterized these relationships. Today, the denial in dealing with race issues – a transversal political behaviour that Portuguese institutions share with those of other countries of the European South – is specifically inscribed in a fictitious anti-racial historical representation of its colonial past. And it translates into strong negligence in tackling race matters.

Lisbon is a city strongly marked by race mechanisms and at the same time it is the scene of the strongest negations around race-urban matters. In the last few years, a wide public debate has been focused on several symbolic episodes that

occurred within the Lisbon urban space as well as in its imagined space as the capital of the Portuguese nation. This chain of events is expressive in proving how it is needed and urgent to tackle race-urban issues in this specific context. Lisbon must be considered not as a sample but as a dense site in which to explore race-urban connections. The case study can be used effectively to deepen specific local mechanisms of race in a context characterized by a self-representation as a “gentle nation” towards race difference, in which blackness is particularly framed in relation to the African continent and Brazil and in which there is a scarcity of standard tools to tackle race matters together with a generalized negligence.

Space (Chapter 3)

The purpose of the third chapter was to explore the residential geography of black people within the Lisbon Metropolitan Area resulting from the housing policies implemented over the last 60 years. The choice of analysing urban policies was driven by a preliminary hypothesis that black people’s position within the edges of the whole urban geography was ordered on a macro-structure related to specific urban strategies. In order to achieve this objective I developed a systematic literature review and an extensive revision of official statistics and reports about the city and black populations made up of both PALOP immigrants as well as the second and third generation immigrants with or without Portuguese citizenship.

The main limits of the analysis developed were due to the lack of data, except from that on immigration, and the restrictive focus of much of the literature considered on the residential geography. However, these limits did not constrain the overall achievement of the survey. Data on immigration were effective in giving a general idea of the phenomena at stake and were used as a support to analyse wider race-urban configurations despite the fact that I was completely aware of their limits. And the focus on the residential geography, even if not exhaustive enough to grasp the entire urban geographical dynamics of a specific group, remained relevant to perceive the macro-structures and was an excellent entry point.

I identified three main phases that marked the evolution of the housing policies over the last six decades that interlaced with race geographical matters: a first period, from the 1960s to the 1990s, mainly defined by institutional ambiguity in the property and land regime; a second season, from 1993 to the 2000s, when a national social housing programme was enforced; and a third stage, which started around fifteen years ago, characterized by the urban rehabilitation process that is still ongoing. These three phases led to a structural condition of *marginality* experienced by black people. Urban marginalization has emerged as an articulated process in which people are forced by a conjunction of economic/political/historical/race factors to occupy marginal areas of the urban space. And that of black people within the Lisbon Metropolitan Area is the overall consequence of urban racialization processes

triggered by these specific housing policies, the political choices behind them and the inadequacy of the economic resources allocated to them.

I demonstrated how the margins of the city could be such for different reasons. Indeed, the analysis has shown that an area can be considered an urban margin because of its localization in the metropolitan edges just as much as for the degradation of its architecture, for the blackness and poorness of its inhabitants, for the negative urban representation of the area, or rather for a combination of these circumstances. The urban marginality of black people is a condition that may be hard to reverse in the metropolitan area of Lisbon and which has certainly inhibited the social advancement of this group. However, in the meanwhile, the analysis implicitly suggests that the urban margins are paradoxically a setting from which a number of unexpected possibilities can emerge. These ground clues motivated the empirical operation that I expanded on in the following chapter.

Place (Chapter 4)

The previous chapter has shown how the theme of black urban marginality needs to be explored more. One of the ways in which it is possible to achieve this objective may be by directly consulting people who live under these conditions in order to fully appreciate both the constraints and the freedom. So, the fourth chapter was devoted to providing a *committed engagement* with people from the margins with specific attention to the potential expressed by everyday life's articulations and social memory related to the personal perception of urban places.

Since the concept of margins risks being hard to be operationalized in scientific research without a deeper and more flexible understanding of spaces and people of the margins, I first tried to re-conceptualize both of them. I defined the spaces as *contested*, *relationally built* and *places of potentialities*, and the people as *entangled*, *resistant* and *collective*. Marginal and marginalized spaces have been framed as a relationship with the centre – not a disconnection to it – and as the result of a number of social constructions both from inside and outside. While marginal and marginalized subjects are interpreted as simultaneously subjects in their own specificity and voices of a chorus.

Then, I presented an analysis of the biographical urban narratives of a heterogeneous group of ten black women living in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon. I conducted ten qualitative in-depth interviews with them, choosing them from a wider range of people with whom I had spoken during my fieldwork. The critical instance of collecting the voices of these kinds of subjects, black women, is that of combining personal and biographical urban accounts with wider social narratives and trajectories. The everyday experience together with urban memories were the basis on which it was possible to construct an innovative source of knowledge about the city and, in this specific case, its relationship to race mechanisms and gendered functioning. The

restricted number of interviews was truly effective in order to achieve the right extensiveness of analysis and to not lose important details.

However, the group of respondents needed to show an objective heterogeneity (age, social class, profession, life trajectory) in order to render possible the emphasis on the points of contact of the narratives produced by and the result of the commonalities (gender and blackness). The focus on the concept of place in the analysis – in particular on the sense of place and on the perception of certain places – was necessary in order to grasp the feeling and social representation of the places mentioned, going well beyond the economic and political aspects. At the same time, the constant reference to the literature about the urban trajectory of Lisbon has provided a crucial link between the biographical accounts and the macro-processes of urban changes.

The urban narrations presented in this fourth chapter served to enrich the information collected in Chapter 3, to add the emotional dimension of some dynamics as well as to uncover the hidden forces of others. They varied among a number of different themes. Sometimes they intensified critical binary concepts such as inside/outside; self/other; visible/invisible; in place/out of place; before/after etcetera. Other times respondents' answers questioned taken-for-granted convictions or, at least, problematized them. Finally, the black geography of the city emerged not from a well-edged common frame but similar to the *negative of a photograph*. If someone occupies a place that is not supposed to be occupied by that someone the whole geography of separation materializes.

Indeed, the main conceptual achievement of this chapter was the understanding that even if there are no material borders within the metropolitan area of Lisbon, it is *compartmentalized* in different areas. The axis of race inequalities works as a *patchwork* – irregular in the metropolitan territory. Margins are unevenly distributed as well as their borders. They can even change over time, but in the daily flow of the urban life there are invisible but operative lines that black bodies have to respect or cross. However, if they cross them, they are forced to taking the risk of the consequences that are sometimes unexpected.

Matter (Chapter 5)

In addition to expanding on and deepening the information gathered in Chapter 3, the previous chapter provided critical clues on particular places of the city on which I focused in Chapter 5. In this last chapter, indeed, I chose to adopt a particular approach that combines the visual and the material, truly effective in detecting race spatial processes such as urban racialization and practices of spatial resistance to it that unfold in specific places of the metropolitan area. The method that I implemented is grounded on the theoretical premise that race and space can be understood as (also) material categories that live in the realm of visible.

The material and visible features of both race and space were approached empirically after having asserted that race materiality is grounded in the specific reference to a fundamental (often implicit) category – that of fully human or less-than-human, that was brought into existence and started to structure the lifeworld only in modern times. *Visibility* emerged as a key element for understanding the ways in which race functions as a category for classifying people since race relates to the way each one of us appears to the others.

On the other hand, the acknowledging of urban space materiality was considered crucial especially for reading the usages of space and then also for understanding the historicity of race spatial processes. And, the reflection that the urban space is entirely a space of visibility – where one automatically turns an object and a subject of visibility and where architecture, and in particular the vertical surfaces, act as boundaries of visibility within which one is inscribed – closed the theoretical premises of the chapter.

So then, I presented the experimental empirical operation that consisted in the analysis of online visual supports such as Google Maps satellite photos and Google street views of specific city places: an historical central square, a symbolic metropolitan route, some peripheral social housing projects, a few informal gardens and a collection of urban graffiti. This operation permitted me to read race spatial processes prioritizing the examination of material visible urban elements – instead of their geography or their emotional dimension – with a higher degree of pragmatism and detachment.

However, the application of digital means of investigation came with specific constraints that needed to be recognized to avoid falling into naïve arguments of objectivity. Indeed, the engagement with places at a distance cannot be equalized to first-hand experience of places and a previous embodied involvement with the places considered emerged as the only effective way to limit improper deductions together with the previous gathering of supportive knowledge.

The analysis showed that urban racialization performs in various dissimulated ways which are more visible than the practices of resistance to it. In addition to the wider process of marginalization that occurs *patchy* on the whole metropolitan area, I detected specific and microforms of racialization through omission, erasure, displacement, replacement, impoverishment and ghettoization. The materials of the urban context enact as vectors of racialization through their absence, extremely poor-quality or anonymity. However, I also demonstrated how spatial resistance could also be developed through urban materials. Although ephemeral, such as the messages on a wall or the thin architecture of an allotment, these urban materials manage to limit

the consequences of racialization or even make real alternative perspectives on the present and propose different futures.

Coming back to the theoretical framework scheme (p. 240), one can admit that space is an adequate lens more practical in the micro-scale analysis of concentrated phenomena of racialization (omission in the square, degradation in the housing estate buildings, demolitions on a street) than in spread and uneven phenomena of resistance (informal gardens and graffiti). On the other hand, race can be operationalized as a category and the visible presence of black bodies - both material and immaterial ones, in the case of the artworks - is a useful and representative sign of racialization processes as well as resistance. So, the combined visual/material approach addressing and coupling the double nature of race and space leads to a deep understanding of race spatial events and processes.

To summarize, I want to stress that the path of the chapters presented here has shown interconnections between race and the city at different topographic and topological scales and at distinct levels of analysis and degrees of examination. These interconnections were first considered in theory, in broader terms, in Chapter 1 and then in every chapter in a more specific way. It was demonstrated that interconnections - and even a certain interdependence - between race and the city exist at a global level (Chapter 1), at a supranational level - in Europe (Chapter 1) and with specific mechanisms in the European South (Chapter 2) - and I showed how they are framed at the specific national level of Portugal (Chapter 2). Lisbon race-urban configurations have been fully contextualized and introduced (Chapter 2) before deepening their analysis (Chapters 3, 4 and 5). In empirical terms, I demonstrated that race-urban arrangements emerged in every dimension of space: the geographical (Chapter 3), the emotional (Chapter 4) and the material (Chapter 5).

In Chapter 3, through an extensive literature review about the housing policies of the last six decades and by examining spatial properties such as proximity, distance, access, distribution, concentration etcetera, I proved that, if considered at the urban geographical level, race-urban mechanisms in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area are synonymous with marginalization of black people that occurs irregularly over the whole territory. In Chapter 4, by engaging with the subjective, and simultaneously collective, voices of black women, I provided a means for understanding how the invisible but operative urban borders between different areas are lived and experienced every day. Finally, in Chapter 5, by analysing visual supports of specific places, I considered the materiality through which race and the urban relate to each other and intensify their interdependence in micro-processes of racialization.

THE RACE AXIS IN THE URBAN CONTEXT

In the very first pages of the introduction, I stated that the achievements of this dissertation lie more in the scientific path of exploration that it proposed than in conceptual innovative advances about race and city interconnections. However, it is worth saying that actually it also serves to advance a few original aspects of this relationship. Here forth, I will summarise these critical points of reflection.

First of all, my thesis proposed an exploration of race-urban configurations in a context in which it is still a rarity to speak about and analyse these issues. In Europe, and in particular in the European South, race is far from being considered an operational category for studying society and this leads to several consequences. Race effects tend to be considered as secondary outcomes of other variables of injustice and dissolve into matters of personal interpretation. Moreover, the few studies that explicitly use race as a category of analysis have to justify the choice and construct a theoretical defence to render the choice acceptable to the wider public. That means that efforts and time are consumed in supporting the premises, instead of implementing and deepening the research.

This has indeed been the case for this study, however, some interesting issues emerged regarding the specific contextualization in the European South. The obvious considerations have been that race works differently to cities of Northern Europe (and of course of North America), and that is the reason why indexes and measures of race category elaborated in these contexts do not fit the racialized structures of Southern cities. While the less obvious point that emerged was that race works on a specific axis and has autonomous outcomes in these cities. The axis of race does not have a simple articulation such as that of income, for instance. It does not function on dichotomies such as centre/periphery. It has a much more complex structure, dissimulated patterns and subtle layouts.

In cities of the European South, race works at a *micro-level* meaning that the urban constituents that have to be analysed in order to detect race mechanisms are, for instance, the neighbourhood, the street, the square, even the building. Indeed, looking at the whole urban geography these processes dissolve and evaporate in macro urban structures marked by other more visible orders. So, only a fine-grained analysis of specific places can shed light on race functioning. In addition to that, every single operation of race in space, once detected, has to be explored at different degrees in order to be grasped in its entirety. The constant overlapping of material and immaterial details, of physical and abstract aspects, is another aspect that characterizes the emergence of the race axis in cities of the European South.

With regards to the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, a significant achievement of the thesis was to understand that the axis of race functions through an outspread process of *racialization by marginalization* that happens unevenly across the entire territory. In an attempt to visualise the phenomenality of the race axis in Lisbon, one can think of a patchwork or a leopard-spotted pattern. Many areas of different dimensions and irregularly spread across the municipal territories are marginalized and sealed through invisible but operative borders determined by the category of race. To visualize the phenomena it can also be useful to think of a process of *urban compartmentalization* in which certain zones are completely locked into specific functions (that of hosting black people) and weakly connected with the surroundings or even with each other.

However, marginalization is only the macrostructure that seems to be the ultimate and latent effect of any processes of spatial racialization within the city. Different forces, material and discursive ones, trigger the marginalization of each area. If analysed in-depth, indeed, marginalization is always the consequence of a combination of different factors related to the various and dissimulated ways in which race operates. In the empirical part of the dissertation, I named a lot of spaces within the metropolitan territory.

They are names of informal settlements, social housing projects, historical neighbourhoods, streets, squares, transport hubs, shopping malls, shops and associations. For a reader that does not know the reality of the city, these designations can have an empty of meaning but for someone who knows the city they already come charged of some sense. This is the urban mental map to which I have referred to throughout the previous pages, with the argument that it is an (unconsciously or intentionally) racialized one.

At this point, in order to also permit the less Lisbon-informed reader to understand what I mean at least in broad terms, I focus on three of the places mentioned above (the ones to which I have returned with much more frequency than others) and I try to implement an exercise of clarity. For each of these places, I specify how race-urban configuration, or to say it better, the race axis on which they are structured, can be read at different levels using the framework of space, place and matter. The places in question, extensively mentioned along the empirical part of the dissertation are the informal settlement of Cova da Moura, the social housing project of Casal da Mira and the historical neighbourhood of Mouraria. It is possible to take these places as examples and points of reference to explain how the race axis structures the metropolitan geography, the emotional connotation of these places and how it reverberates in the tiniest materiality of the urban elements that combine them.

The informal neighbourhood

Cova da Moura is one of the oldest and largest illegally built settlements of the metropolitan area characterized by a majority of black people. In terms of

spatial proximity to the centre, Cova da Moura is far from being a margin, indeed, the area lies in the first ring outside the municipality of Lisbon and it is very well connected to the city centre – 15 minutes with public transport. However, Cova da Moura, within the whole geography of the metropolitan territory is a margin with well-defined borders between the inside and the outside (Figure N). The borders are determined by the informality of the constructions that make up the neighbourhood and by the race of its inhabitants, blacks. But above all, the borders that define Cova da Moura as an urban margin are foregrounded by the discourses that have been constructed around the area over time.



FIGURE 34
SATELLITE IMAGE OF COVA DA MOURA
(SOURCE: GOOGLE MAP)

Thanks to the literature review and to the analysis of the housing policies of the last six decades, it emerged that – although it was not demolished as other informal settlements – Cova da Moura was affected by the negative and detrimental discourses that were politically constructed, advanced by institutions and nurtured by the media in order to justify the demolitions executed during the 1990s of the illegally built settlements. Cova da Moura resisted the demolition but not the longer-term consequences of the adverse stereotypes and it is still widely considered by the majority of the city's white population as a nest of crime and drug trafficking. So, the marginalization that occurred primarily at a discursive level affected the actual porosity of its current borders that is near zero with the surroundings.



FIGURE 35

STREET VIEW OF COVA DA MOURA
(SOURCE: GOOGLE STREET VIEW 2019)

If examined under a different dimension of analysis, as the sense of place of black people regarding Cova da Moura, however, a different aspect arises. The area is considered a safe place for black people, exactly because whites are less frequent to be there. So, its borders are sealed for certain categories of people but truly open for others. Many black people coming from other areas of the metropolitan territory come to Cova da Moura in order to enjoy the conviviality of the neighbourhood (Figure N). There are a number of cafés, bars and many other kinds of shops which attract a wider black public from all over the city. So, the affective dimension of the area is anyhow positive and if, on one hand, the borders are the obstacle to an urban integration of the territory, on the other hand, they provide to maintain its exceptionality.



FIGURE 36

STREET VIEW OF COVA DA MOURA
(SOURCE: GOOGLE STREET VIEW 2009)

Until 2014, the right wall of one of the streets that enters Cova da Moura has been animated by a street-art mural that affirmed in Cape Verdean Crioulo “Nós Casa” [Our Home] followed by an arrow indicating the route to follow (Figure N). Then, the graffiti was substituted by one simply saying “Cova da Moura”. However, the self-positioning and stance enouncing that the expression “Nós Casa” emanated are not superficial. Indeed, if analysed from another point of view, that of the tiniest materiality of the urban elements that make up a place, Cova da Moura results as a place of resistance for black youths. The vertical surfaces of the neighbourhood reveal the activity and self-empowerment of a young generation of black folks who - rejecting the negative stereotypes attached to them and to the place they live in - responds to the enunciation of black self-esteem reconducting the local struggle to the global one, the neighbourhood memory to the international scene.

The social re-housing settlement

The social housing project of Casal da Mira is located in the northern part of the second ring of the periphery and it is made up of 760 apartments. More than half of the inhabitants are low-income black people, while the others are gypsies and low-income white people. The project hosted people coming from different informal settlements that were demolished during the 1990s. Its localization and the way it is isolated from the transport network render the neighbourhood an island of concrete, divided into little cells, in the middle of a mesh of big infrastructures and in front of the over-dimensioned volume of the shopping mall that fills the valley below (Figure N).



FIGURE 37

SATELLITE IMAGE OF CASAL DA MIRA
(SOURCE: GOOGLE MAP)

Through the analysis of the housing policies of the last six decades together with the literature review, it was possible to understand that Casal da Mira was from the very beginning designed as a marginalized place. Casal da Mira is not only a margin at a material level but also at a discursive one. Indeed, what makes Casal da Mira a marginal and marginalized area within the whole urban geography are a number of factors linked to its plan. The constraint of accessibility is a key factor and it is the result of the lack of a transport system that supports the new settlement. There is only one bus that crosses the neighbourhood, which takes 40 to 50 minutes to reach the closest train station. Then, there is the problem of localization – in the middle of (dangerous and huge) metropolitan routes. The constraint of liveability is another crucial point that marks the neighbourhood and is related to the absence of any kind of social facilities – neither a square nor a playground has been designed for the area – and to the deficiency of commercial equipment.

When explored through the lens of the perception of place and thanks to the descriptions of the group of black women, Casal da Mira emerged, like many other re-location projects, as a site to which black people were subjected. A place that black people suffered staying in, not wishing to live in. Most of them underwent the settlement constraints without having any actual possibility to move away from there. It is anything but a choice to live in Casal da Mira, even more so when the fact of being resident in a place such as that forces one to face many other restrictions such as, for instance, the difficulty of finding a job. A black individual with a residential postcode in Casal da Mira is less likely to find a job than one who resides in the inner city. Where one's house is located within the urban geography influences the ways in which administrations and the bureaucratic system treats one. This reality implicates a vicious circle for which people who have the opportunity to move away from a district like Casal da Mira, do it. And as a consequence, the area remains inhabited by people with the worst conditions: single mothers with many children, the older generation unable to economically grow, young people without jobs and involved in criminal affairs. This is how the area remains in the status of a racialized margin, of a black ghetto.



FIGURE 38

STREET VIEW OF CASAL DA MIRA
(SOURCE: GOOGLE STREET VIEW 2019)

The inherent materiality of the elements through which the blocks were built is another problematic point. In Casal da Mira, the building materials are of extremely poor quality. This led to dangerous long-term consequences, less visible than other issues such as the problem of accessibility, but equally trapping for the inhabitants. The fact that the materials used in the construction of the apartments are sub-standard in relation to the time in which they were constructed (the 2000s) makes one reflect that the whole architectural project was designed at the minimum possible expense. The fact that humidity enters the apartments because the glass in the windows and the frames are not properly designed is a problem that impacts the health of people who inhabit the apartments, not only to the buildings' aesthetics. The floors made of fake plastic parquet are another example of the inadequacy of the materials utilized.

It would seem quite impossible to discover that ways of escaping from and resisting this ocean of degradation actually exist. Yet, the informal urban gardens – arranged and kept up by the older generation of black folks of the area – is the lifeline. The cultivation efforts that have rendered the once grey landscape green and the activity that have rendered the once idle lands productive, is the answer of people that counteract a perverse process of de-personification implemented by institutions. It is the answer of black people to systemic racialization.

The central decaying area under renovation

The historic area of Mouraria is a paradigmatic example of a margin located in the inner city, which, in recent years, has been affected by urban regeneration and thus is under deep transformation. Mouraria has always been considered the decaying, poor, disorganized part of the centre of Lisbon. It is a

neighbourhood of labyrinthine and very narrow streets netted by numerous stairways and variously coloured and visibly degraded buildings assembled on the side of the hill (Figure N). Inhabited by a range of different people, mainly immigrants and low-income nationals, it has turned into the symbol of the urban multiculturalism of Lisbon. Following the establishment of this institutional and branding discourse about the social diversity of Mouraria, private and public funds have been injected into the implementation of urban rehabilitation plans for the area.



FIGURE 39
SATELLITE IMAGE OF MOURARIA
(SOURCE: GOOGLE MAP)

Thanks to the analysis of recent policies of urban and housing renewal, it was possible to demonstrate that the restructuring process of Mouraria architectures is going hand in hand with the substitution of its poor and black inhabitants with wealthier and whiter residents. The institutional argument is that the buildings and public spaces need to be renewed, and that is difficult to deny. However, what is omitted within the public declarations is that the renewal of the constructions means an upgrade of the rental prices, which in turn determines the eviction of previous tenants. So, the overall outcome of the implementation of urban renewal plans in Mouraria is the expulsion of its former residents to the periphery. Paradoxically, the multicultural character that has defined the area – which was the impulse that first generated the interest and then the injection of private and public capital into the area – is now disappearing. Mouraria was a margin inside, while now, it is turning into another conventional central area of Lisbon with mannered public places and short-rent apartments for tourists. It is clear that the problem is not the renewal itself but rather the lack of state control on its broader effects on the metropolitan territory and residents' dislocation.

If a place like Mouraria is changing, admittedly, also the perception of the place may be under transformation. What emerged from the in-depth interviews is that before the renovation plans, Mouraria was one of the few central neighbourhoods in which a black individual could not feel 'out-of-place' since the social diversity of the area legitimated the presence of people of different skin colours, places of origin and cultural traits. Nowadays, this specificity is being lost and like many other central areas of Lisbon, Mouraria is starting to be considered dangerous for black folks, especially by young black males that want to hang out in groups. It is very common, indeed, for these kinds of individuals to be stopped and searched by police during the night hours, with or without any apparent reason. There is a systemic (racialized) overlapping between blackness and suspicion or even threat. However, what remains and continues to make the area a point of reference is the presence of some specific sale points that offer African products otherwise unobtainable in the city centre.



FIGURE 40

STREET VIEW IMAGE OF LARGO DE SÃO DOMINGOS IN MOURARIA
(SOURCE: GM USER'S PHOTO)

One of the places in which there is still a very typical open-air mini-market of African products is the little square of Largo de São Domingos that is the point of contact between Mouraria and the representative and regular part of the inner-city. A group of about twenty women – divided into little groups of two or

three, sit on the marble benches or under the two big trees of the square – selling seeds, herbs and fabrics. They stand in the square every day like many other black people (Figure N). And this fact is unsurprising considering that the square is historically linked in many ways with the black communities of the city (its location in Mouraria, the presence of the church of the first black confraternity, the building that was the venue of the Association for the colonial wounded war veterans etcetera).

However, a detailed examination of the tiniest materiality of the design arrangements of the square have revealed that there is a critical mismatch between what is materially remembered in the space (an episode related to the Jewish community of the city), the omission of any signs for recognizing and remembering the black history of the place, the fixed everyday presence of many black bodies in the square and the intense flux of visitors and tourists. The omission is so visible to an informed observer whereas it goes unnoticed by the majority of the attendees of the square. This kind of omission in a historical place is strictly related to the ways the space is materially designed and planned by institutions. And, in the case of Largo de São Domingos as in many other places in the city centre, it is clear that there is no attempt to legitimize and recognize the black history of the city.

This conclusive exercise has proven that any race-urban configuration can be analysed at different topological levels. There is always more than one spatial dimension through which a place can be explored focusing on race. These three examples of urban places were illuminating in demonstrating that what is explicable from an economic and political objective angle of investigation can be better understood if one also considers the subjective aspects. And that then, the analysis of the micro material elements of the urban is furthermore revelatory and adds critical details to the whole picture of the race-urban interconnection.

In the last few pages that follow, I limit myself in launching some of the challenges that these statements bring with them for future research.

PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE (MATERIAL) CHALLENGES

This thesis opened with the proposal of examining the social issue of race through the analysis of space. The overall conclusion is that the lens of space is particularly valuable and manages to uncover race processes unfolding in the city as well as to disclose details of the race-urban configurations that would otherwise be lost. The case study was extensively analysed and its exploration proved that the spatial framework is truly effective in identifying scalar interconnections and even the interdependence between race and the urban processes in which it unfolds and overlaps. There is no race and then the spatial process, race and its process seem to coincide.

The mere fact that the investigation was situated in a city of the European South is a significant step towards the necessary widening of horizons that the global studies of race urge. The gap between the international advance of the debate as well as the empirical research about race and the city and the European contribution to both of them is still huge. The exact aim of my thesis was to contribute to narrowing this gap and it has provided solid arguments to consider race a valid operative category and space an effective lens of analysis in this specific context. Moreover, the choice to focus on a marginal geographical area characterized by stronger negligent behaviour by institutions in relation to race matters renders this contribution even more compelling if one wants to take it as a reference for other marginal contexts in which race processes are silenced instead of recognised and fought.

However, in this last section, I want to leave a few open questions and point to the challenges that this dissertation suggests. The main theoretical call is that of the urgency of disclosing the materiality of both race and space that emerged as the critical dimension that permits understanding the tiniest processes of racialization. It demands an increase of conceptual endeavour. For example, a question remains open: *in an era in which the border is materializing in the skin colour and disappearing from the space – or rather at times when the border is an embodied mobile device on which the access to certain spaces depends – how we (the Urban studies branch of research) can include in the spatial analyses this variable of the body/space – and in particular the space of the racialized body – in effective ways?*

Moving to the geographical context, as I have already highlighted since the introduction, I did not use the case study as a sample for other urban contexts but as a dense site that suggests a number of specific challenges related to the relationship between race and the city. However, it would be extremely interesting to construct more solid lines of comparison between the cities of the European South relating to the ways in which race emerges and operates in its urban contexts. Thus, the question would be: *does a certain historical and*

geographical framework shape race-urban configurations in similar ways in Lisbon, Oporto, Madrid, Barcelona, Roma, Milan, Bologna, Athena, Thessaloniki etcetera or are they completely independent contexts in relation to race issues? From my side, I have suggested that the fascist regimes that drove the 20th century in these countries had a key role in shaping the ways in which race connects to space in these urban contexts. However, this is not enough and we need more comparative studies in this direction.

Then, diving into the thorny but crucial discourse regarding the practical implications for city design and urban planning of empirical research of this sort – as the spatial analysis of race that I developed in a specific case study – I list here some of the issues that I consider fundamental. Starting from the worst scenario, which relates to the current marginalized condition of racialized groups within the urban system, *how would it be possible to resolve the enclaved situation generated by the implementation of previous housing policies?* The only answer that pops up in my mind is related to the investment of much more money in these neighbourhoods, the increment of the transport network by rendering it much more capillary and economically accessible. The main concern of institutions ought to become that of minimizing the consequences of the spatial distance – that is impossible to reverse in a short time – and to work on the porosity of the enclaves' borders. Admittedly, it is time to abandon the captivating discourse of 'social integration', which has proven to be ineffective, to embracing new approaches to urban planning.

In the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, some good practices have been adopted in this direction. In 2019, a comprehensive pass was instituted that includes access to every kind of transport present in the metropolitan territory – subway, buses, trains, and boats inside every municipality and between different municipalities – at social and affordable prices. However, since no other measures were implemented – such as for instance the improvement of the means, travel and the capillarity of the network – the augmented economic affordability operation did not produce decisive outcomes but only a minimal increment in the usage of the public transport and a reduction in the use of private means by the inhabitants of the metropolitan edges. So, it is clear that much more effort is required in order to tackle the specific problem of marginalization of the racialized neighbourhoods.

Another critical point is: *how would it be possible to legitimize, recognize and incentivize the existing practice of informal urban gardens in residual lands of the peripheries in a plan for the promotion and regeneration of these areas?* At the moment, the spontaneous actions of horticultural production are tolerated and somehow the institutions benefit from them, but they are not legitimized and recognized as key actions of regeneration. For instance, the people who organize the informal urban gardens ought be recognized as promoters of positive transformations of otherwise unused lands. Economic resources ought be made available to them in order to implement the activity and community

market-points ought be designed for the selling of the products, both inside and outside the neighbourhoods in which the farmers reside.

The black movements and anti-racist associations of the city ought to embrace the issue of urban gardens taking their cue from what happens in the US and the UK, for instance, where black communities are organized around these kinds of activity. Today, especially in the US, the creation of black networks around the production and exchange of organic horticultural products has acquired a powerful sense of redemption from the plantations in which slavery relegated black subjects (McKittrick, 2011, 2013). Even if not directly included in this historic trajectory – from the plantations to the informal allotments – in Lisbon too the spontaneous activity of gardening has proven to be a way of resisting racialization and to materially inscribe blackness into the urban landscape.

Also the practice of street artworks that refer to black Portuguese and international figures as well as to the black local and global struggle is a means in which blackness visibly marks the urban space of Lisbon. Contrary to what happens with the informal allotments, the black movements and anti-racist associations of the city are more involved in the struggle for recognition of the black graffiti practice as an urban value able to improve the condition of specific spaces. International events have already been organized precisely with the aim of validating, supporting and decriminalizing the black graffiti art, such as in the case of the social housing project of Quinta do Mocho, which I refer to in the text. However, it would be more significant to offer the urban walls of the city centre for this kind of black visual narration.

As a matter of fact, it is, indeed, that the city centre notably lacks references to both the black history and the black present in the capital. It almost seems to be a politically shaped (and racialized) urban design that aims to prevent a black future of the city by any means. That is clear in the actual architectural configuration of specific historical places linked to the black communities in which the omission is the operative spatial manipulation that impedes the grasping of the link between the past and the present (and the future) regarding black people and Lisbon. In the case of Largo de São Domingos, that I extensively analysed in the text, the silence of the urban arrangements regarding the historical connections of the square with the black community results in a confusing mismatch between the ways in which the place is currently frequented and experienced and how its history is materially narrated.

Although minimal, these aspects of omission or even erasure through micro scale urban design are even more evident if one thinks of the ways in which the self-celebrating history of Portuguese Discoveries is constantly materially remembered within the central urban space of Lisbon. Thus, materiality emerges as a truly significant aspect in making justice amidst contrasting urban

stances. Materiality is a very critical dimension on which the urban planners together with the institutions ought to reflect much more if the common objective would be that of maintaining and nurturing the social diversity of the city. People need to recognize themselves and to see their histories materially sustained within the space they live.

However, on a final note, I am not sure that the current political objective for the city of Lisbon – beyond distinction among parties – is truly that of supporting a substantial social diversity, in the way that discourses claim. The ways in which previous policies have marginalized black people and even the consequences brought on by the implementation of the recent urban renewal plans – the removal of former residents, the embellishment of the architecture and the homogenization of both people and space – leads me to believe that ‘social diversity’ is more a brand than a real concern for local and national authorities in Lisbon and Portugal.

Yet, Lisbon is a black city. Blackness is intrinsically connected to its metropolitan articulations, its social liveliness and its history. But blackness in Lisbon is exploited and not recognized as a value. It is exploited economically, in the low-paid jobs of masses of black workers, as well as exploited as a tourist consumer good. Black people are relegated to the urban fringes while their presence is used to define Lisbon as a multicultural city. The moment in which this trend will reverse does not seem close yet. The urban space, which could be the vector of a decisive change of direction, appears to be locked in a nationalist representation of whiteness that does not yield the slightest ground to its historical and contemporary black reality. The few spatial practices of resistance to these processes are disruptive and subversive and are not supported from above.

And finally, imagining the future and extending the horizons, the similarity of the urban processes of racialization taking place in Lisbon with those of other European cities raises a central question: *how long will Europe want to represent itself as white and in the meantime exploit its blackness inside? And how long will space contribute to this perverse process before becoming the scene of tougher conflicts?*

The tension between the ghettoized (black) neighbourhoods of the major European metropolises and their (white) centres has been a constant for years but remains on the margins of public attention as well as on the edge of the urban spaces. The debate on the traces of the European colonial past and the problematization of the material celebration of the leading personalities of that era, on the other hand, takes place at the centre and from last year, it has been developed with much more vehemence. The demolition or daubing of statues and monuments were the inevitable consequence that took place this year. There is not much time left, I think.

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APPENDIX

ANNEX I. OVERALL SCHEME OF THE IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

<p>PRESENTATION AND RECORD AUTHORIZATION</p> <p>We are going to do an in-depth session on some issues related to how black people live the city. I would like to record our conversation, but if it is a problem for you, I will just take notes. Everything we will say here will be used as informative material for my investigation and if you prefer it will remain anonymous.</p>	
<p>PART I</p>	
<p>Q.1 <i>If I say this to you: black people and Lisbon Metropolitan Area, which are the first places that pop up in your mind?</i></p>	<p>“Meta-question” aimed at establishing a good context for communication</p>
<p>Q.2 <i>If I asked you to describe the geography of black people in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, what would you say? Scattered, concentrated, peripheral, central...?</i></p>	<p>Question aimed at testing the “spontaneous reaction” of the respondent to a research question formulated in academic terms</p>
<p>Q. 3 <i>Can you tell me the names of 10 black African neighbourhoods?</i></p>	<p>Question aimed at exploring in detail the unconscious knowledge of the respondent regarding the black settlements of the city</p>
<p>PART II</p>	
<p>Q. 4 <i>Here I have a map of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, can I ask you to mark with a pen the places where there is a greater concentration of black neighbourhoods in your opinion?</i></p>	<p>Question aimed at exploring in detail the “mental map” of the black geography of the metropolitan system</p>
<p>Q. 5 <i>Do you think that the residential distribution of black people has been more influenced by economic and political forces, by individual choices or by the presence of community networks?</i></p>	<p>Question aimed at testing the “spontaneous reaction” of the respondent to a research question formulated in academic terms</p>

PART III	
<p>Q. 6 <i>If I asked you now for the geography of the workplaces of black people, would it be the same as that of housing? And what about transport, what are the most used lines? And the geography of free time places?</i></p>	<p>Question aimed at assessing the existence of another geographical structure beyond the residential one regarding the ways in which black people live the city</p>
<p>Q. 7 <i>Do you think there is any public space particularly linked to the presence of black people in the city?</i></p>	<p>Question aimed at exploring the presence of specific public places linked to the black community</p>
PART IV	
<p>Q.8 <i>How do you think the fact of your being a black woman affects the choices of your everyday urban trajectories?</i></p>	<p>Question aimed at entering the subjective urban lifeworld of each respondent</p>
<p>Q. 9 <i>(tailored question for each respondent. It is based on a preliminary overview of the most important points touched in previous answers and on the formulation of hypotheses concerning the role that race and gender play in determining the subjective urban experience)</i></p>	<p>Question aimed at exploring in detail gendered and racialized dimensions of each respondent with respect to the metropolitan dynamics and personal experience</p>
PART V	
<p>Q. 10 <i>Recently, there has been a huge debate about the inclusion of ethnic and racial categories in the National Census 2021. The proposal was finally rejected, but, what do you think about that? How would have you responded to the question regarding race?</i></p>	<p>Question aimed at returning on a less personal level of conversation and at exploring the political involvement of the respondent regarding publicly debated issues</p>

ANNEX II. INTEGRAL TEXTS OF THE 10 IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS (IN PORTUGUESE)

ENTREVISTA 1 – MOURARIA, 24.06.2019

Helena

(estudante mestrado ISCTE, nascida em Angola, mora no centro)

Lugares com maioria de população Negra e Afrodescendente

Damaia, Amadora, Vila Franca de Xira (mas só ate Povoia), Barreiro, Linha de Sintra, Linha de Cascais (as pessoas acham que ali não há africanos, porque é uma zona de burguesia, mas há bairros na linha de Cascais).

Podes me dizer os nomes de 10 bairros africanos

6 de maio, Galinheiras, Camarate, Bairro da Torre, Quinta do Mocho, Damaia. Uma coisa que me surpreendeu quando cheguei aqui é que as pessoas dos bairros vivem como se vive em Angola, em termos de roupa ou de comida. Ao principio nos quase todos os fins de semana íamos no bairro para “festa”. Não era o aniversario de ninguém mas é assim que se faz. Eu agora me apercebi mais portuguesa porque quando o meu namorado, por exemplo, me diz ‘olha vou numa festa ali..’ e pergunto de quem é o aniversario...mas não é de ninguém, é mesmo assim que toda família e amigos se reúnem nos bairros.

Achas que a distribuição residencial tem a ver mais com a economia de cada família ou mais com a nacionalidade de origem? Por exemplo Cabo-verdianos com Cabo-verdianos, Angolanos com Angolanos etc.

As pessoas vão para onde está a família ou amigos. Depois de se estabelecer em termos económicos é que vão mover se. A não ser se já estão tranquilos economicamente então vão perto do trabalho...

Tu moras aonde?

Neste momento eu moro em Praça de Espanha. Olha eu sou o caso contrario, quando tive a possibilidade económica de sair de casa eu quis morar no centro. Acho de ser a única negra ou uma das pouquíssimas pessoas negras naqueles prédios, mas eu não queria ir para Damaia, por exemplo. Não é pelo estereotipo das pessoas que moram naquele lado mas é porque *eu gosto de marcar a minha presença aqui.* Eu quero morar onde eu quero.

Por exemplo, se te pedisse agora uma geografia dos lugares de trabalho, seria a mesma das casas?

Não os lugares de trabalho são todos aqui em Lisboa. E o problema é que muitas vezes são trabalhos não de oito horas seguidas. São por exemplo trabalhos de três em três horas. A minha mãe trabalhava na limpeza, para mim foi um choque quando chegamos. Na Angola ela tinha negócio próprio e o meu padrasto era taxista. Aqui ela trabalhava das 6 as 9 e depois das 6 as 9 da noite, no meio tinha que vir a nos apanhar na escola. Nos ficamos muito sem ela. Na Angola ela estava sempre connosco, mas aqui não. E isso acontece muitas vezes. E não ajuda porque as mães não conseguem acompanhar os filhos.

A minha história é que eu cheguei aqui aos 9 anos, chegamos pouco a pouco, é assim que acontece quando não se há economia. Primeiro chegaram o meu padrasto e o meu tio, depois a minha mãe depois nos. A princípio moramos todos juntos no Lumiar, depois dividimos, eles foram para *Ameixoeira* e nos em *Xabregas* ficamos lá dois anos e depois fomos para *Vila Franca de Xira* porque a minha família cresceu e ali as casas estavam mais baratas.

E que tal dos transportes, quais são as linhas mais usadas?

Autocarro 717 (vai desde Praça do Chile até Fetais) a partir de uma certa altura, depois de Areeiro a população do autocarro vai enegrecendo e muitas pessoas não pagam o bilhete. Não é preciso, o condutor não reclama, a maioria das pessoas é negra e eles só conduzem, não falam não dizem nada. Linha de Sintra, o barco (aquele de Terreiro do Paço, não aquele de Cais do Sodré).

E a geografia dos lugares do tempo livre?

Olha em termos de espaços noturnos eu não sei, porque indo na faculdade onde a maioria é branca eu sempre saí com eles na noite e vou mais na parte de Santos, não conheço o B.leza, o Luanda etecetera.

Eu fui a primeira vez num bar que tinha supostamente maioritariamente população negra, foi em Queluz num bar que se chama Património. O tipo de música diferente, as pessoas diferentes... Aqui em Santos tu entras numa discoteca e agora está na moda de passar Afro, mas no início quando comecei a sair não era assim.

E além dos espaços noturnos, falando de praças, Martim Moniz por exemplo, agora está fechada mas antes era muito Africana.

Quando eu cheguei aqui sim eu me lembro. O meu padrasto passava aqui de carro. Eu fui crescer a ver muita população negra nesta zona. Quando eu queria comprar alguma coisa da terra, banana pau, nós vínhamos aqui numa loja onde uma senhora vende bacalhau, banana pau, muamba. E também produtos de cabelo eu comprava aqui. Hoje em dia não compro aqui porque é mais caro e compro naquelas senhoras que vendem em frente do *Colombo*.

A propósito do Colombo, é um sítio de referência?

Sim, eu é o *Colombo* e o *Vasco da Gama*, mas o *Vasco da Gama* tem uma população mais embranquecida. Mas no *Colombo* tu vez mesmo os miúdos que vão ali, mas aonde, se calhar devido a localização, tu vais encontrar muito mais negros é a *Dolce Vita Tejo*, porque esta mais daquele lado, esta perto da Amadora, da Damaia, está perto de Caneças. Mas eu não vou muito ali, fui duas os três vezes em toda a minha estadia em Portugal e só vou la se preciso de alguma coisa que está só ali. Mas quando quero comprar alguma coisa eu vou ao *Colombo* ou ao *Vasco da Gama*. Quando quero coisas da terra é aqui. Porque se vais pensar tipo em ir no supermercado, não há. Não há e as pessoas acabam para se concentrar em lugares onde tem familiares, mesmo para esse tipo de negocio e é aqui.

Há muitos cabeleireiros africanos aqui...

Sim porque se tu queres fazer o cabelo...

Na pontinha também há, não há?

Sim na pontinha e na zona ao pé do aeroporto, na *Ameixoeira*. Ali na zona perto do aeroporto é também é um sitio aonde puseram as pessoas saídas das barracas. São prédios, todos iguais, também não há essa preocupação, as casas são boas e não sei o que mas não há neuma mistura, só há população negra e imigrante. Também passa ali o 717, e se tu ir apanhar tu vais a perceber que a partir de uma certa altura as pessoas não picam o passe. E no Babilonia também deve haver, eu nunca fui mas dizem que ali há.

Não sei se é possível falar de uma Lisboa Africana, mas aquilo que me parece obvio é que há mais cidades em uma, que não sempre se cruzam. E os Africanos vivem numa invisibilidade geral e só em certos momentos há uma enorme visibilidade...

Sim tens isso para as profissões, as horas dos autocarros...No sitio aonde eu fazia o estagio havia seis mulheres negras da limpeza que logo na hora de abertura iam se embora e havia só brancos daquele momento, alem de mim e outra rapariga. O por exemplo na cozinha, a minha mãe agora é segunda chefe na cozinha mas começou na copa, depois ajudante de cozinha e agora é segunda mas trabalhou ali mais que dez anos antes de ter isso. Estávamos a refletir no grupo de trabalho que temos com a Cristina Roldão que há muitas brasileira que devido a pele mais clara junto com o estereotipo sexualizado conseguiram lugares de muita mais visibilidade em negócios como restaurantes.

Então estamos a falar de uma questão da pele...

Sim, é uma questão da pele. Na minha pesquisa me apercebi que em 25 anos houve só quatro ou cinco Afrodescendentes que chegaram em posições mais altas e todos eles tinham uma cor da pele mais clara da minha.

Agora falando das categorias étnico-raciais, tu que achas em propósito? Estas a favor da recolha, conheces o debate que houve?

Sim. Particpei no focusgroup e acho extremamente importante. Imagina o Portugal tem 10 milhões de habitantes, há muitas pessoas que sem estes dados ficam invisíveis. Eu me definiria uma Negra Afrodescendente, e não como Negra Portuguesa porque a minha nacionalidade foi adquirida e eu não nasci aqui. Eu *uso a minha nacionalidade portuguesa aqui como forma de atenção* tipo espera la, nos também existimos. Mas eu sinto me Afrodescendente e Negra.

Mas será que só Afrodescendente é bastante, e como se faz com as pessoas brancas Afrodescendentes? Tipo os filhos dos retornados...

Olha aquilo que eu vi com a minha pesquisa é que estas pessoas usam mais a expressão “Africanas” e tem a tendência a identificar se como “Africanas”. Por exemplo, eu sou africana, eu nasci em africa, mas não é a primeira palavra com que eu me definiria.

Porque Afrodescendente? Porque quem tem por exemplo ate os dois pais africanos mas não tem qualquer ligação com os países de origem identifica se como Negro e Afrodescendente.

Agora o INE chumbou com a ideia das perguntas agora eles tem que vir com uma solução. Bom o grupo de trabalho entregou aquilo que supostamente era uma sugestão, eles não gostaram, mas aquele não era para aceitar ou não era para ver como moldar se calhar, agora não gostaram mas eles tem que vir com uma solução porque *as pessoas querem*. Sem dados tudo aquilo que nos dizemos, tudo que nos pensamos acaba por ser uma teoria que não é suportada por nada e acaba por ser possivelmente, supostamente... Mas nos queremos dizer É ASSIM!!!

Bom o feito de eles não ter aceitado agora provavelmente será inserido no próximo censo daqui a 10 anos..

Mas não achas que é muito e que se perdeu um momento histórico?

Bom, sim é muito. No censo passado eu tinha uns 18 anhos e me lembro que para mim não era uma questão de todo. Eu fui que preenchi os papeis de toda a minha família e não havia por mim o sentido que haveria agora. Agora para mim é uma questão, uma coisa que nos precisamos de trabalhar.

Pronto e disseram que haverá outros tipos de estudos, que não é o censo, mas que incluirá este estudo. Só que não há nada de mais abrangente que o censo. E estes dados podiam ajudar imenso muitos estudos que por enquanto estão a ser feitos sem dados.

Sim. Eu basei, para justificar a minha teoria, fui no facto de nos (negros) temos uma relação com o Portugal desde o seculo XV e não vemos nada. Portanto a estrutura que havia la atras esta a refletir se neste momento. Mas eu não sei dizer a percentual da população negra em Portugal, só trabalho com o facto da imigração PALOP. Há um recorte que são os Negros Portugueses/Portugueses Negros que nunca vai aparecer se continuamos assim. E é necessário não só para nos (negros) mas também para as outras minorias étnicas.

Tu falaste das cotas, não é?

Sim, eu falei porque eu sou a favor. Porque isto na faculdade faria com que: neste momento nos temos um sistema que é consoante os rendimentos das pessoas. Eu fiz com bolsa, tudo o meu percurso eu fiz com bolsa devido ao baixo rendimento da minha família.

ENTREVISTA 2 – MOURARIA, 26.06.2019

Lúcia

(contabilista, origem dos pais Cabo-Verdianos, mora na Margem do Sul)

Se eu te digo assim: pessoas Negras e Afrodescendentes na Area Metropolitana de Lisboa, quais são os lugares em que pensas?

Há muitos lugares mas neste momento não são no centro de Lisboa. Tens a linha de Sintra, então a partir de Amadora, porque ate Amadora ainda não é tao notório, a partir de Amadora para frente é ali que esta uma comunidade muito grande em especial. Tens a area de Loures também, tens a margem do Sul, em vários lugares, a margem do Sul é muito grande. Normalmente se pensamos temos a area de Loures, sei la toda aquela zona de Vila France de Xira, Azambuja. Loures mesmo, não sei, eu as vezes perdi me nesta zona de Loures, Sacavém..

Onde é que tu moras?

Eu moro na margem do Sul, sempre vivi na margem do Sul. Onde nasci. Os meus pais já estavam ali. Atualmente não se vê, mas havia negros afrodescendentes em Lisboa, só que a questão do realojamento e a destruição de muitos bairros que existiam aqui. Nos últimos 25 anos em Portugal estes bairros desapareceram. Tens a *Alta de Lisboa*, que hoje em dia já tem casas muito caras e também ainda tem parte dos bairros, mas a grande maioria que a gente chamava de barracas não tinham agua luz, eram uma enormidade de bairros da população negra, a minha madrinha abitava ali e eu fui batizada nesta area. Em

Campolide aonde tens a estação de comboios também tinhas bairros, também tinha muita família por ali! Só que as pessoas quando houve realojamento foram parar todas na margem do Sul e linha de Sintra...

Portanto tu achas que houve um afastamento? Antes havia uma presença maior mais no centro que foi empurrada para fora..

Sim, havia. Apesar desta presença ser as vezes invisibilizada mas havia porque havia uma quantidade de bairros que hoje já não existem. Houve uma higienização da cidade de Lisboa nos últimos 25 anos e ainda continua como vemos aqui em baixo em Martim Moniz. Já este Martim Moniz tinha sido uma tentativa mau conseguida e agora estão a continuar com o Intendente. Há 5 anos atras o Intendente era uma coisa completamente diferente.

Ok, agora falando em termos geográficos, vou dizer algumas palavras: concentração, dispersão, central, periférico...qual achas que descreve melhor a geografia dos Afrodescendentes? É a manchas, e as pessoas são concentradas em alguns sítios e não em outros ou são dispersas?

O padrão foi sempre de se concentrar. Ao principio dos anos 70 tu vinhas, trazias mulher e filhos e depois trazias a restante família, tios, primos, amigos e não sei que e acabavam para concentrar se. Agora dispersou um bocadinho pela questão do realojamento. Tu tinhas comunidades que eram famílias, amigos que iam para um sitio, construíam a sua casa com as suas próprias mãos etecetera. Com o realojamento não tiveram muita escolha de onde ir e dispersaram. Por exemplo no Casal da Boba, que é um bairro de realojamento que recebeu pessoas de vários sítios, ate a pouco tempo as pessoas identificavam se ainda com o seu lugar originário (antigos bairros de proveniência) o seja "eu sou da Mina...eu sou de.." e as pessoas ainda dividiam se pelos bairros que teriam dado origem. Atualmente para muitos não é uma escolha e tem a ver muito com uma questão económica e de classe. A grande maioria dos negros não é de uma classe social alta, portanto viver no centro de Lisboa nunca foi uma escolha. As pessoas chegaram, construíram as suas casas, algumas nem eram legais outras ate eram e entretanto quando há este realojamento alguns receberam dinheiro, outros receberam casas com aluguer mais barato em conta. *Apesar de estar concentrados em certas áreas também fumos empurrados para ai.* Não foi uma escolha muito logica para muitos. Ou fui logica por o governo mas não pela população negra porque era uma questão monetária. Os que receberam dinheiro não foi uma quantidade muito elevada e na hora de comprar, tinham de ir muito mais longe e no centro de Lisboa não iriam ter. Eram pessoas que muitas vezes saíram do centro de Lisboa.

As zonas por exemplo de *Chelas* ou *Olaias* são zonas muito centrais, tens o metro e em 10 minutos estas no centro e ainda esta ali uma grande população africana.

Podes me dizer os nomes de bairros africanos?

Bairro da Jamaica, Quinta da Fonte, Casal da Boba, Belavista em Setúbal, Quinta da Princesa, Quinta do Mocho. Depois na linha de Sintra há mais mas já não se identificam com os nomes dos bairros. Amadora, Mira Sintra, Queluz. A Cova da Moura por exemplo...

Daquilo que estou a ver é que todo mundo sabe destes bairros, é uma geografia que já existe...

Há uma situação na Quinta da Fonte. Aparece milhões de vezes no jornal: ciganos versus negros na Quinta da Fonte, o bairro foi fechado não sei para quantos dias. Então isto fica entranhado nas pessoas. Cova da Mora já houve uma series de situações que foram interiorizadas das pessoas. Porque normalmente há notícias só negativas que se associam aos lugares. *Há uma super-visibilidade quando são questões negativas.*

Mapa de AML (desenhando) ...

Amadora também tem, se bem Amadora já começa a ser 50/50, já não é tao linear.

Em Cascais por exemplo tens o bairro da Cruz Vermelha e apesar de Cascais ser um sitio poche tem outros bairros. Odivelas tem uma grande comunidade Guineense e Moçambicana, mas como Amadora também Odivelas com o aumento dos preços aqui, como são zonas relativamente perto de Lisboa as pessoas estão empurradas para la. Odivelas tem uma grande comunidade Guineense, mas não diria que é um centro de concentração. Loures é maior, a parte mais perto a Lisboa é como Amadora e Odivelas, mas há uma parte em termos de acesso aonde tu não tens metro.

Amadora tinha uma grande população negra mas já começa a sofrer um bocadinho a higienização e já são caras as casas ali. Barreiro tem também. Em Almada tem muita mistura entre população negra, branca e cigana. Sesimbra não. Em Setúbal há algumas concentração em alguns bairros tipo o da Belavista, mas não é em tudo o território.

Ali onde não é forçado o agrupamento em determinadas zonas tem mais a ver como a classe social a economia da família ou mais com a nacionalidade de origem. Cabo-Verdianos com Cabo-Verdianos, Angolanos com Angolanos, Moçambicanos com Moçambicanos.. A alguma linha que se segue?

A questão é mais seguir amigos e família. Não é uma questão económica. Normalmente as pessoas tendem a ir em lugares aonde há já uma comunidade. Antigamente fazia se muito isso, agora é menos. Agora já fazem aquela imigração "a Deus dará", mas entre os anhos 70 e o principio dos 90 era uma imigração aonde tu tinhas sempre alguém para te apoiar. Havia mais solidariedade. Se tu tinhas aqui um amigo ele dizia olha vem aqui na minha

casa. As pessoas construíaam juntos as casas, organizavam se para ir apanhar a agua, havia toda uma organização e depois tu tinhas ciganos, negros e brancos retornados e começava a gerar se também este conflito as vezes. Naquela época eles deviam se organizar para ir a buscar a agua, normalmente havia um poço para apanhar a agua, como se organizava a puxada da luz.

Eu sempre me perguntei, estas zonas não eram urbanizadas pelo estado, mas o correio chegava ali?

Acho que chegava sim. O estado tinham a noção certa que havia pessoas ali. Por isso muitas pessoas tiveram direito a casa e não sei que. Este foi o pos-25 de Abril, depois houve os retornados, a classe mais baixa chegaram sem nada. As pessoas foram registradas e houve todo *um processo muito perverso em termo económico atras disso.*

Agora outra reflexão que eu gostava de fazer: eu acho que a geografia social de uma cidade não é feita só pela geografia residencial das pessoas, mas tem a ver também com os lugares onde as pessoas trabalham, as linhas de transporte mais utilizadas. Provavelmente será muito difícil inverter a tendência do mercado habitacional, mas pode se intervir em outras coisas como transportes, esta coisa do passe que fizeram por exemplo, achas que é positiva?

Positiva ate certo ponto.

Antigamente se tu vivias na margem do Sul e arranjavas um trabalho por exemplo em Sintra o passe podia ficar imensamente caro e as pessoas desistiam. Agora eles abaixam os valores dos passes e já não há aquele critério. Por exemplo se tu estas no centro do emprego tu moras em Setúbal e podem te arranjar um trabalho em Sintra e tu vais demorar três horas para fazer esta viagem. Mas já não tem a questão económica para negociar. Portanto há uma perversão nisso, e não melhoraram as condições de transporte. Nem sequer aumentaram os comboios, os comboios da linha de Sintra falham a cada hora.

Ok, então é mais uma jogada populista.

Tiraram a questão económica, porque o passe costa só 40 euros mas esqueceram se do problema das horas de viagens. Tu vais fazer um trabalho aonde é mais o tempo e o cansaço de ir e vir do que do trabalho em si.

Agora diz me qual é a zona aonde trabalha a maioria da população negra e afrodescendente.

Lisboa. Agora mesmo Lisboa. Quando a economia e a construção civil estavam numa situação mais florente os negros homens que trabalhavam na construção civil eram espalhados também noutros sítios. Era outra situação. *Mas se falamos de mulheres negras a quase totalidade trabalha em Lisboa basicamente.*

Portanto há uma deslocação em massa das áreas periféricas pelo centro da cidade.

Sim se tu foras *no primeiro barco que acho que é as cinco e meia que saís da margem do sul, é completamente negro*. Os primeiros autocarros, os primeiros comboios, tu vês que há negritude muito grande. São as mulheres que trabalham na limpeza que vão nos escritórios antes de nos começar a trabalhar, as 8, 9 horas quando nos começamos a trabalhar elas vão embora. Normalmente as mulheres da limpeza trabalham na empresa e em casas. Porque o salário das empresas é muito pouco, é 2,5/3 euros a hora, há muitas que conjugam vários trabalhos: fazem início de manhã e início da tarde e no intervalo vão a trabalhar numa casa ou até em várias casas.

Ok. Agora nomes de linhas de transporte mais utilizados.

Barcos, comboios, a linha de Sintra, a linha que vem de Azambuja e a linha de Cascais também acho. Autocarros as vezes é até mais chato, porque eles não querem por autocarros em certos lugares e isto dificulta a vida das pessoas. Houve casos de pessoas chegar a estação e depois não ter o autocarro para ir para casa, e faziam uma hora a pé desde a estação até a sua casa. Foi uma luta das pessoas e agora tem mais autocarros mas mesmo assim é só durante os dias da semana. Este é pela razão económica, é racismo e é tanta coisa misturada... De autocarros não sei te dizer numa linha em particular. Na margem do sul há alguma zona muito bem servida de autocarro. Há o autocarro que vai para Paio Pires que atravessa Cacilhas até Seixal, normalmente tem uma maioria negra. Mas são muitos e autocarros é mais difícil.

E a geografia dos lugares do tempo livre? Achas que existem lugares de referência para o tempo livre?

Não há espaços em particular. *Cada bairro depois tem o seu espaço*. Este é o grande problema de toda esta geografia. *Quando alguém tenta furar esta geografia* acontecem coisas como aquela do Vasco da Gama, onde os jovens foram impedidos de entrar no centro comercial. Já aconteceu mais que uma vez. Quando começaram as redes sociais começaram se a organizar meeting. E este meeting gerou uma grande polémica porque envolveu a polícia e depois começaram a impedir as pessoas de entrar, as vezes só duas ou três pessoas negras que são impedidas. Um jovem negro está na cidade, mais facilmente está a polícia de olhos, para a mulher é menos, mas também estamos numa loja e temos a pessoa atrás.

Mas os jovens ficam muito no bairro aonde vivem. Nestes bairros normalmente há uma associação, ou há um bar e há muitos miúdos que nem se movimentam muito. Porque aquele é o espaço de segurança deles então ele não saem dali. Lisboa não é um lugar seguro para eles, na noite por exemplo estão mais propensos a ser apanhados da polícia.

Então não há sítios de referencia para o tempo livre alem dos centros comerciais?

Não alem do Vasco da Gama ou do Colombo, aqui no centro de Lisboa não há. Eu antes ia muito no bairro Alto, mas agora já não. Ou no B.leza, mas aquele é já de uma classe mais alta e para pessoas de uma certa idade. Já tive o seu tempo, mas hoje já não é propriamente de pessoas negras. Martim Moniz era, mas mais de migrantes não era tanto dos Afrodescendentes. E Martim Moniz ate foi sempre mais Asiático, só alguns anos que começou mais Guineenses, Senegalês, Nigerianos. Há o Largo de São Domingos, onde vão africanos há muito, não sei se o ir ali é ligado a historia da praça mas há ali uma concentração. Aqui em Martim Moniz há alguns restaurantes africanos, mas aqui aquele que aconteceu é que era uma zona ma então os imigrantes conseguiram vir e fazer os seus negocio. Mas a causa da higienização que esta a acontecer os que não foram proprietários em alguma maneira vão ser empurrados. Eu já vi. Porque Lisboa era muito diferente, acho que é por fases, foi a vez de Intendente, agora é para Rua do Benfornoso.

Agora falando das categorias étnico-raciais, tu que achas em propósito? Estas a favor da recolha?

Eu sou a favor e não compreendo as razoes do governo, do INE. Com um inquérito que foi esmagador com o 80% de pessoas a favor. *O Portugal esta mesmo ainda color-blind*. E se tu chegas em Inglaterra tu vês um homem em turbante na farmácia, na policia, vês uma senhora negra com uma boa posição, mas aqui não. Eu posso falar uma semana ao telemóvel com uma pessoa e a pessoa nunca vai pensar que eu sou negra e depois quando vês umas ate ficam muito mal-educadas, as vezes é a procura de casa ou de trabalho, já me aconteceu. Porque eles não esperam que falamos bem portuguese eles esperam que falamos mal portuguese.

E como é que tu te definirias?

Portuguese Negra de origem Africana.

Falando do termo Afrodescendente, o que achas?

Essa palavra começou a utilizar se há 4 ou 5 anos, mas ainda não interiorizar. Acho que é uma forma de abranger pessoas descendentes de Africa. Afrodescendente é mais extensa como categoria.

Mas há brancos que se identificam como Afrodescendentes, mas há fenómenos que se vivem só se se há um tom da pele mais escuro...

Esse é o “colorismo”. O colorismo surgiu para dividir uns com os outros. Mas é um fenómeno que existe. No Brasil por exemplo é um tema muito debatido e já chegou a Portugal. Há muitos países africanos aonde as pessoas eram divididas em mais escuros e mais claros e mediam os fenótipos, nariz, cabelo (Congo, Ruanda mas também em Cabo Verde onde há Sampajudu e Badiu)

Achas que seria melhor usar sempre o termo pessoas Negras e Afrodescendentes?

Eu acho que é uma coisa muito pessoal, cada um se identifica como quere. Hoje em dia com a mestiçagem este discurso do colorismo já é mais sentido. Só que agora gere fricção na população.

ENTREVISTA 3 – MOURARIA 29.06.2019

Liliana

(atendimento ao publico na Loja dos cidadãos, nascida em Angola, mora no Bairro da Jamaica)

Se eu te digo assim: pessoas Negras e Afrodescendentes na Area Metropolitana de Lisboa, quais são os lugares em que pensas?

Amadora, Odivelas e temos um nicho aqui no Lumiar. Na Margem do Sul, Seixal, zona do Barreiro, Moita. Depois a linha de Sintra tem muitos bairros.

Portanto diremos que é uma posição marginal mais que central...

Sim, claro, sem duvida. Neste momento, devido a grande afluência de estrangeiros na zona de Lisboa, estas áreas que anteriormente eram zonas mais afastadas do centro onde as rendas eram mais baratas estão a virar zonas com algum privilegio devido a proximidade do centro e dos transportes. Amadora por exemplo, outrora, era uma zona com uma pintura muito marginalizada e estas a tornar se uma cidade completamente diferente.

Foi isso um processo de afastamento do centro?

Sim.

As pessoas Negras e Afrodescendentes estão dispersas na mancha urbana ou são concentradas em algumas áreas particulares?

Há zonas de mais concentração dentro e fora de Lisboa e a tendência é as pessoas aglomeraram se principalmente por etnias, nacionalidades.

Podes me dizer os nomes de bairros africanos?

Quinta do Mocho que fica na urbanização dos Terraços da Ponte, *6 de Maio* na Amadora, a *Jamaica* e *Quinta da Princesa* no Seixal, *Arrentela* também no Seixal tinha uma mancha maior de Afrodescendentes mas tem vindo a mudar como na Amadora, *Vale da Amoreira* e *Cidade do Sol* no Barreiro.

A “escolha” de onde ir morar tem mais a ver como a classe social a economia da família ou mais com a nacionalidade de origem. Cabo-Verdianos com Cabo-Verdianos, Angolanos com Angolanos, Moçambicanos com Moçambicanos...

O primeiro fator é sem duvida o fator económico. O fator económico pesa muito sobre a questão da escolha e depois sim vem a família, os amigos, as ligações a nível das comunidades.

Sendo a base económica aquela que puxa mais então é uma geografia mais forçada do que espontânea

Sim, claro (desenhando)

Tanto a Linha de Sintra que a Linha de Cascais são particulares porque tem bairros ate um certo ponto e depois são poche.

Em Odivelas não diria que há bairros propriamente ditos, mas há ali uma concentração, e em Loures temos a Quinta do Mocho e a *Apelação* que é um bairro problemático com Afrodescendentes e ciganos e existe essa mistura.

Agora se eu te pergunto qual é a zona aonde trabalha a maioria da população negra e afrodescendente, o que dirias?

Lisboa. No centro.

Portanto há uma deslocação em massa das áreas periféricas pelo centro da cidade nas horas de trabalho.

Exatamente.

Então quais são as linhas de transporte mais utilizados?

Nos podemos assumir que há uma mistura. No entanto, pela minha experiencia, eu posso dizer que os comboios da CP, que são os comboios que fazem a Linha de Sintra, a Linha de Azambuja etc. é aonde tem uma mancha maior da população Afrodescendente.

A propósito do passe, que achas? Foi uma boa mudança?

Olha ajuda muito. Para ter uma ideia, eu vivo no Seixal eu tinha o autocarro e o comboio da Fertagus e depois o metro e antes pagava o passe quase 90 euros que é muito para o salario mínimo que temos em Portugal. Eu trabalho com o publico na Loja dos cidadãos, que não é muito comum. E para teres uma ideia, o fim de semana, existe um numero muito grande de pessoas Negras a ir na Segurança Social, o sábado de manha, são as primeiras pessoas que chegam na fila. Eu nem trabalho no balcão da segurança social mas muitas vezes foram me dirigidas pessoas para que eu ajudasse.

Voltando a questão do passe então tu achas que ajudou?

Ajudou muito. E vê se também na afluência nos comboios. Antes o comboio da Fertagus era um comboio 'comodo' digamos, havia sempre lugares para sentar se etc. mas isso porque era caso e pouco acessível. Agora é muito barrulho, confusão, os comboios vão cheios. Deveriam aumentar o numero das carruagens em função daquelas horas de maior afluência de manha e no fim da tarde.

Achas que existem lugares de referencia para o tempo livre, espaços públicos? Tipo o Colombo?

Ah sim. O Colombo sim, sem duvida. Nos ate apelidamos o Colombo de Consulado, de Embaixada e do género. É uma referencia.

E espaços noturnos..

Tem um corredor ali na Alcântara, Santos, onde há algumas discotecas de referencia.

Falando do termo Afrodescendente, o que achas? Tu como é que tu te defines?

Eu não discrimino. Esta categoria (Afrodescendentes) existe. As vezes a questão é a identidade da pessoa e é assim: eu sou angolana e sinto me angolana, mas eu sai de Angola com dois anos e a minha vida foi toda aqui. Apesar de ter muita convivência com a minha família e ir para Angola de férias e ter aquele sentimento da minha terra mãe, a minha vida foi toda passada aqui então existe essa dualidade e esta dupla identidade, eu não posso fugir duma quando tenho sempre a outra a puxar por mim e então e posso me identificar como Afrodescendente. Eu interpreto este termo como uma mistura das duas identidades.

Mariama

(Engenheira e influenciadora, origem dos pais Guineenses, mora no centro)

Eu vi que tu tens um canal do you-tube que se chama AfroMary...

Sim, eu comecei o canal com a ideia de falar sobre coisas que eu vivi como negra em Portugal. Eu tive uma educação completamente portuguesa mas os meus pais são da Guine e nos moramos numa aldeia pequena perto de Viseu, muito menos aberta de aqui em Lisboa, eramos a única família negra e eu sempre fui apontada e passei por muitas coisas e fui acumulado muitas emoções que não consegui partilhar com ninguém. Para mim aqui esta a ser uma experiencia incrível porque estou a conhecer muitas pessoas negras inspiradoras e eu nunca tinha vivido num sitio com uma comunidade negra tao grande. Sempre fui a única negra em todo o lado, na faculdade por exemplo se vai mal é porque és negra se és boa tentam queimar te um bocado, porque *não podes ser boa de mais, deve ser sempre boa mais ou menos, deve sempre estar neste lugar de nunca muito a cima de nos, sempre aqui um bocado em baixo e saber qual é o teu lugar*. E isto afetou me porque por isso eu estava sempre a tentar esforçar me e tentar ser melhor e pronto.

A categoria dos Afrodescendentes:

Eu passei toda a vida com as pessoas a convencer me do que eu não era africana, apesar de ser negra, porque falava muito bem português, educada como portuguesa, não falo crioulo etcetera, do outro lado os portugueses nunca me viam como portuguesa para eu ser negra então é sempre um limbo. *Esta categoria é uma categoria das pessoas neste limbo.*

Experiencia de vida

Eu cresci perto de Viseu mas mudamos muitas casas ate o principio da escola primaria, depois fui na faculdade em Coimbra e ali foi a primeira vez que vi mais negros, mais cabo-verdianos, mas eram negros diferentes, não negros que nasceram em Portugal mas negros que vinham de Cabo-Verde com parcerias. Ou seja, eles tem já a sua africanidade muito bem estabelecida e vão para um outro pais e então não me integrava muito bem com eles e eles sempre me referenciavam como Portuguesa, não tinha nada a ver com eles, mas eu percebo por um lado porque eu sou um outro tipo de negra que eles não reconhecem. Depois fui para o Porto e depois para Valencia, e decidi de vir para Lisboa.

Uma segregação moderna

Ao principio estava me a chocar a presença de tantos negros, mas depois comecei a perceber que a perceção dos negros aqui não era tao boa como eu estava a imaginar, eu fui aqui com a ideia “ah vou para Lisboa multicultural, as

peças já são open-mind” mas a verdade é que não é assim. A comunidade é muito segregada em zonas onde as pessoas não querem ir.

Ao principio me diziam “Ah só se queres ir a viver la para Amadora!” Mas esta é uma segregação moderna, se tu sabes distinguir aonde é a zona dos negros e aonde a zona dos brancos.

Eu faco turnos as 7 de manha e vivia na Quinta das Conchas então eu sempre vi só negros e negras no comboio que vem de Odivelas as 6 da manha e também no meu trabalho há só empregadas negras e nos cumprimentamos sempre “ola, ola” e elas me vem a trabalhar ali e há aquele misto de orgulho mas ao mesmo tempo pena. O que não gosto é as pessoas estar tao tranquilas e não questionar com esta situação das empregadas da limpeza ser sempre e só negras. Eu me questiono sempre porque sou negra eu também, e algumas são velhas e fazem me pensar na minha mãe. *São estas pessoas invisíveis que apanham os comboios cedo de manha e saem quando os outros entram e mesmo a trabalhar as pessoas não as vem, evitam aquele olhar.* É tao normal aqui em Lisboa que as empregadas de limpeza sejam negras que se calhar se eu dizer assim, “sou empregada de limpeza” me diziam “ok, esta bem”. Eu trabalhava no Entrecampos e também ali é um no onde há muitas pessoas negras que passam ali porque tem comboio.

E ver tantas pessoas assim fiz me começar a fazer estes vídeos para mudar as narrativas dos negros aqui em Portugal. Com o passar do tempo percebi que muitas pessoas me viam como preta e muitas poucas como Mariama e assim que cheguei a uma idade adulta eu tenho “amigos” pessoas que me acompanharam na vida que agora quando vem os vídeos me dizem: “Ah não tinha me apercebido disso o daquilo” e eu respondo “eu muitas vezes tentei falar mas eles não tinham úvido por isso”.

Eu morei os primeiros dois meses em casa duma amiga minha em Odivelas, porque não tinha trabalho nem nada e foi me organizando. Aqui aquilo que vi em termos de trabalho é que não há tanta discriminação como noutros sítios do pais perante a fotografia (de mim, negra) mas *todos os trabalhos que me propuseram eram tipo empregada de café, pronto muitos baixos para o meu curriculum.*

Afinal o trabalho que consegui foi numa empresa internacional onde somos vários negros e negras de nacionalidades diferentes Franca, Itália, Etiópia não muitos mas pelo menos somos alguns.

Espaços públicos

Há ali perto do Rossio um espaço que já disseram me que é só de Guineses, na Amadora depois há o Babilonia que todo mundo conhece, o Afro Braids na Damaia. O Colombo também parece uma concentração de Africanos.

E moro aqui em Anjos agora e sou a única negra que mora no prédio. Há muitos velhos e velhas que estão muito curiosos comigo, demais. O primeiro dia uma

velha foi ter comigo e queria saber tudo, em que piso ia a morar com quem ia a partilhar a casa. Crescendo eu aprendi a tratar com estas coisas mas quando era mais jovem doíam me muito. *Uma criança negra torna-se adulta desde criança porque começa logo a ver estas coisas, a parte de inocência tua acaba-se logo, tens que ver as coisas friamente e ir em frente. E chega um momento onde tu não sabes quem és porque todo mundo das uma opinião: do teu cabelo, da tua pele, de tudo...*

A categoria dos Afrodescendentes

Eu acho que é muito importante. Há muitas pessoas como eu que são de pais africanos mas que nasceram aqui, *somos portuguesas ate a policia chegar, quando a policia chegar já somos pretos, somos imigrantes e não interessa de onde e não há distinção.*

Associações de africanos em Lisboa

Eu tentei contatar duas associações aqui mas não foi muito fácil, não é assim tao fácil entrar em associações aqui. Mandeí email e tudo mas não responderam o que acho que não são muito organizadas. E também vi que são sempre as mesmas pessoas a falar sobre as coisas aqui e eu não queria fechar me no discurso das associações porque eles tem um discurso específico, e não intendo porque estão desunidas.

ENTREVISTA 5 – MOURARIA 10.07.2019

Ana T.

(Arquiteta e artista visual, origem dos pais Cabo-verdianos, mora na Amadora)

Se eu te digo: pessoas Negras e Afrodescendentes na Area Metropolitana de Lisboa, quais são os lugares em que pensas?

Sintra e a *linha de Sintra*. Ainda por cima porque eu moro la e eu sou uma mulher negra. E ali sempre foi conectado com pessoas negras. A qualquer hora que tu apanhas o comboio vês pessoas negras. Sintra não é bem a Sintra turística. Mas Amadora, Queluz, Monte Abrão...

E também a outra margem, só que a outra margem eu sei que mas acho que não é tao evidente, mas tenho conhecimento.

A posição é mais central ou marginal?

Marginal, sem duvida.

Achas que é possível reconhecer um padrão de localização das pessoas, entre a dispersão e a concentração achas que qual é mais?

Eu acho que nestes espaços da linha de Sintra há uma grande concentração, mas sendo que são grandes não é assim evidente. Também a muita população branca. Uma outra parte com uma grande concentração é Ameixoeira, atrás do Lumiar. Há uma grande comunidade de negros e negras na linha de Cascais também.

Porque que achas a linha de Sintra foi assim de concentração de pessoas negras?

Acho que tem a ver com as rendas. Antes as rendas ali eram muito baratas, agora já estão a subir. Também tem a ver com o comboio que é fácil chegar em Lisboa. Em Chelas também tem uma grande concentração de população negra e cigana. Ouve uma tentativa do governo de construir casas sociais ali e por as pessoas que vinham de vários países africanos depois da independência, por isso é muito segregado. Em relação a Sintra deve ter começado na Cova da Moura e na Amadora, com bairros de autoconstrução. Depois com o boom da construção muitos preferiam ir em casas com condições melhores que no centro de Lisboa onde os prédios eram velhos, e pagar rendas mais baratas mas ficando longe. Nos antes estavam em Amadora, quando decidimos trocar a minha mãe pensou se era melhor vir para Lisboa ou ir ainda mais na periferia, Massamá. E escolhemos a periferia. E deve ser a opção que fizeram muitas famílias. O comboio de Sintra é basicamente o único transporte que temos, vai a partir das 6 da manhã até a uma da manhã, depois há autocarros de empresas privadas e acabam antes e por isso não há acesso. *Por isso eu tenho carro e deixo-o na estação.* Com o tempo me apercebi que as nossas ruas são sempre mais cheias de carros, porque é quase impossível ter acesso a cidade sem ter carro.

Apesar de não ser um processo espontâneo, achas que a força que puxa mais é económica ou a nacionalidade das comunidades?

Não sei bem, aquilo que sei é que antigamente as pessoas vinha para aqui sem possibilidade de pagar uma renda, vinham já com conceção de pessoas que estavam aqui, familiares e amigos que davam apoio ao principio, mas *hoje não é tanto assim.* A parte económica e a parte social juntava se na ajuda dos amigos. O meu avo veio antes da independência com cinco filhos que depois tornaram seis aqui. Ele ao principio foram morar em Estrela, em dois quartos arrendados e depois conseguiram mudar se para Chelas. A patroa portuguesa da minha avo ajudou muito com a documentação para o processo da nacionalidade. Conseguiram uma casa do estado em Chelas.

10 nomes de bairros africanos?

Quinta do Mocho, Cova da Moura, Massamá, Quinta das Marianas em Cascais, Quinta da fonte, Queluz, Monte Abrão, Chelas...

Desenhando o mapa...

As mulheres que podes encontrar no comboio da linha de Sintra são mulheres invisíveis, vão a trabalhar na limpeza, saem antes das 9 da manha quando os outros entram e pronto eles não existem..

Lugares de trabalho

O centro de Lisboa é o foco. *Nos não trabalhamos no sitio onde vivemos, isto é certo.* Isto é para indicar que muitas mulheres negras trabalham aqui, nas famílias privadas, na linha de Cascais.

Transportes

Linha de Sintra, linha de Cascais também mas não é tao evidente a presença negra. Todos os autocarros que vem de fora, comboios da Fertagus. O metro se calhar é o transporte onde a negritude é menos evidente em geral.

Espaços públicos

Acho que os espaços públicos que os negros usam são na zonas residenciais, *onde os brancos não chegam.* São as ruas e cafés da periferia, em Cacem ou em Monte Abrão.

Na Cova da Moura há ali vários cafés onde eu sinto-me muito bem, eu não sou dali mas o meu pai tinha ali uma loja de CD e ouve um tempo que passávamos muito tempo la. A produtora chamava se Cold Music Production. Se não é festas, celebrações e momento específicos.

Eu pessoalmente saio mais em Lisboa, vou ao cinema Ideal por exemplo, onde dão filmes mais alternativos. Os sítios onde eu vou há muito poucos negros, ali no cinema só ouve uma vez que fui la e eramos umas três mulheres negras na sala porque o filme tinha a ver com a violação de uma mulher negra nos USA. Mas na realidade já parei um bocadinho de ir ali, já vou menos porque cansei me de ser sempre a única.

Como é que foi a tua experiencia na faculdade de Arquitetura como mulher negra?

Foi a continuação da minha experiencia na escola. Eu andei na escola na Estrela, porque era onde a minha mãe trabalhava. O Jardim Escola João Deus, é uma primaria. Desde pequenininha foi me apercebendo do racismo que estava ali, sendo a única, lembro me de vários episódios onde eu era diferenciada, era a outra e não podia fazer parte das brincadeiras, quando brincávamos ao beijinhos ninguém queria me dar os beijinhos e quando eu devia dar os

beijinhos eram nojentos. Então foi crescendo com uma percepção clara do que era o racismo, mais se calhar se tivesse ido numa escola do bairro. Aqui no centro quase não há negros nas escolas, e nos bairros há muitíssimos. Na minha escola nos eramos duas, desde os três anos até os dez anos, só duas. Eu e a minha irmã. Foi muito duro mas eu não percebia na altura. Foi um aprender a por me naquele lugar e a sofrer aquelas violências e achar que fosse tudo normal, sabendo que não era. Olhando pelas minha colegas eu via que elas não sofriam porque que eu tinha de sofrer? Então na faculdade eu simplesmente senti essa continuação do discurso racista ou colonialista. A tese que eu fiz foi sobre Cabo Verde, na cidade da Praia, e eu hoje olho para a tese que eu concluí há três anos e não me reconheço nela. Era tudo entristecido de um discurso colonialista do “bom colonizador português” e as referências que eu tive eram todas de arquitetos portugueses do tempo colonial, do Estado Novo. Mas eu já tinha aceiteado este lugar da outra.

A propósito das categorias.

Bom, *quando me perguntam, de onde é que eu sou, ou quem eu sou eu não respondo Afrodescendente, nem preciso, não é?* Mas ao mesmo tempo nos não somos vistos e vistas como portugueses se bem que eu afirmo me como portuguesa, mas não sou vista como portuguesa e também não sou africana de certeza. Então esta categoria de Afrodescendentes temos ainda de falar (na conferência era AfroEuropeans que é diferente), com certeza é uma *boa palavra*, não tem nada de negativo. Só que pode não corresponder ao que muitos de nós sentimos, porque a verdade é que muitos de nós somos filhos de africanos, mas muitas vezes nem fomos em África e não temos ligações. Também ainda não pensei numa boa alternativa portanto não sei dizer, pode ser uma boa categoria.

ENTREVISTA 6 – MOURARIA 11.07.2019

Maria

(chefe de cozinha, origem Cabo-verdiana, mora no Bairro dos Navegadores)

Este bairro onde eu moro, o bairro dos Navegadores fica em Oeiras, Porto Salvo. Aquele bairro foi criado para separar as pessoas que faziam casas de lata onde é chamado Mira Flor. Este bairro foi um daqueles espaços onde os nossos pais vieram no início eles não tinham onde morar, eles construíam casas de lata. Aconteceu no centro do Algés, que é chamada Pedreira dos Húngaros. Eles queriam limpar o espaço e construir casas e empresas com moradias para pessoas que pagam rendas. Então, para as pessoas que estavam ali sem possibilidade de pagar rendas só a “ocupar” o espaço, eles minuciosamente tiraram as pessoas dali. Fazem isso para tirar as pessoas do centro da cidade, para por-las um bocadinho mais distantes, com dificuldade de acesso para vir

ao centro onde eles sabem que nem todos os dias as pessoas conseguem mover se ate o centro. E aconteceu ali no meu bairro. Eu cheguei ali no 2006, e vi muitas coisas. Por exemplo, policia entrar no bairro, parar as pessoas e fazer patrulha. Já fui muitas vezes revistada, já revistaram o meu carro também «Nos estamos a fazer o nosso trabalho, vocês tem que nos deixar fazer o nosso trabalho». Mas muitas vezes o trabalho que eles viam a fazer não fazia sentido nenhum, só que porque é um bairro social onde havia muitos conflitos, pronto eles iam la. E nos temos sempre que ceder, porque se não te apanham por uma coisa vão te apanhar por uma outra. Então deixa la eles revista o carro, tanto sei que não tenho nada e já esta, só que isso começa a ser irritante.

Ao longo dos anhos comecei a informar me sobre as leis portuguesas e a ganhar confiança e uma vez perguntei a um policia: «porque é que vocês fazem isso?» e a resposta foi «vocês portam se mal» e eu disse «vocês quem? Eu nunca fiz nada contra a lei» e ele «vocês que moram nesse bairro...»

Então foi claro que onde alguém mora é que cria o ser suspeito ou não.

O meu problema é realmente que eu tenho dois filhos, machos. Então eu comecei a ler, informar me e a buscar as informações para ser mais forte e tentar “armar” e dar as ferramentas os meus filhos para enfrentar tudo isso. Ate hoje o filme que mais me inspirou é do Vivian Thomas e depois do Ben Carter.

Se eu te dizer, pessoas Negras e Afrodescendentes na Area Metropolitana de Lisboa, quais são os lugares que te vem na mente?

Bairros sociais: como o meu, o bairro dos Navegadores, Amadora, onde as rendas são mais baratas. No centro de Lisboa não encontras. No Rossio, sim, encontras a tomar um café e a falar. Depois há sítios específicos no centro de Lisboa, onde encontras muitos negros, por exemplo, a discoteca Jamaica ali na Pink Street. Só que há um estereotipo forte, só se pergunta: o sitio onde há ganza?

O que achas da categoria Afrodescendente?

Eu gosto da categoria apesar de eu me sentir africana, também com documento português. Mas eu gosto de fazer uma coisa, quando tenho ignorar as pessoas, ou gozar com as pessoas eu brinco com a nacionalidade portuguesa. Mas eu sinto me cabo-verdiana. O processo da nacionalidade é muito longo. Primeiro tem que ter seis meses, depois tens que ter um trabalho com contrato, se passas os seis meses e não tens o contrato de trabalho é uma incógnita. Adquiri três vezes os dois anos e a partir dali já vai entrar no processo da nacionalidade, mas tens que pagar 250 euros, tens que fazer uma fila super longa um dia inteiro e afinal tens que esperar seis meses a espera da aprovação. Depois da aprovação são 26 euros de cartão, esperar que chega o cartão e só ali podes ir na conservatória para fazer o passaporte. 60 euros de passaporte e tens que esperar obviamente mais que uma semana. Quando acabei isto tudo a senhora me diz: «então parabéns!» e eu: «parabéns porque?» e ela: «você não fica

contente para ser portuguesa?» e eu: «claro que sim, o esforço foi meu não é vosso».

No Rossio há muitos Negros, antigamente iam ali e historicamente ficaram ligados ali. «Há sítios específicos para nos» Mas eu tenho uma sede de conhecimento e eu gosto de estar no centro, vou ao teatro, vou ao museu mas muitas pessoas que moram por exemplo na Amadora, não conhecem estes sítios. Mas se tu falas bem português, a primeira coisa que te dizem é: «tu com certeza é que nasceste aqui»

ENTREVISTA 7 – MOURARIA 16.07.2019

Ana Manhique

(estudante de mestrado em Urbanismo, origem dos pais Moçambicanos, mora em Odivelas)

Se eu te digo assim: pessoas Negras e Afrodescendentes na Area Metropolitana de Lisboa, quais são os lugares em que pensas?

Odivelas (tem uma grande comunidade), Amadora, Sintra. Se vais pela logica das mesquitas vai encontrar grandes comunidades. Tem uma mesquita em Odivelas, outra na linha de Sintra. Loures, mais próxima da linha de Lisboa, a zona de Portela, Camarate, Sacavém, Santo António dos Cavaleiros. Nos anhos 60, durante a guerra civil as pessoas que chegavam iam ali perto do aeroporto e também é aonde ficaram os bairros sociais. A comunidade de Odivelas é mais classe media e media alta. E depois tem a Margem do Sul: Barreiro, Almada varia muito, por exemplo no centro de Almada não tem, mas na periferias tem bairros. Em Setúbal, no bairro da Bela Vista também há uma grande comunidade. Se apanhares o comboio e ir ate o Seixal, na linha vai encontrar muitas ilhas de bairros sociais, completamente no meio de nada, isoladas de tudo.

Tu achas que a população Negra e Afrodescendente é mais dispersa ou concentrada em sítios particulares da area metropolitana?

Isso é complicado dizer, primeiro porque não existem dados. Segundo porque tem a ver muito com a perceção. Por exemplo, a linha de Amadora-Sintra, ali as pessoas negras são altamente concentradas. Mas não sei dizer com certeza. Eu sei que se vai caminhando a partir de Benfica para frente vai ver uma grande presença negra. Por exemplo eu sei que em Odivelas há uma grande concentração de população negra mas não é muito falada. Obviamente tem a ver com a classe social que como já diz em Odivelas é classe medio-alta. Em Loures tem uma forte associação entre comunidade negra e pobreza e bairros

sociais. Mas esta é uma questão de tempo também. Os meus irmãos que viram aqui nos anos 80 e 90 dizem que Odivelas era considerado um sítio perigoso devido exatamente a esta presença negra, mas hoje a percepção que eu tenho é duma comunidade bem mais organizada em comparação com aquela de Loures. Varia muito das vagas de imigração. Por exemplo, comparando com as vagas de paquistanês ou indianos nos fumos muito mais pelos margens do que eles que concentraram se muito no centro.

E tu achas que isto foi porque?

Daquilo que percebi tem a ver com a aproximação ao aeroporto. A lógica do aeroporto. E também porque ali os terrenos estavam vazios e com pouco valor. Também tem a ver com o tipo de imigração. Ouve um tempo em que chegavam muitas mães solteiras com filhos, sem recursos, e a única solução era construir barracas ou apanhar as casas dos migrantes rurais portugueses que venderam estas casas por muito barato.

Os meus pais em principio compraram uma casa de pessoas do Algarve. Era uma casa linda, tínhamos um quintal bonito, uma casa com tudo, sala, quartos tudo. Mas depois tivemos que deixar porque aquela casa era supostamente construída ilegalmente num terreno sem licença para construir. Era na Quinta da Vitoria em Portela, nos tivemos lá até 1997 e depois fomos realojados num bairro social, muito contra a nossa vontade. A experiência no bairro social não foi nada boa e depois fazemos o possível para sair da lá. O bairro social era a Quinta da Fonte em Loures, onde há muitos conflitos. Está próximo de Apelação, que é um bairro operário que já lá existia há mais tempo. Ali são várias quintas que não tinham neuma exploração e construíram ali os bairros. A nossa casa foi destruída, era de três pisos, uma mansão em boas condições. As condições de vizinhança ali era espetáculo. Nos tínhamos vizinhos portugueses, das ilhas, indianos, ciganos, são-tomenses, angolanos, nos moçambicanos. Era uma panóplia de tudo naquela rua e depois foi tudo disperso. Para mim era extraordinário, mas era uma bola, depois de sair dali percebi que o mundo não era assim foi difícil e chocante. Eu não tinha noção da discriminação e da disparidade. O primeiro casamento onde eu fui era de um casal indiano, esta era a minha realidade de miúda. Eu chamava de irmãos dois rapazes portugueses de Algarve e pronto era assim... Depois de repente foi colocada num bairro social e eu não estava a perceber nada. Ali havia só ciganos ao principio e depois puseram os africanos. Em termos arquitetónicos os bairros são assim: tem uma entrada e uma saída e uma avenida principal e o realojamento começa num lado e depois vai em frente. Uma zona era cooperativa onde havia casas não sociais. As comunidades ciganas e africanas divididas claramente. Em Portugal a comunidade imigrante era guineense e cabo-verdiana, os moçambicanos são poucos e a maioria esta em Odivelas e outra parte esta dispersa um pouco em todo o lado. Quando cheguei no bairro foi um território estranho para mim, também em termos de língua, falava se muito pouco português e muito crioulo de Guiné e Cabo Verde com as suas variações. Na minha casa os meus pais

fizeram questão de falar sempre português, além disso a língua são Ronga ou Changana.

Este processo de deslocação é muito difícil. Com o tempo tentei perceber e acho que é as pessoas quando estão habituadas a viver numa casa com um jardim, com o acesso imediato a rua e de repente vão viver num prédio com 15-20 andares e tem que se adaptarem a aquela realidade, com três ou quatro vizinhos. E depois dentro do mesmo prédio, nem todos tem os mesmos recursos. Por exemplo, acontecia muito fugas de gás porque tentava se roubar o gás e para muita gente é impensável roubar o gás porque é perigoso mas isto faze-se.

E aí eu penso que surge toda a questão do realojamento: primeiro as pessoas são colocadas em zonas sem qualquer acesso direto ao centro, onde trabalham, e com outras partes onde trabalham também. Imagina uma empregada da limpeza que tem três sítios, onde no ultimo sitio trabalha a meia-noite ou a uma, ela dificilmente conseguira ter um transporte publico. Durante muito tempo o ultimo acabava as 11 da noite...e isto depois cria aquela situação onde já é uma empregada de limpeza e recebe mal, mas é obrigada a ter um carro para conseguir ficar com o trabalho que lhe paga mal. Muitas ainda por cima são mães solteiras. É claro que o sistema de realojamento não abordou todas estas questões que era preciso abordar, era precisa uma equipa de psicólogos e assistentes sociais para perceber as situações. Mas não, o objetivo para mim era mesmo só de *apagar* a imagem feia das barracas que se via voando sobre a cidade.

Ok, então resumindo a posição dos afrodescendentes na area metropolitana de Lisboa é marginal, não é central, não é?

Sim, sim claro.

Achas que o padrão de localização dos imigrantes quando chegavam, antes do processo de realojamento que foi forçado, era seguir as comunidades ou posicionar se nas zonas mais acessíveis em termos económicos?

Não sei. Não sei o que dizer. Conheço a historia de uma amiga minha, a mãe dela, com 4 filhos, quando chegou não tinha absolutamente ninguém. Ela simplesmente seguiu uma outra família que lhe diz vem connosco numa zona aberta com muitas barracas, em Prior Velho, Loures. Basicamente eles foram a seguir uma outra família que em principio ajudou-a a pegar em chapas de zinco e madeira e fazer uma casinha. Mas então não sei muito bem, acho sempre a logica do aeroporto. Chegas no aeroporto e começas a encontrar sitio onde ficar, a não ser se as pessoas que tinham uma ligação com pessoas já aqui.

Desenhando o mapa...

Vila Franca de Xira é uma zona muito longe onde há muitos episódios de discriminação e racismo. As pessoas não gostam de ter vizinhos negros. É uma zona hostil. Há uns anos atrás que ouve uma noticia de uma senhora que apresentou uma queixa porque deram lhe uma casa na Aldeia dos pescadores e nessa area havia só pessoas locais. Ela foi ameaçada de morte, e pediu para ir embora dali. As pessoas não gostaram de ter uma pessoas de fora e ainda por cima negra. Pediu por uma outra casa mas a camara não havia disponibilidade, em fim foi uma coisa dramática.

Em Cascais há mas esta muito escondida, Loures sim, Lisboa também na zona de Chelas, Olivais, a zona oriental essencialmente, Amadora, Odivelas, Sintra... a pesar que Sinta é muito grande e tem situações diferentes, a parte perto de Lisboa é mais urbana e tem comunidade africana, a parte mais longe é turística e mais rural. Mafra não sei, mas acho que não. Loures também tem uma linha e a medida que vai-se mais longe começa uma logica mais de casas isoladas de portugueses. Barreiro sim, Seixal sim, Moita não sei.

Em propósito do programa de realojamento: ouve diferentes e vários programas de realojamento e muitas vezes faz-se o risco de falar em geral mas não é bem assim. Por exemplo, na Portela, basta apanhar o autocarro 83, do aeroporto para la, tem um bairro com prédios muito coloridos com janelas pequeninas, são prédios sociais mas de um outro programa e a população é maioritariamente branca. E a qualidade das casas e o cuidado do espaço urbano em geral é bem diferente dos bairros de realojamento que envolveram a população negra e afrodescendente. Uma clara diferença.

Agora, em termos de áreas de trabalho?

Ah isto é fácil, é tudo na area central de Lisboa. Se fores ver, a maioria das pessoas que fazem o percurso inverso ou que trabalham entre da própria freguesia, é branca. O acesso ao mercado de trabalho empresarial ou de função publico é que cria este tipo de movimento inverso. Quando há os greves dos barcos ou comboios normalmente a população que mais sofre é mesmo a população negra.

Em termos de transporte?

Em geral eu penso que em termos de infraestruturas não é um mal trabalho aquilo da area de Lisboa. Os nós de transportes são Campo Grande, Entrecampos, Areeiro, Cais do Sodré. São lugares onde as pessoas trocam de transportes, ligam mais dum concelho, saiam do centro e vão na periferia. Hoje em dia alem da questão da negritude há uma questão de género em certos transportes: antes havia muitos homens também que iam de transportes a trabalhar na construção, mas agora cada vez menos.

E uma mulher que vive num bairro social normalmente é o centro da família e do seu sustentamento e é muito mais difícil por ela sair daquela base. Os

homens as vezes ate ganham mais mas o investimento que se da neste dinheiro é diferente. No boom da construção civil aqui no centro seria tido diferente, mas o trabalho dos homens na construção civil hoje em dia é um trabalho onde eles se deslocam muito, por exemplo, seis meses ali, três meses ala, mandam dinheiro a família mas não são o ponto de referencia e não estão sempre presentes. Criam uma outra vida nestes outros sítios ou entram e saem de casa. As vezes não mandam as remessas, a mulher fica muitas vezes forçada numa situação de base pela família.

Depois há a questão da nacionalidade ou simplesmente do bilhete para circulação, não há dados mas há muitas pessoas que não conseguem isso. Quando eu estava no 9 ano e ainda não havia a obrigatoriedade do decimo segundo muitos rapazes sem nacionalidade tiveram que parar e a maioria começou a trabalhar na construção civil, mas sempre em baixo da mesa. Afinal o que acontecia é que quem tinha a possibilidade de sair de Portugal e ir para Espanha ou Franca também se ilegalmente ia.

Em termos de espaços públicos?

Eu acho que o Babilonia é a melhor referencia. Uma economia negra organizada que funciona. São espaços, a maioria cabeleireiras, mas de alguma maneira são todos espaços afro. Para mim foi um impacto muito lindo. Pela comunidade dali é uma referencia, mas também para pessoas que vivem também mais longe. As mesquitas também são uma grande referencia para a comunidade negra muçulmana, guineenses, alguns senegaleses, moçambicanos mas duma elite.

O Colombo é um sitio onde se vai mas só para se encontrar e ir num outro sitio. Quando eu era mais pequena eu saia nos centro comerciais mas agora não vou e não gosto.

Mas por exemplo, há um jardim, no Cacem se calhar, no centro não se vê a comunidade africana mas sei que há uma grande comunidade ali. Agualva-Cacem é uma paragem na linha de Sintra onde há um jardim e parece me que há uma logica toda autossustentável por ai. Toda a linha de Sintra é muito interessante nestes termos, mas o sensacionalismo dos medias é muito preocupante.

Eu adoro museus e acho muito importante ter um museu onde se fala também da comunidade negra. Ate agora não há. Não há uma participação da comunidade. Em propósito do Memorial da Escravatura eu não gosto, e espero que seja questionado o nome, devia estar em Belém, não devia estar ligado só a comunidade negra. Interessa-me muito a pesquisa de uma memoria justa, correta. Resgatar a memoria em toda a Europa.

É incrível que muitas vezes só no momento que se tem uma relação mais perta (estudar juntos, ser vizinhos, etc.) com uma pessoa, por exemplo negra, é que eles conseguem fazer um pensamento mais complexo e abrangente da realidade duma pessoa.

ENTREVISTA 8 – MOURARIA, 1.08.2019

Beatriz

(Deputada, origem dos pais Guineenses, mora no centro)

Se eu te dizer assim: pessoas Negras e Afrodescendentes na Area Metropolitana de Lisboa, quais são os lugares em que pensas?

Estação de Rossio. Se calhar tem a ver com o feito que eu vivo muito no centro e não me desloco muito, mas para mim onde há mais Afrodescendentes é a estação do Rossio que é precisamente uma zona de confluência das pessoas que vem de Sintra e Amadora e vão para a cidade. Ali é uma zona de passagem...

Mas se pensamos não na presença mas onde as pessoas moram será então a zona da Quinta do Mocho, Cova da Moura na Amadora.

Falando sobre só o concelho de Lisboa a zona de Chelas.

Calçada do Combro e Rua da Bica são lugares onde há uma grande presença negra no centro, há famílias negras que tem casa ali e acho que tem a ver com a historia, o São Bento e a zona do Poço dos Negros, Madragoa. Há uma historia longa de presença negra na cidade que não é contada.

A presença no Rossio e no Largo de São Domingos também é secular, a Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos etcetera.

A presença é periférica...

Eu nasci em Dakar, os meu pais são Guineenses, viajamos para Portugal quando eu tinha 4 anos. Sempre moramos no centro de Lisboa, perto da Praça de Espanha e *na escolas sempre eramos os únicos*, ou nos mais dois e três pessoas negras, amigas de família. Num universo de 900-1000 alunos tinha 5 alunas negras, portanto não havia outras famílias a viver no mesmo território em que nos vivíamos. Naquela altura os negros eram mais visíveis fora de Lisboa, o bairro da Princesa, Vale da Amoreira. Nos íamos nestes bairros para familiares e amigos para celebrar festas ou no fim da semana. Para mim quando era pequena era uma grande festa cada vez, estar com a família, com jovens da minha idade, com outras pessoas negras, para mim era fixe. A medida que eu foi crescendo estes momentos foram mais escassos, eu era adolescente e não sei que, *mas sempre tive a noção da separação. Ou seja, sabia que os negros não habitavam o centro, mas que havia uma separação.* E as coisas hoje em dia mudaram, mas muito pouco.

Esta exclusão das pessoas do centro, esta “periferialização” é uma das formas estruturante do racismo. Esta muito ligada a forma como a cidade se organiza, quem pertence e quem não pertence. *Os negros estão na cidade para trabalhar: para limpar as casas e para construir os edifícios. Mas não estão na cidade para*

habita la e este é muito antigo. O meu pai por exemplo ele alugou a casa no centro da cidade, era muito difícil, ele conseguiu alugar a casa o que fazia parte duma estratégia ativa de afirmação, por um lado, e de combate ao racismo e a discriminação que é feita pelo território. Porque depois a tua morada vai servir para tu teres um trabalho ou não, a tua morada vai te colocar num certo lugar, define o tipo de pessoas que tu és, vai ser associada a ti se tu és perigoso ou não perigoso e tudo depende da tua morada.

Então no racismo estrutural o espaço tem um papel muito importante, o ocupar um certo espaço...

Sim claro, a partir da tua morada sabe-se qual é a freguesia, imaginasse tu vai candidatar te para um emprego e tu és da Cova da Moura, se calhar é mais difícil tu conseguir o emprego, independentemente da o emprego, do que se tu por uma morada do centro. Porque estes sítios são retratados como sítios “guetificados”, sítios de violência e tráfico de droga onde as pessoas que la estão não são cumpridores das suas tarefas como trabalhadores. Há toda uma narrativa a volta destes espaços que criminaliza as pessoas que moram naqueles espaços. E isto tem repercussão em tudo, na escola que tu frequenta. Por exemplo a escola que vai servir aquele bairro tem determinadas características.

Eu sou professora e trabalho no centro de Lisboa, no Parque. Tenho alguns alunos negros, mas porque é uma escola secundária, vai se ali só depois do nono ano, e os alunos tem mais mobilidade. Também é uma estratégia dos pais: há pais que moram nas periferias que preferem por os filhos nas escolas centrais, para romper a segregação.

No ano passado dei aulas numa escola em Sintra e foi uma experiência completamente diferente. A maioria dos alunos era “não brancos”. O que acontece é que os miúdos a esta idade estão expostos a um discurso racista que os afeta desde pequenos e na adolescência as vezes já tem interiorizados a sua incapacidade, que não são tao brilhantes, que não são bons no estudo, não tem as mesmas competências, e são mais reativos a autoridade do professor, o professor é sentido como um alguém punitivo que esta ali para castigar. As primeiras aulas foram muito duras. E há varias formas de subalternidade, alguns deles são filhos de migrantes, eles podem não ser mas vivem em condições muito precárias, outros que são eles mesmos migrantes e recém chegados de países africanos como Cabo Verde e Guine Bissau e não tem um bom domínio do português. E o dialogo entre os pais e a escola também é difícil porque os pais não dominam os códigos da escola e sentem se muito vulnerável. Em propósito aos colegas, obviamente ali são muito mais frustrante e apanham esta realidade assim como esta sem questionar o papel da sociedade que criou esta situação: eles são difíceis, eles não sabem estar, eles são assim assado e pronto não se reflete sobre o nosso papel como sociedade.

Eu e uma outra professora somos as únicas duas negras e porque somos as únicas não quebramos o estereótipo do que há lugares mais para os negros e outros que não são para os negros. Sendo as únicas não quebramos isto e somos postas num *lugar de exceção*. Não quebra minimamente, continua a ser um lugar maioritariamente branco onde alguns negros conseguiram aceder e pronto.

Lugares de trabalho

Lisboa. As pessoas são muito afastadas das zonas nobres da cidade.

Transportes

Quando trabalhei em Sintra presenciei muito isto, eu apanhava o comboio no sentido contrario, com os turista mas vi muito esta dinâmica dos trabalhadores. Uma vez estava a ir ali a uma da tarde para uma reunião e me lembro muito bem um senhor bastante simpático, negro, desejo me “Bom descanso” porque por ele eu estava a voltar do trabalho.

A categoria dos Afrodescendentes

Nos usamos esta categoria na associação Djass principalmente para reivindicar um ser “português não branco” que tem a ver com toda a diáspora africana em Europa. Em europa há resistência em aceitar estas identidades porque há tudo um discurso em que as pessoas negras chegaram aqui nas migrações pós-independência, mas isto não é verdade, e não é possível. Tanto pela historia escravocrata europeia portanto muitos escravos foram trazido por aqui e também porque já existiam contatos com países africanos que levava a um continuo movimento das pessoas entre os territórios. Mas esta defesa que os africanos são os imigrantes e os filhos dos imigrantes são migrantes de segunda terceira quarta...oitava geração, ate que geração se é migrante então?

O uso de esta categoria é exatamente para abrir este debate e aprofundar este debate.

ENTREVISTA 9 – MOURARIA, 8.08.2019

Ariana

(Professora e coordenadora de Escola Primaria, origem dos pais Cabo-verdianos, mora no centro)

Se eu te digo assim: pessoas Negras e Afrodescendentes na Area Metropolitana de Lisboa, quais são os lugares em que pensas?

Amadora, Almada, Loures

Portanto estamos a falar da zona Norte de Lisboa...

Norte Amadora, Loures norte-leste, Almada sul, sim.

E não estamos a falar dos sítios mais longes do centro, são sítios que são aproximados..

São sítios de fronteira com o município de Lisboa

Ok, agora falando em termos geográficos, vou dizer algumas palavras: concentração, dispersão, central, periférico...qual achas que descreve melhor a geografia dos Afrodescendentes? É a manchas, e as pessoas são concentradas em alguns sítios e não em outros ou são dispersas?

Então, mm.. na zona sul é disperso, e em Loures é disperso também, em Amadora é a mancha concentrada, ou melhor, aquilo que eu acho é que são varias manchas concentradas, pontuais mas concentradas. Enquanto que no outros dois lugares são mais diluídas na mancha urbana, quer na Almada quer em Loures.

10 bairros africanos.

10? Eu sou capaz de enumerar... então: o *Casal do São Brás*, o *6 de maio*, que já não existe mas continua la haver pessoas africanas, a *Cova da Moura*, o *Pica-Pau Amarelo* em Almada, *Outurela*, *Prior Velho*, eu não me estou a lembrar dum que é depois do Barreiro, onde há uma grande concentração de Cabo-Verdianos e Angolanos, não me recordo o nome, mas pronto seite.

Como é que te viram assim rápido? Todo mundo então sabe..

Sim. Uns porque são bairros onde os Cabo-Verdianos, mm os africanos, quando imigraram, foram e ficaram para muitos anhos e alguns deles ainda não foram realojados. Outros porque são bairros de realojamento para as populações africanas, populações imigrantes africanas.

Do PER e de tudo aquele processo...

Exatamente.

Estamos a falar principalmente da distribuição residencial: aonde as pessoas moram. Achas que o ir a morar num sitio, obviamente eu não acho que seja um processo completamente espontâneo...

É *forçado* sim.

Ali onde não é forçado o agrupamento em determinadas zonas tem mais a ver com a classe social a economia da família ou mais com a nacionalidade de origem. Cabo-Verdianos com Cabo-Verdianos, Angolanos com Angolanos, Moçambicanos com Moçambicanos.. A alguma linha que se segue?

Eu creio que a linha de base é económica, são todas pessoas de poucos recursos e de base e na origem de poucos recursos, são todas pessoas de origem migrante. Numa segunda linha por via da identificação nacional, mas essencialmente é económica.

Mas então quem não tem aquela falta de recursos, mora em outros sítios? Tem uma forma de dispor se na area metropolitana mais independente?

Sim, é verdade.

Diremos então que tem a ver com a classe social e quem tem mais recursos vai mais independentemente, e não tem um padrão específico na disposição..

Sim, há Afrodescendentes e Africanos com recursos financeiros com profissões mais bem remuneradas e quem vivem em sítios e bairros mais caros e em casas muito mais caras.

E no acesso a habitação uma vez que alguém tem um nível económico alto, não tem discriminação ou ainda tem?

Tem ainda. Tem. O facto de se ter dinheiro permite de viver em qualquer sitio onde se quer no entanto não quer dizer que se pertença a aquele sitio. Enquanto que com menos dinheiro a discriminação por ordem étnica é mais obvia.

Tenho aqui um mapa da area metropolitana de Lisboa, tu já respondeste e estamos a falar desta coroa a volta.

Sim, é este *anel*.

Queres desenhar mesmo?

Sim posso.

(desenhando)

Odivelas também, Sintra mas só esta parte..

E Oeiras não porque é já mais a parte da costa.

Sim também, por exemplo, *Arrentela* fica por aqui nesta zona, pronto. Mas eu diria onde há maior concentração seria Loures, mas esta parte a fronteira de Lisboa.

A mim sona me come um processo de expulsão da cidade...

Não, eu não vejo assim. Eu vejo como nestas zonas, nos anos 80, nestas regiões havia terrenos para se construir casas informais e havia maior facilidade e menor pressão por parte das autoridades que permitiam que as pessoas construíssem e dentro da cidade não.

Havia mais controlo.

Mais controlo e não havia e não há terrenos para construção. No entanto, ai é já a minha historia pessoal, antes da explosão migratória africana sobretudo ao final dos anos 70 e ao longo dos anos 80, os Cabo-Verdianos que imigraram para Portugal foram pelo centro da cidade. O ponto central dos Cabo-Verdianos nos anos 60 e 70 ate a independência, era aquele eixo entre o Campo d'Ourique e São Bento.

Aquele que se chama o Triangulo de Cabo-Verde?

Não, não era um triangulo. Era um eixo porque a partir do Campo d'Ourique, o jardim de Estrela, a Calçada de Estrela ate a zona de São Bento. Em toda esta zona havia pensões, onde as mulheres Cabo-Verdianas arranjavam trabalho e os homens que estavam de passagem a caminho de Olanda de França ou de férias a caminho de Cabo Verde, paravam ali. Inclusive a minha experiencia familiar. A minha tia viveu e ainda vive, tem uma casa em Campo de Ourique. Tem também a zona de São Bento, aonde ainda hoje há alguns restaurantes Cabo-Verdianos...

É aonde havia o B.leza antigo?

Exato, é aonde havia o B.leza antigo.

Há ali ainda uma concentração?

Não, não há uma concentração. Há alguns idosos que ainda vivem la. Mas ainda encontras la dois restaurantes, alguns negócios de Cabo-Verdianos, uma agencia de viagens, há ainda ali uma ligação.. no Poço dos Negros.

Este assunto se liga a uma outra reflexão que eu gostava de fazer: eu acho que a geografia social de uma cidade não é feita só pela geografia residencial das pessoas, mas tem a ver também com os lugares onde as pessoas trabalham, as linhas de transporte mais utilizadas. Portanto, se agora te pergunto: onde é que trabalham os Afrodescendentes, seria a mesma?

Não, trabalham em Lisboa.

(desenhando)

Mas já na Amadora há pessoas que tem negócios próprios, e também na linha de Sintra. Não conheço a realidade na parte do sul, mas sei que há muitas fabricas. Mas tendo em conta o perfil profissional que eu conheço, ou que intuo que seja o perfil socioprofissional dos Afrodescendentes...

Ok. Agora nomes de linhas de transporte mais utilizados.

O *barco*. A *carreira 50* da Carris. Porque a *carreira 50* é muito importante, ela vem daqui (Algés) e faz esta volta (confine do município de Lisboa) ate o Parque das Nações. Portanto é uma *carreira* que apanha os comboios da linha de Sintra, na estação de Benfica por exemplo e que distribui os trabalhadores, os Afrodescendentes, os africanos que trabalham na limpeza, é uma *carreira* que começa muito cedo e acaba muito tarde e distribui junto das estações de metro e acaba em uma zona de escritórios, que é o Parque das Nações e tem muita gente que trabalha para li.

E a linha de Sintra?

E a *linha de Sintra*, claro, claro.

Ultima pergunta: espaços públicos da cidade, lugares da Area Metropolitana onde tu dirias que há muitas pessoas negras e afrodescendentes.

Rossio, Largo de São Domingos, sim. Mas não. O que nos temos são outros espaços, espaços noturnos que são frequentados porque são espaços noturnos. Não é a maioria das pessoas. A ideia que eu tenho é que no seu tempo livre, as pessoas ficam nos seus bairros. Não vem para cidade. Ficam em casa ou nos seus bairros.

Ok, e também os mais jovens?

Sim, também os mais jovens.

Um sitio de referencia que existe é o Colombo. O Colombo é um sitio de referencia para os jovens afrodescendentes, para estar, para passear e para se encontrar com os amigos.

Voltando a falar de espaços públicos tu disseste que os lugares são internos aos bairros, portanto sendo os bairros ou de origem informal ou dos projetos, será que a qualidade é inferior a os outros da cidade?

Olha eu não duvido que a qualidade seja inferior, podem não ser os melhores e os mais bem pensados para os públicos que depois ocupam estes espaços. São

campos de futebol, são associações. É a própria rua. No fim de semana se for ao Casal São Brás por exemplo...já foste ali? Conheces?

Conheço o Casal da Mira.

Então conhece aquela realidade. Não é que não tenham qualidade, não são é adaptados as necessidades das pessoas que vivem ali. Pronto, é isso.

E a rua joga um papel importante, não é? Casal da Mira que eu conheço não tem neuma praça.

É a rua, não é?

O passeio é largo portanto da para brincar...

Da para vender milho e frango. Da para fazer bar da janela...

E voltando ao Largo de São Domingos, não são jovens que vão ali, não é?

Não, são essencialmente *Guineenses*, alguns da Africa ocidental, algum Maliano, pessoas desta zona.

E porque? Eu conheço um bocadinho a historia da Igreja e tudo, mas porque não os Cabo-Verdianos?

Olha boa pergunta. Porque imagino que os Cabo-Verdianos, por terem sido os primeiros a construir os seus bairros, tenham encontrado os seus espaços nestes seus bairros. E depois de ter havido a dispersão para fora dos bairros é para estar longe. Talvez tem a ver com isso.

Muito interessante esta coisa dos Guineenses que vão ali.

Agora chegando a questão dos dados. Tu és a favor da recolha dos dados?

Eu tenho pensamento dúbios em relação a isso. O seja, eu acho que são necessários identificar que vive aonde da o ponto de vista étnico também. Porque a realidade mostra nos que a distribuição no espaço e a distribuição económica tem etnia. Eu não sei se nesta fase existem os mecanismos de defesa das pessoas que vão ser retratadas em modo discriminatório ali. Este modo discriminatório não é necessariamente mau. É preciso fazer esta discriminação o que que eu não sei é se tudo o quadro das instituições esta montado para acolher esta discriminação e esta preparado para ter uma leitura positiva dessa mesma discriminação. Não tenho informações suficientes para achar que é agora o momento para fazer isso. Acho ponderado que a medida seja tomada quando estiverem reunidas as condições, não digo ótimas mas mais favoráveis para esta recolha. O chumbo acho que tem a ver com isso, se acharam que há uma impreparação ainda das instituições para trabalhar bem esta questão e

para dar mais tempo para a formulação da pergunta, a preparação da sociedade para isso. Isto não tira validade a outros instrumentos para recolher estes dados.

Sabes que na realidade o contra foi mais da parte das associações de ciganos.

Eu sei. Porque na questão da origem étnica para a comunidade cigana e mais complicada e forte e tem receio de uma maior discriminação por essa via.

Tu achas que os ciganos são aqueles que mais sofrem a discriminação.

Olha acho um bocadinho difícil estar a por em graduação a discriminação. O que é que eu acho sobre a isso, as vezes eu acho que são dois tipos de discriminação diferentes: um é pela *desvalorização* em relação aos negros enquanto ser humano, a intender que são menos gente do que os outros, a discriminação em relação aos ciganos é motivada pelo medo, porque vão enganar, vão roubar.

A relação entre uns tem a ver com o passado colonial e a outra não...

Pronto é isso, é isso, é isso. Se calhar em relação aos ciganos é mais enraizados, mas não é verdade, *ambos são estruturais*.

Os africanos também não gostam de ciganos...

Também. E o contrario também é verdade.

As categorias seriam: Branco / Português branco / De origem europeia, Negro / Português Negro / Afrodescendente / De origem africana e depois se perguntaria a origem de algum dos países PALOP, timorense ou brasileira. Tu como é que te definirias?

Eu sou uma *Portuguesa Negra*.

E ias a responder ou ias a recusar?

Não, ia a responder.

Que achas em geral da categoria dos Afrodescendentes? É uma categoria que existe, que tem algum sentido de existir? Porque muitas vezes se aponta a sua heterogeneidade...

Pronto, eu sempre recusei esta categoria para mim e agora aceito-a porque me situa, e faltava me isso. Eu vivia assim, como eu não vejo a diferença no outro, eu é que sou o diferente portanto eu quando olho a generalidade eu não vejo as diferenças. Portanto eu recusava isso. Agora que eu tenho mais consciência da

minha *invisibilidade* perante os outros acho que faz sentido, acho que é um caminho. É quase impor-me através deste termo 'sou Afrodescendente', não sou uma portuguesa como tu que abres a boca e és uma italiana, portanto tu não és invisível. E eu abro a boca e continuo a ser invisível porque falo português de Portugal mas, mas, mas a minha pele é tal...e acho que é importante para uma autodefinição.

Portanto não é uma categoria que tu adoras mas a utilidade é política.

É, é *política*.

E achas que é importante usar la, dar voz a esta categoria.

Sim, *reúne em si a defesa de reivindicações*.

E estamos a falar tanto de pessoas nascidas em Cabo Verde, por exemplo, com documento português, como de pessoas nascidas aqui com ainda passaporte de Cabo Verde...portanto estamos a falar duma coisa que não tem nada a ver com o estatuto legal.

Não, não tem nada a ver.

E não tem nada a ver com a cor da pele. Pode ser muito claro e ser Afrodescendente.

Pode ser branco e ser Afrodescendente, mas ali não tem os problemas da discriminação.

Isso. Portanto achas que seria melhor usar sempre o termo pessoas negras e afrodescendentes?

Sim, *negros e afrodescendentes*. Porque *este é o grupo que precisa de uma categoria de ordem política para dizer: aqui estou eu!*

Portanto estamos a falar de uma coisa que piora com a cor?

Exatamente.

ENTREVISTA 10 – MOURARIA, 10.08.2019

Evalina

(manager, membro do Djass, origem dos pais Guineenses, mora no centro de Lisboa, mora no centro)

Se eu te digo assim: pessoas Negras e Afrodescendentes na Area Metropolitana de Lisboa, quais são os lugares em que pensas?

Penso na margem do Sul e na linha de Sintra. Não conheço para minha experiencia direta mas para famílias, amigos, eu tinha uma prima que morava na Vale da Amoreira. Nos íamos ali nos anhos '90 e era uma zona de concentração de africanos. Nos morávamos na Praça de Espanha e era muito diferente, de ali eu achava que era muito animado, uma animação que não havia no centro, uma vida toda na rua. As vezes íamos também na Via Longa, perto da Vila Franca de Xira, e íamos a passar ali o fim de semana, muita gente na rua. Também na zona das Galinheiras, perto do aeroporto, havia também muito africanos. Havia a *Feira das Galinheiras* onde se vendiam os produtos de países africanos e ia ali com o meu pai. Antigamente era difícil encontrar produtos africanos, hoje em dia há ate nos supermercados, mas antes não havia e ou se esperava as pessoas trazer dali ou se não havia estas feiras...

Distribuição

Eu acho que é muito concentrada em certas zonas: margem do sul, linha de Sintra, a zona do Cacem, a zona do Sacavém, Quinta do Mocho, Odivelas tem uma concentração...então são bolsas. São zonas de difícil acesso, são bairros pobres, de realojamento. A historia do Quinta do Mocho tive uma historia tipo a Jamaica hoje, começaram a construir depois a empresa faliu e deixaram assim, as pessoas começaram a ocupar os edifícios não acabados com o poço do elevador aberto, sem canalização, era muito mal. Depois tiraram tudo e construíram o bairro. Na zona de Alverca também tem um bairro que se chama Arsénia onde há uma grande comunidade.

Nomes de bairros

Arsenia, Alverca, Santa Iria, Via Longa, Jamaica, Vale da Amoreira, Cova da Moura, Pendão, Bairro do Fim do Mundo...

Escolha de onde morar

Eu acho que a coisa mais importante é *a rede*. Quando uma pessoa chegar aqui chega sempre com uma morada na mão de alguém que vai lhe ajudar ao principio e então a pessoa acaba para se instalar ali ou perto. Isto é muito comum nas comunidades africanas, a pessoa é acolhida e fica em casa de amigos ou familiares para algum tempo. Sendo que aqui não há nenhum tipo de apoio as pessoas vão se apoiando e acaba por ser a coisa mais importante. Por exemplo, antes destas vagas de indianos aqui em Martim Moniz havia muitos africanos, não sei o que aconteceu mas agora africanos aqui não conseguem mais arrendar e eles arrendam tudo, loja com casa em cima. Os africanos foram empurrados muito para a periferia.

Espaços públicos

A concentração de africanos no Rossio é devida também ao facto que há ali o edifício dos antigos combatentes, houve muitos africanos que combateram pelos portugueses, infelizmente porque foram obrigados, combateram e é ali que se encontram porque tem uma cantina. Os meus tios mais velhos juntavam-se ali, almoçavam ali e ficavam ali. Depois ficou muito ponto de encontro para a documentação, os recém chegados iam ali para saber dos papeis necessários, ter informações gerais dos mais velhos.

Depois o resto dos espaços é basicamente tudo entre dos bairros. Além disso há algumas discotecas africanas onde se vai, o B.leza, uma outra é em Alcântara onde ia uma classe medio-alta, ao lado tem também uma outra onde vão muitos jovens dos bairros, perto do Largo do Calvário.

As categorias...

Eu ia a responder a pergunta e ia a responder portuguesa negra, africana não posso dizer porque quando fui em Africa a viver senti logo de ser portuguesa. Quando eu vivi em Africa, um ano e meio na Nigéria e fui varias vezes na Guine, e sempre que eu la vou, eles não me reconhecem como Guineense e acham que sou Cabo-verdiana, porque sou um bocadinho mais clara. As categorias iam a ajudar sim a visibilizar fenómenos e também a por ao mesmo nível brancos, negros, asiáticos etcetera e isso implicava os brancos em autodefinir se e se calhar perder o privilegio de dizer “tu és diferente”. O privilegio branco é algo muito difícil de aceitar das pessoas brancas, aceitar este “ter um problema em menos” ou aceitar de não ter que sofrer as pessoas que querem te sempre por em baixo. Eu tive varias experiencias destas quando era mais jovem e agora também. *Para nos que vivemos no centro tivemos sempre de justificar a nossa presença.* Há sempre uma pergunta implícita tipo: porque que tu estas aqui?

O facto de eu morar no centro criou a situação que todos os meus amigos eram brancos, toda a minha formação eu estava com brancos, depois na faculdade havia pessoas Africanas vindas com bolsas e para mim foi difícil com eles porque eu estava costumada a estar sempre e só com brancos. *Eu para ter amigas negras eu tive que ir a procura, existe uma barreira invisível mas existe.* Para eu conseguir comecei a andar com as minhas primas a sair com elas, a ir em discotecas africanas, aprendi a dançar musicas africanas.

Sobre o termo “Afrodescendentes”

Quando fundamos a Djass a escolha do termo Afrodescendente foi *pela amplitude* do termo em si.

