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The pathways of Lisbon metropolization: focusing on residential trajectories

Abstract Metropolization has been studied essentially through census analysis. Despite its incontestable interest, it presents an “interrupted” portrait of reality that omits the continuous aspect of metropolitan development. Moreover, the focus is placed predominantly on territories and their demographic evolution rather than on households. To overcome these shortcomings, the project *Residential Trajectories and Metropolization: continuities and Changes in Lisbon Metropolitan Area*¹ centres on households as the main protagonists of spatial structuring processes. It aims to reconstitute the trajectories of Lisbon Metropolitan Area (LMA) inhabitants (born between 1945 and 1975) by means of a life course approach. The present paper presents some of the results. Housing stability is an important finding but should not be understood as a Portuguese specificity. Moreover, it is important to underline the great heterogeneity of each trajectory, both in terms of their protagonists and their meanings.

Key words: Lisbon, metropolization, residential trajectories, life course

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1. Introduction

For decades we have been confronted with a dominant discourse (not open to any sort of criticism) centred on a number of misleading ideas. The first was that Lisbon was treated as a rare and “shameless” case of population shrinking. In fact, the shrinking of central urban areas was a phenomenon that characterised many western cities in the second half of the 20th century such as (inner) Paris and Manhattan. For example, this process started in Paris in the 1960s and its recovery began quite recently. In fact, the mainstream explanation for this “rare” phenomenon was Lisbon's idiosyncratic expulsion “power” simplistically attributed to the frozen rents law.

Supposedly, most inhabitants of the suburbs had come directly from the city in an involuntary process. Census data show the population of Lisbon reached its highest point at the end of the 1950s when it reached 802,230; the only exception was the 1981 Census data that revealed an epiphenomenon of population growth due to the arrival of the “returnees” from the ex-colonies. During the 1950s, Lisbon lost around 42 thousand inhabitants whereas its outskirts gained more than 351 thousand. It is true that this equation became quite different during the 1980s and 1990s when it was demographically at its lowest: in the 1980s Lisbon lost more than 138 thousand vis-à-vis a gain of just 230 thousand in the suburbs, and in the 1990s, it lost almost 105 thousand while LMA (without the city) gained over 190 thousand.

¹ PTDC/CS-SOC/102032/2008 developed within DINÂMIA-CET/ISCTE-IUL – University Institute of Lisbon

Notwithstanding, this process cannot be attributed predominantly to centrifugal dynamics. Other variables should be considered in addition to the consistent superiority of the outskirts' gains in relation to the losses of Lisbon. For example the marked ageing of the city's population meant that many of these losses were related with mortality. There were undoubtedly many other reasons for people leaving the city.

The purpose of the abovementioned Residential Trajectories project was to enrich knowledge on metropolization by exploring three main dimensions: a) the paths traced in the last 60 years; b) the sociological specificities of the protagonists of those paths; c) and the general motivational frame underlying them.

Given the centrality of metropolization, emphasis has been placed mainly on the geographical approach to the residential trajectory rather than on tenure or housing model. Nevertheless, all three components must be taken into consideration as they co-determine households' residential behaviour. The power of this trilogy comes from upstream of household "choices" since it defines the spatial structure of the actual housing stock in itself, e.g. renting, apartments and "old" houses are a particularity of inner cities but not of the peripheries.

We departed from the hypothesis of predominantly "reproductive" trajectories, i.e. most individuals seldom experience moving house during their lives and when they do, it tends to be to nearby areas. This "conservative" perspective on residential mobility behaviour is not a national specificity. It is not a "culturally" based phenomenon that explains the specificities of the Portuguese people or a national way of being, but is much more related with the human experience (that is obviously social and culturally contextualised and therefore not a universal and timeless experience) of moving house.

2. Looking at metropolization through residential trajectories

The analysis of contemporary society cannot ignore metropolization as this is the context in which a great part of the world population lives. Besides this "quantitative" question, metropolization implies the coexistence of different, but inter-related, aspects such as (Dubresson, 2001: 13): 1) the "*sprawl*", the growing expansion of the inner city to its surroundings; 2) functional specialisations; 3) the reinforcement of socio-spatial inequalities; 4) the spreading of individuals daily-life spaces; 5) the intensification of mobility.

The evolution of metropolitan territories has essentially been studied as a sequence of static portraits, even when analysing population settlements (Ferreira, 1989; Baptista, 1998; Nunes, 2011; Rodrigues, 2010). The analysis of census data has been the most frequent methodology and therefore has made a crucial contribution. However, the census fails to incorporate the continuous dynamic of this process because it paints a 10 yearly portrait. To continue with the same metaphor, it only gives a picture and not the "motion picture" or movie. Besides, rather than follow households' pathways, the emphasis is on territorial demography.

One of the most powerful ways of incorporating motion into this process (n.b. a process cannot be static) is to consider residential trajectories as an intelligible sequence of residential positions (Grafmeyer, 1994). The concept has been developed in "housing studies" (undoubtedly a controversial designation that values a subject over a disciplinary

approach/culture) and essentially gained expression after the 1980s as a result of three main structural changes (Authier, 2010).

The first was the “housing revolution” in the “glorious 1930s” that not only implied the widespread improvement of housing stock and its democratisation, but also the spread of homeownership (Bonvalet, 2012). However, the “the glorious 1930s” is not a term that can be applied to Portugal. Despite the slight improvement in housing conditions after the 1960s, a generalised revolution in the housing living conditions of the majority of population only began in the mid 1980s after adhesion to the EEC. In 1970, only 47% of the Portuguese houses had piped water and 64% electricity; the figures for both reached almost 100% in 2001. Regarding homeownership, data must be used with caution as there are significant inner heterogeneities in Portugal as elsewhere. This is seen when analysing urban and rural areas e.g. the rate of homeownership in 1960 was 39% in Portugal but 4.6% in Lisbon, with the figures rising to 73% and 52% respectively in 2011. In fact, the horizontal property law was only published in the mid 1950s.

The second and third changes are the re-focus of research onto the micro scale of individuals/families and their choices, and also on private housing more than on social housing/public policies. Once again, Portugal lagged behind in this new approach due to the delay in the modernization process (Machado and Costa, 1998). Until quite recently, studies have been focused strictly on social estates, illegal and emigrant housing. The study of middle class housing remained almost stigmatised; the research about Telheiras, a neighbourhood called “doctors village”, is an exception to this (Guerra, 1998). The study of residential trajectories has had a similar fate; Fonseca's study (1990) of metropolization until the 1980s stands alone, apart from the present research and some studies of specific groups (Pereira, 2012) . However, the longitudinal (quantitative) methodology was developed after Fonseca's research with the emergence of life course approach (Elder, 2004); the advantage of this “over the earlier use of ‘stage’ in the life cycle” is that “it examines the process of change, where age is important, but is no longer the defining characteristic of the changes that occur” (Clark and Withers, 2007: 593).

Following the pioneer survey “Peuplement et Dépeuplement de Paris” (Bonvalet et Lelièvre, 1989) which applied the longitudinal approach to analyse metropolitan Paris, the “De la Famille à l’entourage” survey furthered this issue. Among other aspects, it defined a typology of geographical trajectories of the (metropolitan) “Parisian” baby-boomers. One of its main conclusions is the importance of the “stable” trajectories, i.e. trajectories within the same area (Robette, et al. 2012: 182). A similar finding is underlined in recent research based on the British Household Panel Survey. The authors note “the importance of long periods of immobility throughout the life course” (Coulter and van Ham, 2014: 1053). But one of their most original contributions is the articulation between facts (trajectories) and the meanings and perceptions people have about them.

3. Data and Methods

In methodological terms, a mixed procedure was used despite the guiding role of the longitudinal approach in both cases: a survey (conducted in 2011) of a representative sample of LMA inhabitants born between 1945 and 1975 (N= 1500), followed by in-depth interviews (72) with some individuals representing the dominant or most “emblematic” trajectories previously identified (in the survey).

To conduct the survey, we defined the sample size as we were working with a random sample of LMA inhabitants born between 1945 e 1975; using a confidence level of 95% ($\lambda=0,95$) and a maximum permissible error of 2,6% ($E < 2,6\%$), we obtain an $n=1500$.

Metropolitan areas are usually structured for research purposes using a logic of concentric rings, from the centre to the outskirts. However, LMA has a geographic particularity that makes this quite inappropriate: the River Tagus is very wide and creates a structural separation between the two river banks i.e. northern LMA where Lisbon is located is separated from the southern LMA. The analysis of the metropolization of the LMA revealed clear differences between the growth logic of southern LMA and that of northern LMA (without Lisbon). In fact the growth of the latter (which is geographically contiguous with Lisbon) is more intense than the former. According to the 2001 Census, metropolitan population was distributed across its three areas as follows: Lisbon, 21%; Northern LMA (without Lisbon), 52% and Southern LMA, 27%²

Due to this disparities, we used a stratified, non proportional sample with the same number of respondents in each area (500). As a result, the sample size in each stratum allows data to be analysed by area. Moreover, when analysing the whole LMA and comparing its three areas, we weight the different strata so as to return to their actual proportionally in the universe (cf table 1).

Table 1: Survey's Sample - Residential Trajectories in Lisbon Metropolitan Area

	LISBON	NORTHERN LMA (without Lisbon)	SOUTHERN LMA	Total
Sample performed (intra-area analysis)	500	500	500	1500
Sample with weights (inter-area and overall analysis)	814	280	406	1500

The main purpose of the questionnaire was to reconstitute the household residential trajectory over time, from the birth date to 2011. As the concept of residential trajectory is based on its inter-relation with other life trajectories (both family and affective trajectory and also professional), those have been taken in consideration. The longitudinal treatment of residential trajectories was assured by a sequence analysis (optimal matching). This procedure was then complemented by a cluster analysis in order to create a typology of different trajectories based on geographical criteria designating their direction(s). The cluster analysis was based on the individual trajectories up to 36 years of age (until the maximum age in common for all generations) so that the trajectories of all the respondents belonging to different generations could be compared.

However, this methodological proceeding left behind individual's trajectory after the age of 36. Moreover, the clusters identified the main trajectories, but not in a complete mutually exclusive way. For instance, one cluster was identified that presented a clearly dominant direction, but included a small number of cases that did not fit. Therefore and with

² In 2011: Lisbon, 19%; Northern LMA, 56%; Southern LMA, 28%.

the aim of overcoming these restrictions, different and mutually exclusive groups were defined by classifying each complete individual trajectory (until the time of the survey, 2011) according to the typology of trajectories previously identified within the cluster analysis. The subsequent analysis, essentially that of the characterisation of the sociological profiles of each trajectory and respective motivations, was all based on these “inclusive” (because they included the overall trajectory of all individuals) but mutually exclusive groups. After a general analysis of these groups using descriptive statistic techniques, a Multiple Correspondence Analysis (MCA) was applied to the “province” and “centrifugal” groups to identify their inner heterogeneities. A new cluster analysis was developed on the basis of the factorial scores of the individuals.

To further this quantitative analysis, 72 individuals were interviewed. They were selected by crossing the type of trajectory with the area of residence. As noted previously, only two trajectories will be examined in detail in this paper: “province” and “centrifugal”.

Table 2: Interviews of individuals with “province” and “centrifugal” trajectories by Area

Trajectory \ Area	LISBON	NORTHERN LMA	SOUTHERN LMA	Total
Province	7	7	6	20
Centrifugal	-	7	6	13

4. The importance of housing stability

4.1 An overview of the whole metropolitan area: the constant supremacy of Northern LMA

The confirmation of our starting hypothesis is the first aspect of note from these results. Specifically, not only do most households make few moves during their lives, but when they do move it tends to be to nearby areas. In fact, most the individuals in our sample (31.5%) had “permanent” trajectories which means they moved within the same area, be it the city of Lisbon, Northern LMA (without Lisbon) or Southern LMA. Only a small proportion had never moved: 4%.

Table 3: Residential Trajectories Types of the LMA Population (%)

Permanents	Permanents Total	31.5
	Permanents Lisbon	7.2
	Permanents Northern LMA	17.0
	Permanents Southern LMA	7.3
Centrifugal	Centrifugal Total	10.0
	Centrifugal Northern LMA	6.7
	Centrifugal Southern LMA	3.3
Other Intra-Metropolitan	Other Intra-Metropolitan Total	5.3
	Centripetal	1.4
	Back and Forward	2.8
	Inter-peripheries	1.1
Province	Province Total	17.2
	Province Lisbon	3.7
	Province Northern LMA	8.1
	Province Southern LMA	5.4
Province-Lisbon-Periphery		5.4
Immigration (essentially from African Portuguese Speaking Countries/ PALOP and Brazil)		15.9
Others		14.6
Total		100

Source: Survey Residential Trajectories 2011

The “province” is the second most relevant trajectory (17.2%) and includes all households that came directly from other areas of the country to the actual area of residence. Besides this direct rural exodus trajectory, there is also an indirect trajectory representing around 5% of the total which adds a centrifugal process that we have named “province-Lisbon-periphery”. Therefore, the total proportion of individuals who came from the “provinces” is over 20%. However, previous research (Fonseca: 1990) has already noted the diversity of the paths of individuals who came from the “provinces” to the metropolitan area, the older group of the sample (see table 4), and this warrants further analysis. The obvious division of the metropolitan area between the north and the south due to the River Tagus is the predominant issue. There is a direct relation between the origin of these individuals and their destination not only on the basis of the geographical continuity criteria but undoubtedly reinforced by the reproduction of pre-established social network structures. Whereas the majority of individuals in southern LMA with “province” trajectories came from the south of Portugal (53%), essentially Alentejo, residents of the northern LMA are mainly from the centre of the country (49%) as are those in Lisbon. Nevertheless, this case is different from the rest of the Northern LMA in relation to the distribution between those who come from the north and the south: despite the low proportion of individuals originating from the north of Portugal (confirming that Porto Metropolitan Area is a stronger attraction for inhabitants of that area) in all three areas of Lisbon, the distribution is again distinct and again led by geographical continuity criteria (Northern LMA, 28%; Lisbon, 21% and Southern LMA 18%).

Table 4: Residential Trajectories Types of LMA Population by Generations

		1945-1954	1955-1964	1965-1975	Total
Permanents	N	126	159	187	472
	%	26.7	33.7	39.6	100
Centrifugal	N	39	50	60	149
	%	26.2	33.6	40.3	100
Other Intra-Metropolitan	N	18	34	28	80
	%	22.5	42.5	35.0	100
Province	N	126	90	48	264
	%	47.7	34.1	18.3	100
Province - Lx - Periphery	N	38	24	13	75
	%	50.7	32.0	17.3	100
Immigrants	N	35	51	153	239
	%	14.6	21.3	64.0	100
Others	N	92	72	55	219
	%	42.0	32.9	25.1	100
Total	N	475	480	544	1499
	%	31.7	32.0	36.3	100

Source: Survey Residential Trajectories

The centrifugal trajectory (relative to those who left the city to go to the periphery without overlapping any other trajectory) represents 10% of the total LMA population and appears only after the immigration group. Nevertheless, it must be said that the rate of centrifugal movements reaches a substantial 27%, when combined with other trajectories. In its pure version, this profile grows from the older generations to the younger (table 4); this is not necessarily because the “urban escape” movements essentially involve young people, but due to the fact that intra-metropolitan paths in general, including the “permanent”, grow within those generations since their superior weight among those who were already born in the metropolitan area. This is strictly related with the timings of metropolization. That previous trajectory, which includes two different immigration waves in Portugal's recent history (first, with those who left Portugal's former African colonies after the independence that followed the Portuguese revolution, and second, essentially with Brazilian citizens), will not be analysed in this paper.

When the areas are compared using the sample with weightings, northern LMA (without Lisbon) always has the highest percentages in all the trajectories. This results from the great concentration (over 50%) of metropolitan inhabitants in this area. This is also the reasoning behind the very low rates of the other intra-metropolitan trajectories, e.g. just 1% for the centripetal trajectory with those that came from the periphery to Lisbon. Nevertheless, when we look at each area separately (table 5: sample without weightings), the analysis is quite different.

4.2 Focusing on each area: the link between residential trajectories and the history of the territory

In relation to the dominant group, namely “permanents”, it is worth underlining that the rate of this most “conservative” trajectory is proportional to the degree of urban establishment of the respective territory. Lisbon has the highest proportion of “permanent” households (almost 40%) in contrast to the Southern LMA which is the youngest area of the three and the one with the lowest proportion of this trajectory type (27%). The figures of the 2011 Census, which has a total population universe that surpasses the three generations studied in the residential trajectories survey, further underlines this conclusion: 57% of the individuals who moved house between 2005 and 2011 (29%), did so within the same municipality; the figure is similar for the three areas. As to the direction of the inner movements in each of this three areas, Lisbon is an exception in terms of the dominance of the movements to the same parish; this is also explained by the timing of the urban consolidation of the territories i.e. the older parishes are the smallest because mass settlements are a feature of modernity unlike the demographic structuring of the traditional city. The recent administrative reform was brought about by this as a way of obtaining a balance between the size (population and area) of the Portuguese parishes.

Table 5: Trajectories in Each Area: Lisbon, Northern LMA and Southern LMA (%)

	Lisbon	Northern LMA (without Lisbon)	Southern LMA
Permanents	38.4	31.2	27.0
Centrifugal	-	12.4	12.0
Centripetal	7.4	-	-
Back and Forward	7.0	2.0	1.6
Inter-Peripheries	-	0.9	2.5
Province	20.3	14.8	19.9
Province-Lisbon-Peripheries	-	6.7	6.5
Immigrants from PALOP	5.9	8.1	8.2
Immigrants from Brazil	8.6	7.9	5.0
Immigration Others	2.0	0.6	1.3
Other	10.3	15.4	15.8
Total	100	100	100

Source: Survey Residential Trajectories (sample without weightings)

The same is apparently applicable, but in an inverted order, to those who came from the “provinces” with Lisbon presenting the lowest rates of this trajectory (Lisbon, 20%; Northern LMA, 15%+7% = 22%; Southern LMA, 20%+7% = 27%). However, the apparent dimension of this statement results from the high proportion of those who have left the city to go to the periphery (Province-Lisbon-Periphery). This is the case of Fatima whose testimonial can be found in the website of the project³. Fatima was born into a peasant family in the late 1950s in Viseu, the centre of Portugal. At the age of seven, she came to Lisbon as

³ <http://www.trajectorias-residenciais.com/>

maid in the house of her “godparents”, located in the city centre. When she married, already after the Revolution, she rented “part of a house” in the old area of Lisbon, a common practice in the city. A few years later, she rented a small old house in a suburb of the Northern LMA which was made up largely of illegal/informal housing. Finally, when her father in law won some money on the lottery, they bought a new apartment in the second most populated municipality of LMA: Sintra. This case represents an upward mobility trajectory where the centrifugal process enabled a sequential improvement of life/ housing conditions: firstly, achieving residential autonomy, though still renting; then, homeownership articulated with the achievement of better housing conditions, a new apartment.

Apart from the high proportion of Brazilian immigrants due to the most recent mentioned above, two other intra-metropolitan trajectories should also be noted: the centripetal and the back and forward i.e. people who return to the city after leaving it to go to the outskirts. Contrary to that mainstream belief criticised in the introduction, Lisbon is not confined to “expulsion”, but also attracts inhabitants from the outskirts. Furthermore, both the Residential Trajectories survey and the 2011 Census show a trend of structural change that points to a progressive decrease in the centrifugal movements and increase in centripetal movements, although the former remains greater in absolute terms: in 2001, the number of centrifugal movements was 56,439 vis-a-vis 45,044 in 2011; the figure for centripetal paths in 2001 was 24,320 but went up to 28,011 in 2011⁴. In the 1990s, the destinations of those leaving Lisbon city was very concentrated, with Sintra as the unequivocal leading municipality in this process. This situation changed between 2001 and 2011 and the concentration logic was replaced by greater dispersion. Here, again the logic of the geographical continuity predominates: in both census periods, northern LMA is the main destination of centrifugals, around 80%. The same is true for the opposite centripetal movement, with a very similar proportion.

Considering the intra-metropolitan trajectories in the two other areas, back and forward and inter-peripheries trajectories (from Northern LMA to Southern LMA and vice versa) have no particular expression; the centrifugals are the exception to this as they are in fact very relevant. It seems true that the back and forward trajectory is a particularity of Lisbon something that can also be explained by the high proportion of people who leave the city.

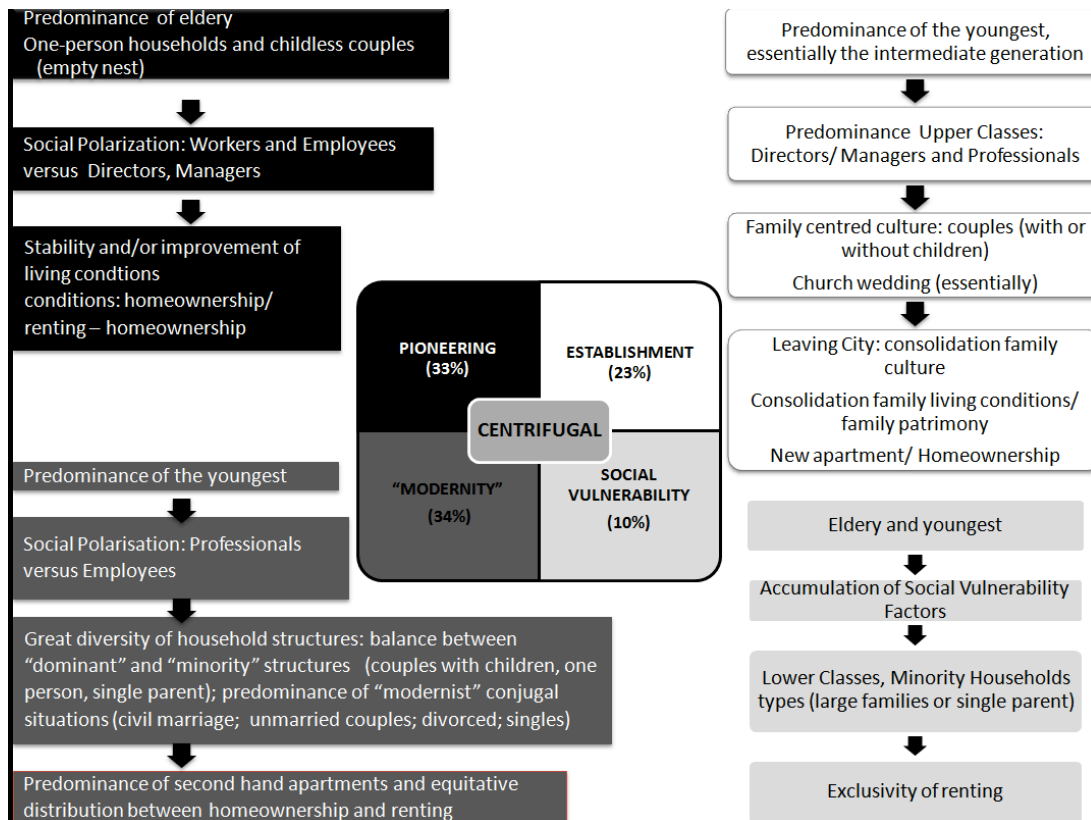
4.3 No one way tracks: looking for heterogeneity in each trajectory

None of these trajectories is homogeneous and each of holds multiple meanings and protagonists. The analysis of this diversity will focus exclusively on two types of trajectory: the “centrifugal” and the “province”. As mentioned above, a Multiple Correspondence Analysis was used for this analysis (followed by a new cluster analysis on the basis of the factorial scores). The sharing of the same variables in both cases (social class, generation, household type, actual type of house, tenure trajectory and age of the turning point, leaving city in the first case and rural exodus in the second) justifies the identification of quite

⁴ Source: census of 2001 and 2011 taking the place of residence in 1995 and 2005, respectively, as reference.

similar groups in the two trajectories, albeit with important differences. The weight and also the content of the groups vary considerably in the two trajectories, with the “province” showing higher levels of social polarisation and a marked concentration of social/ economic fragilities: not only is there a much higher proportion of the “social vulnerabilities” group within the “province” (27%) in relation to their counterparts among the “centrifugal” (10%), but fragility is also an important element within the group of the “pioneers of rural exodus”.

Figure 1: Graphic Representation of the Centrifugal Trajectory Clusters

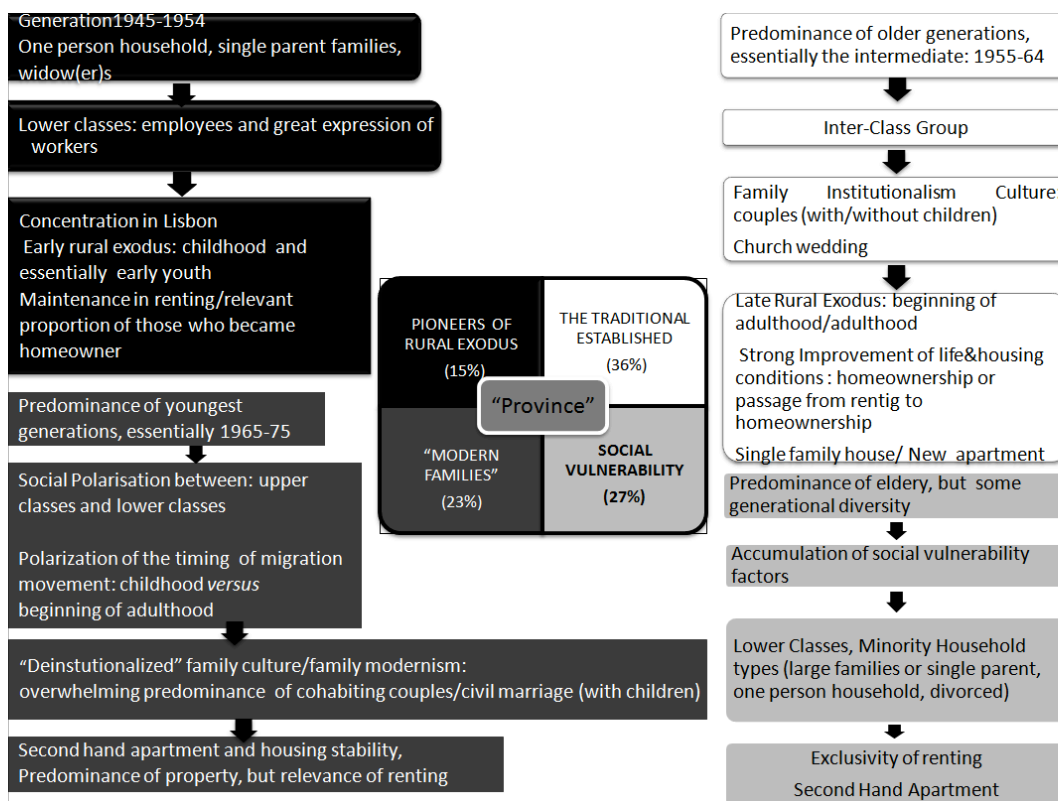


“Pioneering” (33%) and “modernism” (34%) are the dominant groups in the centrifugal trajectory. The former includes older individuals (1945-54), single households and “empty nests”, that presumably left the city to the periphery between the late 1960s and early 1980s which was the first and most intense phase of Lisbon metropolization. Although the majority made this change during the initial phase of their family life-course, some made it sooner during the adolescence. This is a quite polarised group with a marked expression of the lower classes - workers and employees - as well as of the entrepreneurs and directors whose economic capital is not necessarily accompanied by a homologous cultural capital. They lived their childhood and adolescence during the dictatorship in a context marked by housing scarcity and a general lack of conditions: the city's most visible though not necessarily biggest housing problem other than slums (Bairros de Lata), was that of old over-occupied buildings without minimum sanitation or security conditions (Pereira, 1963). Despite some improvement after the 1960s notably with investment in electricity, sewage and other infrastructures after the revolution, the generalisation of “decent” housing only occurred in

Portugal from the late 1980s following adhesion to the EEC. Under these circumstances, leaving the city for the periphery was one of the most common ways of obtaining decent housing conditions as exemplified by the following testimony of Florinda, born in the mid 1940s.

“It was a ground level house. Old, maybe 19th century. It was rented. I lived there until I was 6 years old. It was in Lisbon, in Costa do Castelo. (...) It only had a living room, it was a modest house. I don’t even remember if it had bathroom or if it was an annex in the kitchen. But it didn’t have a bathroom like we have today. (...) The house was near Praça da Figueira. There it was on the 4th floor of a 4-storey building, also an old house from the 19th century like all the council houses in downtown. I lived there until I was 28 years old. It was a cheap house and my mother had clients downtown. It was the municipality that demolished the other house and it had to rehouse peopleIt was an old house. Nobody likes 19th century houses unless they are luxury houses. Yes, yes, essentially because of the cost of the houses. It was the price, it was only an economic question. Yes, of course (a decision of the couple). We still went to see some houses in Lisbon, but we did not like them either because they were expensive or for some other reason.... One of my sisters-in-law had a holiday home there and I spent holidays at my uncle's house there. We visited others, but it was the price! The house was small. We did not like it, but it was our own house and it was within our budget. Then, we were there for 10 years. Just with my husband. It was in Costa and it was a small 2 room house. It was a rented house in a new building.” (Florinda, 1945, widow, Costa de Caparica).

Figure 2: Graphic Representation of the “Province” Trajectory Clusters



The homologous group within the “province” is considerably smaller (15%) than in centrifugals and is particularly visible in the city of Lisbon. It also stands out for its sociological specificities. Contrary to the last group, it is not polarised but it is marked by a strong concentration of the lower social classes, with far more workers than the other clusters. Together with the fact that this is probably the oldest group of all, this explains another trait that characterises this group: its great fragility (namely in relation to the pioneers of centrifugals) that approximates it to the second most expressive group of the “province” which is correctly designated “social vulnerabilities”. The age of their turning-point is another relevant aspect that distinguishes them as they migrated at a very early age, by 20 years old, as illustrated by the story of António from the Alentejo.

“In Alentejo I lived in the parish of Alqueva. Then, I lived in a “monte” located nearby where my father worked. I used to help him, because I began to earn money for the family when I was 7. I lived in the house where I was born, for three or four years and then I went to another house until I came to Lisbon, at the age of 11 ...with all the family, father, mother and all my brothers and sisters, eight of them. My parents came one or two years earlier, but we could not because of school (..) We went to “Bairro Chinês”, and to call it by its real names, it was a tent (in a “Bairro de Lata”, a slum); it had almost three “rooms”, one very tiny one that served as kitchen with just a sink, nothing else, no piped water, nothing. One or two days after I arrived, my father got me a job in a grocery and then I began to get along with people; most of them were also from the provinces, but from all over the country... Then, I began school again and my father got me a job in a locksmith nearby in Xabregas. Four years after our arrival, they gave us a (council) house in Olivais. I went to that house from the “Bairro Chinês” at 14 years old (in 1978) and stayed until I married; I was 21. I married in 1975. There was even the possibility of getting a house, some people occupied houses, but we never wanted to do that. As my parents-in-law lived almost alone, we chose to stay there with them until we could get our own house. But after it was possible for us to stay and stay and then finally we bought it.” (António, 1953, couple with two children, Lisbon)

“Modernity” is made up of the young, specially the last generation (1965-75), whose residential independence took place in a different context to that of the previous group. Differences in the structural changes of the Portuguese society in terms of its modernization namely: a) a higher number of professionals, illustrating the national investment in education despite the weight of employees; b) a great diversity of household structures and informal conjugal modalities. Unlike the preceding group, there was a more generalised expectation of access to “housing quality”. Therefore, the light motive for leaving the city (regarding centrifugal modernism) surpassed the “mere” achievement of a “decent house”. Naturally, it embraces different situations.

“I lived in my parents' house in Alfama. Then I moved to another house, also in Alfama. I just left Alfama to come here ... I didn't want to leave my neighborhood, but houses are very tiny there and I have a son and a daughter and they shared a bedroom. It was war; he was very tidy but she was not. We moved nine years ago (to the municipality of Sintra). At that time I was not convinced and I was afraid I wouldn't adapt, because until then I had never left Alfama. But in fact our living conditions were worse, and ok ... I came, a little bit pushed, but then I got used to it. Of course if I could have stayed there or if my

house had been bigger, I would never have left. I don't think it was a big change, because, apart from the house having more space, the rest...the environment is even quite similar. Maybe Alfama is empty now. Before it was completely different. Now there are lots of empty houses, the young people have left. All those small shops, groceries, cafés... lots of them have closed. So I think in the end I'm more comfortable here than if I'd stayed in Alfama because nowadays I think it is too sad. It has nothing like the neighborhood where I was born" (Isabel, 1968, couple with children, Sintra).

In contrast to the centrifugal cluster, modernism in "province" is not a majority cluster because it regards the "last" and younger protagonists of the rural exodus, an earlier dynamic of metropolization that nowadays is quite minor. Nevertheless, sociologically they are much more similar to centrifugal modernists than to the older "fellow countryman". For them, the motivation for the rural exodus is no longer focused on simple "survival" and they rarely started work at an early stage of their lives, such as adolescence. For this group, the greatest stimulus for coming to the city is much more as an investment in education or in their professional life.

"I live in Carcavelos, the municipality of Cascais. When I came to Lisbon, it was not exactly to Lisbon, but to Alcoitão. I came to study and then went to this friend's house, in Cascais, Bairro da Guia. When I left there, I went to Carcavelos and I had to go to that house because the departure from my friend's house was not very pacific ... So at first, and despite the fact that I even liked the house and Carcavelos, I wasn't comfortable about the choice. It was not a choice, it was a forced choice. At that time, I would have chosen a 2 bedroom apartment. I am a long way from my family and I would like them to be able to stay at my home. (..) I have a room and another one for the visitors" (Ana, 1975, single person, Carcavelos).

Unlike the centrifugal trajectory in which "establishment" represents only 23%, it is the major group in the "province" trajectory (36%), followed by "social vulnerability". Although they share a certain family-centred culture framed by traditional values, illustrated through the predominance of church wedding in both cases, they differ in three important aspects: age, social class and the (current) housing model. Whereas the "established centrifugal" group belongs essentially to the upper classes with a particular prevalence of professionals, their counterparts from the "province" cluster are more transversal, despite the clear predominance of the service segment of the lower classes - employees. The former differ also from the latter because of their "youth". In addition, while a new apartment is the dominant model for this subgroup of the "centrifugal", there is a much more dispersion among established group of the "province" trajectory though emphasis goes to the single family detached house. Although this remains the preferred model for the majority of the population, it is most valued by those that have lived much of their lives in rural areas . A final aspect worthy of mention particularly in relation to the established group from the "province" trajectory is the late timing of their rural exodus. This probably contributes to their "successful" trajectory, namely the huge proportion of those who became homeowners after an experience as a tenant.

"I was born in the countryside. At the age of 7 I went to my grandmother's house in the village and I went to school. (...) I started working on the land, at harvest time...I still worked a bit in sewing. After I began to date and I married when I was 18 years

old and then I had my daughter. I still lived for two years with my parents and then we came to Corroios (in southern LMA). There, I went first to a second floor apartment and after to the first floor. But always in the same building. I was a housewife, I never worked outside the home. (...) I wanted to have my own house, without neighbors bothering us. And it was a dream that has come true. My husband had a friend that lives in the next street and that man knew the owner of the land” (Dulce, 1947, “empty nest”, Corroios, Almada).

Finally, the “social vulnerabilities” group is characterised by the reproduction of a lifestyle framed by exclusion, to which precarious family networks and economic difficulties make an important contribution. Housing instability with no alternative but to spend all their lives in rented apartments is one of the main distinctive traits of this subgroup. The higher rooting of exclusion within rural/traditional societies is demonstrated by the fact that this is the second most relevant subgroup among the “province” trajectory (27%) but the last (10%) in the centrifugal trajectory.

“My mother had lots of children, we are twelve. When I was 1, she got tuberculosis. She went to a sanatorium and the children were all sent to live in different places. My sisters and I went to a girls' school and the boys to an aunt, an uncle and a godfather. (...) I was very sorry because I got kicked out (of that school) at a very critical age, when I was 18 years old. At that time, I had this huge problem, because I did not get on with my biological family, with anybody (...) and then I came to Lisbon because a friend of mine that also got kicked out of the school had family here ... through her I got work in a lady's house.... I came, I stayed all those years first as a baby-sitter, I studied with the children and everything, but when their grandmother got ill (...) I went from the children to the old lady. (...) When anyone called me from Caldas, I thought it was great to tell them that I was living in the capital, “I'm in the capital!”. Then I had no work and I got a part-time in a store in Campo de Ourique, just in the afternoon because I liked to sleep in the morning. In the meantime, I met my husband (...) he worked nearby in a pastry. We're not married, we live together (...) This (becoming a concierge) was so I didn't have to pay rent anymore, because my whole salary was going on rent even though the place was tiny. My husband earned a lot at that time, some years ago he already earned 800 euros, a very good salary for that time; now he earns much less. (...) But then the store where I worked closed ...” (Candida, 1965, unmarried couple, no children, Lisbon).

5. Conclusions

Since the pioneer study by Fonseca (1990) that analysed the trajectories of the protagonists in the first stage of metropolization (not by chance entitled “Population and Territory. From the Country to the Metropolitan Area”), no research has focused specifically on this issue. Moreover, Fonseca's study did not use a longitudinal quantitative methodology unlike the present research which has extended the timeframe of her approach by analysing [metropolization](#) from the “beginning” until the present day, although we do not include younger generations.

Therefore, the present study analyses the two phases of LMA metropolization and already “foresees” a third. More specifically, these are: the initial phase from the 1950s to late 1970s with the very constitution of the LMA marked by a huge growth in the metropolitan population; a phase built on the rural exodus that explains the weight of the “province” trajectories in which the older households are concentrated; the second phase from the 1980s to today (2011, the year of Residential Trajectories Survey and the last Census); this period is marked by a much lower rate of population growth and a shrinking of the rural exodus/intra-national movements. These are replaced by immigration/ international movements revealing the country's openness following decolonisation and subsequently the adhesion to EEC. The period is also characterised by a growth in the intra-metropolitan movements that began in the previous phase; Lisbon's biggest loss of population was in this phase.

Although it seems premature to talk already about a third phase, the emergent trend towards some recovery in Lisbon cannot be ignored: however, it has nothing to do with the urban realities of the past. The relevant trend toward centripetal movements among the younger generations are indicative of this and confirmed even more clearly by the 2011 Census: firstly, it reveals that the decline in the population rate is much smaller than forecast in 2009 and than the rate expected for the previous decade; secondly, it shows centrifugal and centripetal movements are more balanced than in the past, although the former remain numerically superior and this is expected to continue for a long time.

Research confirms our initial hypothesis of the importance of the “reproductive” trajectories, termed here “permanence”, as the most expressive among the reporting population. Six decades after of the launch of metropolization, this type remains superior in the territorial starting point of this process, Lisbon. However, this will surely change in the coming decades and may already be changing among the youngest generations not covered by our research. On the other hand, the importance of the “permanent” trajectory is not a Portuguese particularity that is too often explained by a culturalist approach and/ or by homeownership. And even though a decline could be forecast for the medium/long-term, it would hardly correspond to the drastic change witnessed in the “province” trajectory - the second most expressive of our sample. A distinction should be made between intra-metropolitan trajectories and intra-national/inter-national trajectories: generally, family/private life and/or housing factors are the direct motivation of the first, while study/work questions motivate the second thus making them much more permeable to the economic situation. Nevertheless, heterogeneity is found in trajectory types in relation to the protagonist, their motivations and self-assessment.

In conclusion, neither leaving the city for the periphery (“centrifugal”) nor leaving the countryside for the “big city” (“province”) are one way tracks. In both cases, the four clusters identified are based on a duality anchored in two main variables: on one hand, *time*, represented by “pioneering” and “modernity”; on the other hand, *life achievement*, represented by “establishment” and “social vulnerabilities”. Besides the specificities of the different clusters described above, one of our main conclusions is that they are all distributed quite differently in each trajectory: the “province” has a higher concentration in the *life achievement* area (62%) whereas “centrifugals are concentrated in the area of the *time* (67%). It therefore seems that one of the main distinctions between the “centrifugal” and “province” trajectories is that the former has an exclusive urban/metropolitan experience of life but the

latter an important rural experience and therefore an “attachment” to a certain “traditionalism” ruled by social polarisation; this makes the reproduction of vulnerabilities a heavier fate.

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