



ADDING VALUE TO URBAN SPACES

Two Examples from Lisbon

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Through a comparative analysis of two urban spaces located in the city of Lisbon, Portugal, I intend to demonstrate how some values can be added to space in order to attract certain residents, investors or interests, and how these urban spaces make use of these values to differentiate and promote themselves in various ways. In considering the gentrification process in the city centre and the construction of a spatial and social neighborhood identity in a more peripheral area, I focus on the urban middle classes and some social strategies of belonging.

Keywords: value, urban space, middle class, identity, belonging, Lisbon

Introduction¹

Like other consumer goods, urban public spaces are also used to identify and negotiate processes of social belonging through evaluative and differentiating components. Thus, a kind of ranking between urban public spaces can be observed, according to categories and values that contribute to their production and promotion in economic, social, cultural, and symbolic terms.

Within the scope of the economy, the concept of value is frequently inextricably tied with the currency and the institutional role it holds as market support for the whole exchange system. Consequently, value grants the economy an existence that is not only more independent of the social and cultural contexts that affect societies and markets, but is also more objective and autonomous in relation to those contexts. From the perspective of the social sciences, the concept of value remains intimately linked to a subjective and immeasurable logic that aims to judge individual behaviors, actions, and emotions. However, in agreeing with Orléan (2011), neither can economics as a science distance itself from its close link with the social sciences, nor can the currency and the economic values it represents be detached from the social totality that produces them.

By applying the concept of value to urban space, two major dimensions can be distinguished: the economic dimension, within which urban spaces are converted into tradable goods in a market using money to achieve certain benefits or profits; and the social dimension: split into aesthetic, ethical, identity-based, cultural, symbolic, and historical factors, and not amenable to objective quantification. However, instead of withdrawing social expression from urban space, this fact contributes to its valorization through generating qualitative understandings of that space's own relational and identity dynamics.

¹ This work was partially supported by the post-doc grant (SFRH/BPD/81026/2011), Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia. I wish to thank the reviewers for all their suggestions that helped to improve this article.

Thus, as regards the production of urban spaces, it is not easy to maintain a balance between these two dimensions, or between the formulas of production and the urban relationship involving spaces, people and activities that remains static over time. According to Lefebvre (1986, 2012), urban space is produced in each historical period as a result of a system of social valuations backed by internal and qualitative factors, as well as from an economic valuation system and exchange supported by external and quantitative factors. At the same time, both systems – qualitative and quantitative – are affected by the spatial transformations and categorizations produced by different actors.

Looking at the contemporary city, the timeliness of Lefebvre's ideas can be recognized, confirming that urban space has been produced both by the market and for a market-oriented profit. This prevalence of economic value over social values emphasizes social inequalities, reduces social diversity in the city, and splits up the urban space in accordance with a hierarchy of categorized places, which are also exploited or consumed in terms of values. On the other hand, one can observe that the social, cultural and symbolic values associated with space also contribute to the valorisation of urban places, not only because their value can be socially constructed (Lamont 2012; Vatin 2013), but mainly due to the particularities that internal social dynamics provide to each place.

The relevance attributed to urban space through its value (or values) is not inextricable from the global and competitive marketplace, which challenges cities to compete for leading positions in various rankings, besides using other promotion strategies in order to earn economic dividends, particularly through tourism. This reality has become increasingly noticeable in several European capitals, such as Lisbon, the capital of Portugal. In this case, the financial crisis of recent years has not only heightened the commodification of urban space, but also led the city center to pursue a "touristification" that, in addition to being regarded as excessive by the public, is threatening the identity-based values and authenticity of the city itself.

This article aims to explore a set of values assigned by Lisbon's residents to two different urban spaces located in the city – Príncipe Real and Telheiras – examining the impact of recent changes relating to location, rent market mechanisms, and the social categorization of the spaces' inhabitants. One representative dimension of these inhabitants fits into what some authors describe as the urban middle classes (Lury 1997; Zukin 1995, 2010; Atkinson and Bridge 2005; Lees 2000, 2008; Thomas and Patróni 2012; Cusin 2012). In general, these middle classes are presented in the urban studies literature as prime targets for social selection as practiced by real estate promoters and private markets. The economic capabilities assigned to these middle classes – resulting from their educational qualifications and their fields of work – enhance diversified, regular and even differentiated forms of consumption, as is the case for residential spaces. For this reason, the middle classes are often associated with a certain notion of revitalizing urban spaces and lifestyles, both in city centers and in other locations that may be more remote but are also highly valued.

In Portugal, the urban middle classes, following the process of educational democratization, correspond to more educated social groups, although not necessarily to groups that are more affluent. According to Estanque (2012), its consolidation is closely linked to the establishment of democracy in 1974 and the profound changes that ensued in relation to employment structure and professional profiles, with particular emphasis on the shift to a service-based economy and strong growth in the top socio-professional categories.

Both of the case studies presented have been chosen with the aim of exemplifying ways of producing and adding value to urban spaces in order to give them a more selective and

distinctive character in the context of the city. While *Príncipe Real* points to a certain gentrification (Smith 2002; Lees 2003; Authier and Bidou-Zachaniassen 2008) in a historical and central area that has never ceased to be bourgeois, *Telheiras* corresponds to a planned area from the 1980s, located in a more peripheral area in relation to the city center. These two spaces are different in terms of their geographic and symbolic location, historical contexts, and environments, but have similar types of “inhabitants” (in socioeconomic terms) and pursue similar strategies of spatial valorization, albeit geared towards different aims.

A Pathway to Valuing Space

The Marxist concept of value represents not only an essential starting point when tackling economic issues, but also for approaching urban space. This is mainly due to the conceptual relevance of understanding the social, economic, and political relationships intrinsic to the production of value dynamics in a broad sense, the influence of which has been described in several studies on the dynamics of urban production and spatial enhancement (Lefebvre 1986, 2012 [1968]; Harvey 1973, 2011; Saunders 1981; Soja 1989 among others). While the dialectical relationship proposed by Marx (1978; originally published in 1867) concerning the value of goods was implemented with some magnitude in urban planning during the late 1960s, social, political and economic conceptions concerning a capitalist system of urban production have continued to serve as a point of reference for several reflections on the ways in which many contemporary cities are experienced, consumed, and promoted. As examples, the works of Zukin (1995, 2010), Soja (2000, 2010), and Harvey (2011, 2012) may be cited.

Broadly speaking, the capitalist city that continues to characterize our contemporary world is sustained by the conversion of use-value into exchange-value achieved through the commodification of urban space (Parker 2004; Harvey 1973, 2011; Goodman et al. 2010; Miles 2010). In addition to noticeable changes in terms of spatial identities and the strengthening of socioeconomic inequalities regarding access to housing and certain urban public spaces, this spatial commodification is also held responsible for promoting dynamics that recreate and foster the existence of certain urban areas by means of spatial representations that aim to add value to them.

Taking Lisbon as an example, I found that the economic and financial performance of the housing market, largely supported by the private sector, has a noticeable impact on restricting access to the city in socioeconomic terms. Thus, the urban space is fragmented and categorized according to a socially directed and distinctive hierarchy. One witnesses, then, a kind of evaluative ranking of urban spaces in relation to the consumer experiences and promotional images that emerge around them, in and through the social groups and lifestyles associated with them, or even in relations to the symbolic dimension concerned with the authenticity of lifestyles and their singular identities.

In effect, it is not only the economic and social reconstruction observed at several points in Lisbon – the conversion of old industrial sites into residential areas, the promotion of new centers, or the rehabilitation of residential neighborhood models – which has made manifest certain changes in terms of residents’ profiles, but rather these residents have also added new spatial dynamics and extra values to those places in socioeconomic, cultural, and symbolic terms.

As a starting premise it can be assumed that there is an equivalence between certain central and peripheral urban areas in terms of the cost of housing and the socioeconomic stratum able to support it. However, one still needs to understand the other values that affect the residential choices of urban middle classes (also assuming that this is a social group with relatively homogeneous characteristics), and how they relate to space in order to justify such choices.

With a view to gaining insights into some of these values, I propose a comparison between Telheiras and Príncipe Real, two urban spaces in Lisbon that are quite distinct both geographically and physically.

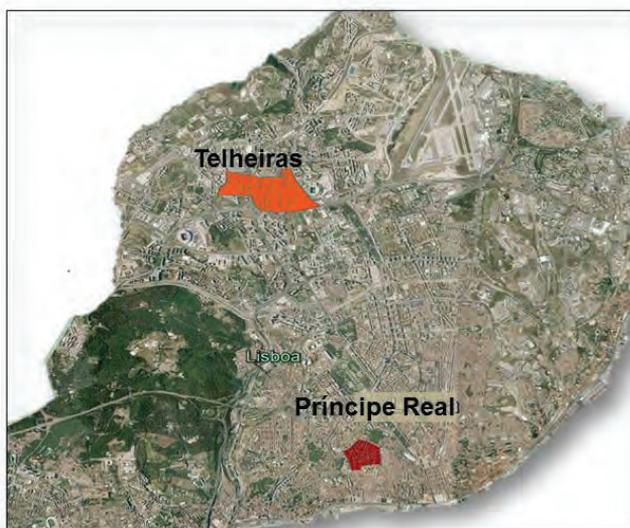


Figure 1: The location of the Lisbon case studies (source: adapted from Google Earth)

This comparison is inspired by a wider project which is still taking place, concerning the changing social composition, spatial consumption, and values in the city of Lisbon. Notwithstanding its interdisciplinary focus as regards the use of both quantitative and qualitative data, this article is based on a sociological/anthropological analysis drawing on ethnographic work from 2014 onwards. Eighteen in-depth interviews were also conducted with Portuguese residents in both areas, and the interviewees were selected according to the “snowball” sampling method (Burgess 1997).

Despite the impossibility of establishing reliable generalizations from a small number of interviews, narratives concerning residential choices linked to the two urban territories in question permit one to gain an understanding of how the interviewed residents perceive their space and of the kind of values they associate with it.

The group of nine interviewees from Príncipe Real fits the profile of “gentrifiers”, with the period of residence ranging from two to twelve years. Their ages span from thirty two to forty five and all of them possess higher education qualifications. As regards their occupations, there are three architects, one teacher, one university lecturer, two artistic producers, an economist, and a financial adviser. The nine interviewees from Telheiras have higher education qualifications and six of them are already retired. As regards their occupations, there are two

teachers, two bank clerks, an engineer, three accountants and a businessman. The ages range from fifty four to seventy and all of them have lived in Telheiras for twenty years or more.

Two Urban Spaces in Lisbon

Príncipe Real and Telheiras are two territories that represent different historical contexts and distinctive relationships with the city space, despite the equivalence that can be established between the socioeconomic characteristics of their residents and the symbolic production of social meanings associated with the urban middle classes. As a product of education, democratization and urbanization (Estanque 2012), the middle classes in Portugal were simultaneously the greatest driving forces of these processes and resulting social changes.

Taking this into account, it can be observed that residential choices are implicitly inscribed in a set of values referring to the social representations of individuals that not only reflect their position in the social structure, but also contribute to understanding the reality and narratives of their life practices.

From the interviews, two values stood out that were shared by both territories and which were correlated: the value of centrality and the value of quality of life. In addition to these two values, a third one was added: the value of social identities. Although this value was not mentioned directly by the narratives those interviewed gave, it is intelligible in the way these individuals appropriate the space they live in and present in their talk about that space. These identities include not only their identifications and social demarcations, but also their feeling of spatial belonging and their appropriation of space, given the existence of an indivisible bond between the feelings of belonging to a social group and its territory (Silvano 1997).

The Value of Centrality

Príncipe Real corresponds to an area located in the historic center of Lisbon that developed around several palaces and the manor houses of wealthy owners, successful traders and other aristocrats and the bourgeoisie of the nineteenth century. Today, the memory of the presence of these elites in Príncipe Real is still visible in several properties with historic and heritage value. The most significant buildings (from a set of twenty) now belong to EastBanc, a North American company that manages real estate investment funds, and which chose this place in the city as its target for a massive and ambitious regeneration plan. EastBanc intends to convert a number of palaces and other distinctive heritage buildings into collective dwellings. These will be marketed at the higher socioeconomic strata, linking the selection process regarding this housing with commercial selection processes already underway (through stores, products, and consumers).

Notwithstanding the image built around the “nobility” of this location, Príncipe Real is still socially more diverse and heterogeneous than Telheiras. But the gentrification dynamics linked to the renewal of the population of residents is not only clearly perceptible, but also expected to increase due to the interventions carried out by the regeneration plan, which is implicitly increasing social selectivity. In addition, the growing number of residential property purchases by European citizens (especially French), and the conversion of many dwellings into apartments designed for short-stay tourism, are having an influence on the area. To

some extent, and in addition to the new residents, the increasing presence of tourists and foreign inhabitants has also given Príncipe Real a reputation for being a cosmopolitan and sophisticated urban center.

For those who live in Príncipe Real, it is the center of Lisbon. It is the historic center, but above all the center of urban life, the heart of dynamism and culture. The residents feel that they have everything there and can get anywhere by walking. As such, their quality of life is evaluated in terms of ease of access to commercial, culture and leisure facilities, but especially in terms of being able to access the true “soul” of the city. However, while gentrifiers have developed a natural sense of belonging in both the space and to some categories of inhabitants, they have also developed some strategies of avoidance regarding former inhabitants.



Figure 2: Príncipe Real (photos taken by the author, August 2015)

In a social mode of self-classification mainly based on disposable incomes and lifestyles, the interviewees made use of a class representation divided between what they called “middle class” and “upper middle class”. Despite the tendency for individuals to overstate their social

position in relation to the existing structure, the conclusion can be drawn from the interview material that the residential space may also function as a social categorizer, mainly due to the economic values attached to it.

Broadly speaking, I include myself in the urban middle class, with high levels of cultural and human capital, but not exactly so in terms of economic capital. (T. financial adviser, 45)

I include myself in the middle class, despite living in a place that currently has an exorbitant cost per square meter. It is one of the most expensive locations in Lisbon ... but as I work in this area [real estate and urban rehabilitation] I managed to find a house that was more affordable and then I had some renovation work done. (P.T. architect, 44)

I think I belong to the upper middle class, because we have an above average standard of living. We live in optimal conditions in a great area of the city, which is very desirable and where the average price per square meter is huge, and we have the chance to be here. (P. architect, 35)

It is known that the economic value of urban space varies according to several factors, with location being especially important. This study found that this location goes hand-in-hand with a certain historical and heritage context, with human and social capital, and in accordance with the location's vitality. In other words, the location is part of a system of social values, of a qualitative nature but not necessarily incommensurable. In fact, all the constraints presented by the urban space result in an objective impact, both in terms of economic value, and in terms of symbolic value via reputational images, consumer experiences, social groups, and lifestyles.

This is a charming downtown location. That's what makes the prices so high. (V. architect, 35)

For those who come to live here there is a notion that they will pay more to be here ... Those who come are willing to pay more. It is an additional charge you pay that enables you to take advantage of this social environment. (N. art producer, 40)

We are suffering a bit from the cost of living here because we have signed up for huge mortgage payments ... but it was our choice so that we could be in a better and more enjoyable space ... in fact, this place is charming and sophisticated. (P.T. architect, 44)

I hate suburban life! What I like in this neighborhood is this feeling ... I wouldn't say so much of "belonging" but of neighborhood life, local trade, local life, routines ... and you cannot find that in the suburbs. I like going out and being surrounded by old buildings that I look at and enjoy. I hate the word "charm" but I like these kinds of areas ... with character as the English say, a place that has personality, a story. I like that. (T. financial adviser, 45)

Sometimes we also grow weary of living here. For example, on Saturday mornings, weekends, there are too many people, too much confusion ... it seems that every day new stores are opening and this has become a trendy place ... it is clear that this location is much sought after by those who enjoy a particular lifestyle. (I. teacher, 36)

As such and for these interviewees, living in Príncipe Real is not available to everyone – it is seen as a "privilege" with restricted access. The high cost of housing is compensated for by its being in one of the most central, cosmopolitan and prestigious places of Lisbon, enjoying a unique quality of life. Along with this image of a prestigious and charming environment assigned to Príncipe Real, there is a "cultural and creative class" living there that constitutes an ascribed identity to the interviewees.

The kind of person who lives in Príncipe Real influences the prices. Of course, the value of the neighborhood includes people, no doubt ... (J. university lecturer, 43)

Here there are plenty of designers and architects. There are artists and people linked to art. There are actors in theatre and cinema ... (M. art producer, 43)

Therefore, they are willing to pay an added value for housing so that they can have access to this “class” and its lifestyle. Simultaneously, they also share the idea that this space has a higher economic value owing to the presence of certain people with whom they identify themselves.

The Value of the Quality of (Social) Life

Telheiras urbanized relatively recently, being in a peripheral location with respect to the city center. Until the late 1970s, when the municipality of Lisbon decided to promote an urbanization project in that location, Telheiras was a small urban spot made up of rural villas and some buildings that constituted an ancient convent. Since then, Telheiras has succeeded as a new residential model for the city and, despite its peripheral location, this recent neighborhood gained a new centrality when the subway network arrived in 2002.

The inhabitants of Telheiras are mostly middle class, with a high level of satisfaction with their neighborhood, which they consider a prestigious one due to its urban quality, its excellent schools, public spaces, and shopping facilities. Taken together, all these features contribute in producing a generalized feeling that residents share of inhabiting an area that offers a unique quality of life in Lisbon. Unlike Príncipe Real, the relative distance towards the city center is seen as an advantage in Telheiras.

I would not trade this neighborhood or my house for any other site in Lisbon. I could even buy a house in the city center if I wanted to ... but no way! ... There, life is chaos, you just have uphill and downhill ... I wouldn't like to live there. (J. businessman, 69)

We have here a neighborhood with horizontality. We can walk anywhere and there is life here, people know each other and there is unity. This neighborhood is like a village ... we know the boundaries. (J.D. bank clerk, 63)

The physical and social environments created in this place have shaped the idea among residents of it being a village within the city, although they may reach the center of Lisbon by taking a short ride on the metro. In this sense, the idea of centrality is displaced from the city as a whole and brought to focus on the residential space.

From this neighborhood we can go everywhere, despite it having these characteristics of almost being in the periphery and a small village. It actually has a great central location both when going by car, and when using the underground to get to the city center. (P. teacher, 54)

Currently Telheiras is one of the most central sites because we can reach any place quickly. (P. teacher, 54)

The perception, dating from the late 1980s, that Telheiras is Lisbon's neighborhood with the largest number of people who have university degrees still remains in the collective imaginary of its inhabitants, and data from the 2011 Census confirms this perception correctly

endures.² In fact, the large amount of social homogeneity observed in Telheiras has been a relevant factor in increasing a social dynamic that has not only strengthened the construction of a local identity, but which has also allowed for the creation of several initiatives and movements aimed at greater participation and the better integration of the inhabitants in their neighborhood. Blogs, local publishing, and social networks can all attest to this.³

Most people who live here have university degrees and a reasonable standard of living. By the way, looking at the shops here, we realize that there people do have a purchasing power. However, the cultural aspect trumps the consumerist aspect and this has much to do with the genesis of the neighborhood and the people who live here. (C. bank clerk, 61)

At first, this neighborhood attracted mainly recent graduates, while today it is still known as being a neighborhood of professionals. We have a cultural base here that is far above average, and this makes people claim more and become involved in fighting for their interests and issues relating to the neighborhood. (J. businessman, 69)



Figure 3: Telheiras (photos taken by the author, May 2015)

² According to the census data of 2011, 52% of the residents of Telheiras have a university degree, while in Príncipe Real that number is 31%, whilst the general figure for Lisbon is 27% (*Censos 2011*).

³ "In Telheiras there are activities catering for all tastes and there is a very strong active spirit translated into associations of the most diverse type, which intensively participate in the development of the neighbourhood. There are also pioneering projects such as 'business partnerships' and there is above all a sense of belonging, of dedication, and concern. The epithet 'Village of Professionals' is therefore well-deserved and Telheirenses continue to do it justice." (<http://vivitelheiras.pt/o-que-e-que-telheiras-tem/>, 21. 4. 2016, accessed 14. 9. 2016; translated from Portuguese).

For example, the creation of a transition initiative is worthy of mention. This is part of the Transition Network, which fosters a variety of initiatives pertaining to sustainability, resilience and empowerment in the community, and the community's relationship with space. In addition, the creation of a horticultural park in the center of the neighborhood is a second example. This park is divided into several plots of vegetable gardens, cultivated by several families or groups of residents interested in growing their own vegetables. Another example is the association *Viver Telheiras* (Living Telheiras) that was founded in 2013 by several local institutions and trade groups in order to facilitate internal dynamics in the neighborhood, and which intertwines the needs and interests of institutions, traders, and residents. There is an online platform linked with this association that provides a range of information and which functions as a local observatory. There is also a card that gives one access to a network of local trade and services offering a variety of advantages and discounts.

Existing social networks are also often used in the promotion of several cultural activities that take place in the neighborhood – cinema, theater, music, literature, fine arts, or workshops – as well as other social actions which aim to create closer ties among neighborhood residents. Taken as a whole, these activities have helped to build a neighborhood identity in a place that, without the existence of these social networks, could have been another anonymous urban space in Lisbon in which no sense of belonging is present. Even for residents who rarely participate in these initiatives, knowing that they exist is enough for them to function as a factor which enhances their experience of the neighborhood space.

Therefore, one might say that if Telheiras is currently recognized as a special neighborhood, this is because the intentional actions of many residents made it happen. At first, what moved these people to create a strong and participatory social network was a need to closely observe the development of the urban plan that was carried out over several years. Once this process was concluded, these social networks remained in place and new synergies were created and are now able to sustain particular cultural and civic dynamics among residents, reinforcing the idea of spatial centrality and quality of life.

This effect of urban unity has contributed a lot to make this place a neighborhood ... it has brought us together and I have felt part of it ... local shops were also important because people met there, or places like the school gate where people would pick up their children ... all this is the essence of the neighborhood ... the range of ages as well, because the locals were all more or less the same age and now they are almost all old like me ... we were the Telheiras team. (C. bank clerk, 61)

This is a neighborhood that has a good quality of life. This means that I can go for a walk in the street and feel good, I can know everybody, be close to everything and easily reach the city center. (D. engineer, 68)

This neighborhood has developed as an insulated neighborhood and this has created some urban characteristics that make this a different kind of neighborhood, with features that people like ... for example, it has interesting local centers of commerce, the architects who designed the neighborhood were concerned with the creation of green spaces and low occupancy rates, people began to unite and fight for certain things ... (B. teacher, 59)

I appreciate the beautiful and well-arranged green spaces that we have here in abundance ... I like the nearby shops and we also have that ... I like street cafés and we also have those. For me this neighborhood totally fulfils me in terms of my daily needs and my tastes. Here I have a good quality of life, I have adapted to this location and feel that it fulfils me completely, and I know the people too. (A. accountant, 62)

It is clear that the quality of urban planning and public spaces in this neighborhood justifies and extends the belief that people have a high quality of life in Telheiras. However, one could also say that this added value results from a recognition of this specific social environment as being “distinctive”, compared to other residential areas in Lisbon.

Conclusion

People always tend to value the area they live in positively, at the expense of others. This is a way of both justifying their choices and legitimizing the values they attach to such choices. As such, the residents of both Príncipe Real and Telheiras both reported high levels of satisfaction with the respective residential areas in which they lived, devaluing other locations in Lisbon. The inextricable link between the economic and social dimensions in terms of the production and consumption of space, and how this leads to a sense of identity-based belonging that adds value to urban space is also unsurprising in both examples.

The urban middle classes continue to be cited as the main driving forces of important social changes and their related impact on spatial production and urban life. The choice of Príncipe Real and Telheiras as examples of urban spaces mostly associated with the middle classes seeks to demonstrate this, as comprehended through the perceptions given of spatial valorization processes.

In Príncipe Real the presence of residents with a certain cultural and economic profile is recognized as representing an added value in the price people pay to live there, thus gaining access to a cosmopolitan identity which differentiates this space in the context of Lisbon. However, the existence of a greater social heterogeneity also fosters among the gentrifiers a growing concern with social affiliations and lifestyles. The space itself can be understood as an object of consumption, which can also be manipulated in terms of the negotiation of social affiliations or cultural and symbolic values. An example of this is its reputational value as cosmopolitan and as possessing charm. These aspects are linked to this location in order to promote it, either for tourism or for real estate development targeted at specific socio-economic strata.

In contrast, the relative social homogeneity prevailing in Telheiras places no emphasis on social affiliations and the neighborhood seems to operate as an autonomous spatial unit. Issues relating to the quality of life, environmental sustainability and social participative networks illustrate not only the ways in which existing social capital responds to shared concerns and initiatives, but also how these initiatives have contributed in consolidating a sense of spatial community among residents. In this location, the specificity of its urban environment – and especially its social capital – was found to have triggered creative skills that were socially oriented towards the construction of a sense of neighborhood belonging. Currently, this sense of neighborhood belonging is collectively shared and results in a positive boosting effect as regards new forms of innovation and creativity, increasingly taking advantage of the consolidated social networks.

While in Príncipe Real centrality is a base of support for the dynamics of urban regeneration in terms of architectural heritage and the promotion of these places by creating reputational images that make them attractive and desirable, in Telheiras an emphasis is placed on the quality of life provided by a residential living model that contrasts with the city center. Without losing a sense of being centrally located, the residents of Telheiras legitimize a diffe-

rent position in relation to an urban center considered impersonal, disorganized, and lacking in quality of life. They are not confronted with gentrification processes or with the spatial promotion of images targeted at attracting more investment and more consumers. On the contrary, these residents are challenged to build their own narratives about their space and create a referential value-adding framework which increases the visibility of their neighborhood.

Through these two case-studies I wanted to exemplify how the interactive relational dynamics between people and the places in which they live can relate to spatial values, and how these values can be relevant in promoting their image and in shaping forms of social selectivity and identity-based belonging.

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Dodavanje vrijednosti urbanim prostorima. Dva primjera iz Lisabona

Sažetak

Komparativnom analizom dvaju urbanih prostora u Lisabonu namjeravam pokazati kako se prostoru mogu dodati neke vrijednosti u cilju privlačenja određenih stanara, investitora ili interesa te kako ti urbani prostori mogu iskoristiti takve vrijednosti ne bi li se razlikovali i promicali na razne načine. Kod razmatranja procesa gentrifikacije u središtu grada te izgradnje prostornog i socijalnog identiteta naselja u perifernom području, fokusiram se na urbane srednje slojeve i neke društvene strategije pripadanja.

Ključne riječi: vrijednost, urbani prostor, srednji sloj, identitet, pripadanje, Lisabon