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**How is gentrification lived: a psycho-social study of the experience of  
gentrification in Lisbon**

Robyn Lea Ribeiro

Mestrado em Psicologia Social e das Organizações

Orientadora:

Professora Doutora Susana Batel

ISCTE – Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, CIS-IUL – Centro de  
Investigação e de Intervenção Social (ECSH)

Dezembro, 2020



CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS  
E HUMANAS

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## **Acknowledgment**

During my 24 years of existence, many people have crossed my path and influenced my life, helping me achieve this last step in my academic life. Although it has taken some time to hand in this dissertation, I am proud of my journey and the course that I took that gave me so much enjoyment.

I would like to thank my parents for all their love, support and understanding and the numerous adventures that we have had together; my boyfriend André for never doubting me and supporting me unconditionally; the Maia family that opened their arms and accepted me as one of their own; my friends Raquel and Renata for 9 years of friendship, for all the laughs and support; Joana and João the family I chose; the friends that university has given me – Marta, Alexandre, João, Katherine, Marco and Bruno – we all climbed mountains to get here and I could not be prouder of us.

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## **Resumo**

A Gentrificação e a Turistificação são dois conceitos que ao longo dos últimos anos têm vindo a ter imenso foco em várias cidades europeias, devido às suas implicações na comunidade que habita em determinados bairros. O estudo destes conceitos é crucial para perceber as alterações que têm acontecido nestes bairros a nível económico, social e psicológico. A presente dissertação tem como objetivo perceber a experiência da Gentrificação e Turistificação aos olhos de quem permanece no bairro ao nível da vinculação ao lugar das relações sociais e das emoções despoletadas. Realizou-se um estudo qualitativo com uma amostra de sete habitantes do bairro de Santos-o-Velho em Lisboa com diversas características a nível de idade, género, classe social e nível de escolaridade que tenham vivido ou vivem no bairro há mais de cinco anos. Cada participante realizou uma entrevista através do método de *walking interviews* e os resultados foram determinados através de uma análise temática. Os resultados mostram que estes dois conceitos têm consequências significativas para os participantes: existe uma clara preferência a como as coisas eram antigamente, uma vez que sentem que o bairro não fornece serviços e espaços adequados á comunidade pré-existente, diminuindo a dependência ao bairro e consequentemente a vinculação emocional ao mesmo; as relações sociais dentro do bairro sofreram alterações devido à entrada de turistas e de pessoas com maior poder económico diminuindo a familiaridade e a sensação de solidariedade no mesmo; por último, estas mudanças incitam emoções de tristeza e dor.

**Palavras-chave:** Gentrificação; Turistificação; Vinculação ao lugar; Relações Sociais; Emoções.

## **Códigos de Classificação APA:**

**3000:** Psicologia Social

**4050:** Comunidade e Planeamento Ambiental

## **Abstract**

Gentrification and Touristification are two concepts that over the past years have been focused on in various European countries, due to their implications for communities that live in certain neighbourhoods. The study of these concepts is crucial to understand the changes that have occurred in neighbourhoods at an economic, social, and psychological level. The present dissertation aims to understand the experience of Gentrification and Touristification of those who continue living in the neighbourhood at the level of place attachment, social bonds and emotions triggered. We executed a qualitative study with a sample of seven *Santos-o-Velho* neighbourhood inhabitants (in Lisbon) diverging in age, gender, social class, and schooling, that live or have lived in the neighbourhood for at least five years. Each inhabitant participated in an interview using the walking interviews method and the results were determined through a thematic analysis. The results show that these two concepts have significant consequences for the participants: there is a clear preference for the way things were in the past, since they feel that the neighbourhood no longer provides services and spaces adequate for the pre-existing community, decreasing their place dependence to the neighbourhood and consequently their emotional attachment to the place; social bonds within the neighbourhood have suffered alterations due to increase of foreigners and people with greater economic power living in the area, decreasing familiarity and solidarity; lastly, these changes incite feelings of sadness and grief.

**Key-words:** Gentrification; Touristification; Place Attachment; Social Bonds; Emotions.

## **APA Classification Codes:**

**3000:** Social Psychology

**4050:** Community and Environmental Planning

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## Introduction

This thesis ambition is to bring to light two psycho-social problems that in the past decades have become an issue that have affected a lot of big cities around the world: gentrification and touristification. Media coverage has been quite abundant on the matter, due to the increase of displacement of the original population from its neighbourhoods, for example *Jornal Económico* posted a news report titled “The process of gentrification in course in the cities of Lisbon and Porto (and it’s peripheries)” (Sampaio, 2018); in the *Jornal Público* “World metropolises unite against expulsion of residents of urban centres” (Lusa, 2018); and also the *Comunidade Cultura e Arte* journal “Gentrification: the swear word that means “get out of here poor people” (Fumaça, 2017). For this reason, it is very important to study these phenomena and understand the psycho-social effects they have on the population that continues to reside in these neighbourhoods. We aim to define these two processes and by talking to the community of the *Santos-o-Velho* neighbourhood, better understand the implications on their sense of place attachment and identity, their social bonds and emotions.

1984, according to Newsweek, was considered “The Year of the Yuppie” referring to those young upwardly mobile professionals of the baby-boom generation that can be distinguished by a lifestyle devoted to personal careers and individualistic consumption (Smith, 1987). According to Wiebe (1967 quoted by Smith (1987) “this group of urban professionals, experts, and managers experienced a “revolution in identity” as the specialized need of the emerging urban industrial system gave them an increasingly prominent social role. Individuals in this “new middle class” are imbued with a “confident driving quality” and harboured “an earnest desire to remake the world upon their private models”. The restructuring of the economic base is associated to deindustrialization of urban spaces and the increase of tertiary activities, factors that influence the functional structure of cities and that redefine their internal functionalities, as it accelerates the substitution of production spaces with services and leisure activities (Mendes, 2011).

The patterns of consumption associated with this new middle class, including patterns of housing consumption, are presumed to result from higher incomes and the greater spending power that this sector of society has achieved (Smith, 1987). As modern society forms, global economy changes and space-time comprehension expands with better forms of transportation and communications, cities also suffer a brutal change in

many different aspects: economic base, sociocultural comprehension, urban structure, politics and management (Mendes, 2011). This restructuring has increased the possibilities for people to travel and emigrate, changing the structure of the host countries and cities.

### **Gentrification and Touristification as a socio-political-psychological process**

#### **Gentrification**

As proposed by Mendes (2011, p.83) “the process of gentrification may be seen as one of the most visible special processes in this far reaching socio-economic mutation. It was the materialization of the profound restructuring process that Western, late-capitalist societies experiments with in the urban space, under the pretext of self-affirming their own postmodern condition”. This process has to do with the restructuring of the housing market and associated consumer cultures (Mendes, 2011).

Gentrification involves the process of upgrading, updating and replacing existing buildings (Hammel, 2009 quoted by Reick, 2018) as well as, a profound impact on people (Doucet, 2009). The concept has a local and social class connotation and it presumes the change of the original residents with communities of a higher social status and a change in the appearance of the neighbourhood (Xerez, 2008). As stated by Savage and Wade (1993) for there to exist gentrification, three processes should occur: firstly, a social geography reorganization in city centres, where a social group is substituted for another one with a higher statute; secondly, a spatial regrouping of individuals with similar life-styles and culture; and lastly, a transformation of the built space and urban landscape, including new services and a residential requalification (with significant architectural improvements).

This affects a region or neighbourhood by altering the dynamics of local composition, like new commercial sights or the construction of new buildings, over valuing the region and affecting the local low-income population (Santos, 2014). Initially these areas are attractive to the well-educated but economically less situated part of society, but by investing materially and socially, these newcomers rapidly change the physical appearance, cultural diversity, social background and ethnic background of the neighbourhood (Hammel, 2019 quoted by Reick, 2018). Consequently, landlords and real estate companies begin investing in housing and marketing, rising property



values. (Hammel, 2009 quoted by Reick, 2018). This over valorisation is followed by an increase in costs of goods and services, making it difficult for the original residents to stay in their homes due to the increase of rents and their altered reality (Santos, 2014).

According to Markusen (1981) “gentrification in large part corresponds to the two-income (or more) professional household that requires both a relatively central urban location to minimize journey-to-work costs of several wage earners and a location that enhances efficiency in household production (stores are nearer) and in the substitution of market-produced commodities (laundries, restaurants, child care) for household production”.

Nowadays, following the new economical conjecture, gentrification is formed by processes of real estate promotion and marketing submitted to market mediation, that contribute to transforming city residential space into merchandise (Mendes 2011). The main characteristic of this new gentrification is the irregular and flexible development of the market of the urban ground, integrating in the general process accumulation of capital, in service of the interests of the neoliberal real estate market and the decommissioning well fair state over housing matters (Mendes, 2011).

Despite globalization and mobility, local ties continue to be crucial in many neighbourhoods (Devine-Wright, Smith & Batel, 2018). They are a key feature of place attachment defined as being the bond between individuals and their important places, therefore the stronger the social ties, the stronger the place attachment (Kohlbacher, Reeger & Schanell, 2015). When the bond between the individual and the residential environment is broken, the implications can be deeply distressing as it means that they lose crucial social ties and a way of life, especially in the case of more vulnerable individuals and households, due to the increase of middle-class households changing the neighbourhood and the inflating rents and household prices (Atkinson, 2004). This development also has implications for the residents' identification with their place of residence, since if the place changes, a feeling of displacement can be experienced, especially for low-income individuals (Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). Rental increases are inevitable, and the fear of being displaced is evident by witnessing friends and neighbours leaving, as well as constant media reports is enough to increase this fear for this social class (Doucet, 2009).

Gentrification might not always be negative. Sometimes the original residents are the ones who instigate the process and therefore profit from renting their houses to the newcomers (Arkaraprasertkul, 2018). Many neighbourhoods that suffer

from this phenomenon are, in fact, considered historical, so many times the original housing is rundown, small and lacking proper maintenance, and the investment necessary to rehabilitate these apartments is beyond the possibilities of most owners (Arkaraprasertkul, 2018). This combined with an aging population, results in a pragmatic realization that unless they comply with the relocation process, they will be left with a small rundown “room” instead of a new apartment to pass on to their children (Arkaraprasertkul, 2018). Another upside is the rehabilitation of the physical fabric of the housing in neighbourhoods and, in many cases, desirable areas are upgraded (Atkinson, 2004). Consequently, changing the image of the neighbourhood associated with renewal may invite further investment and alter preconceptions about the social ecology of an area (Atkinson, 2004).

Another potential positive dimension of this process is the opening of new services, shops and amenities where the access to the latter can be limited. The opening of restaurants, minimarkets and other facilities bring more retail and job opportunities, benefitting some residents (Doucet, 2009). Nonetheless, despite the upgrade in facilities, these cater a higher-income clientele with potentially different tastes to the lower-income residents who resist displacement pressures. In addition, the pre-existing retail stores either get pushed further away or they disappear entirely (Doucet, 2009). This spatial and psychological division leads to a sense of separation from the changes existing in the community, often leading to a sense of resentment and polarisation within the residents (Atkinson, 2000).

### **Touristification**

With the increase of economic power, there has been an exponential increase in tourism, especially in the capitals of several European countries and in America (McIntosh & Goeldner, 1990 quoted by Novy and Colomb, 2017). It is important to bear in mind that tourism is the sum of the phenomena and relationships arising from the interaction of tourists, business providers, host governments and host communities (McIntosh & Goeldner, 1990 quoted by Novy and Colomb, 2017). As a result of this globalization and the resizing and transformation of state activity, these cities have been subjected to changes never seen at the level of economic restructuring, demographic composition and economic class structure, as well as reconstruction of local government contexts (Novy & Colomb, 2017). While in many cases this increase in tourism has positively impacted these cities, it has also been accompanied by several damaging negative

impacts, such as urban tourism, exemplified by the occupation of public spaces by coffee shops (Novy & Colomb, 2017) as well as the use of housing for holiday rentals instead. This restructuring has brought urban inequity, making it difficult for low-income families to survive and identify with their neighbourhoods. Keeping this in mind, touristification can be viewed as a form of gentrification.

In addition, a lot of the problems emerging in housing have been blamed on the increase of tourism specially in European and American capitals. In 2011, Berlin voiced itself against tourists by transmitting unmistakable messages such as “Berlin does not love you” and “No more rolling suitcases” to showcase their outrage, because they felt their city was in danger of falling victim to its success (Novy & Colomb, 2017). Barcelona had been fighting against the negative impacts of the tourist economy on their neighbourhoods, such as the proliferation of short-term rental apartments, problems of noise and anti-social behaviour or the occupation and commodification of public space by cafe terraces for some years, resulting in changes to the traditions of local urban planning and putting the rights of big business before the rights of residents (Novy & Colomb, 2017). In Lisbon, residents have formed a community group called “People live here” in response to the city’s growing party tourism phenomenon (Novy & Colomb, 2017).

For a more practical view on the effects of touristification, according to INE (2018), Lisbon apartments in march 2017 were costing on average 941€ m<sup>2</sup>, whereas by the same month in 2018, the average cost increased to 1411€ m<sup>2</sup>, in addition, houses were evaluated at 1357€ m<sup>2</sup> in march 2017, and in 2018 it had risen to 1462€ m<sup>2</sup>. During the global pandemic of COVID-19 the housing prices have increased 0,5% (INE, 2020).

This leads to the main goal of this thesis. Although most of the existing research has focused on defining gentrification and touristification and its antecedents and its consequents, few have focused on the psycho-social dimension of gentrification, or how individuals and groups experience and define this phenomenon and how it impacts important people-place relationships such as place attachment and social bonds.

## **Psycho-social dimension of gentrification**

### **Place attachment**

An important concept for this research is place attachment. According to Brown and Perkins (1992), “Place attachments are integral to self-definitions, including individual

and communal aspects of identity; disruptions threaten self-definitions". It involves processes such as familiarity, stability and security (Brown & Perkins, 1992). Negotiating one's place in society requires both individual and communal aspects of identity which often creates tension for individuals trying to maintain all aspects of their identity. Places, especially homes and neighbourhoods provide places for certain groups to interact, creating barriers between others. When attachment is disrupted, individuals struggle to define their losses in order to identify new types of connections that will provide a meaningful relationship to the world (Brown & Perkins, 1992).

Place attachments are as richly varied as people and places can be. For example, people can become attached to places at different geographical scales (from tree house to country), and these places can evoke an array of emotions (from joy to sadness) in varying degrees of strength, either by experiences that occur there, or by merely thinking of the place (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2018). Furthermore, people may be attached to a place they experience on a regular basis (e.g. a favourite hangout or a home), or they may be attached to a place that they have never actually visited, but that represents an idea (e.g. the notion of homeland for immigrants), or even to a place that has been lost (either by physical destruction or by a change in place meaning), thus evoking a grief response (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2018). Some authors suggest that this concept includes ancestral ties and feelings like an "insider" and a desire to stay in a certain place. It is also important to study this phenomena, because examining it as an emotional bond sheds light on the distress and grief by those who are forced to relocate (Scannell & Gifford, 2010). In migration and refugee literature, the emphasis is typical on displacement and so the attachment to one's place is defined by the intensity of longing for places that have been lost (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

Literature has identified different types of place attachment: traditional and active attachment and civic place attachment and natural place attachment. "Traditional attachment involves a taken for granted rootedness to one's neighbourhoods, town/region while active attachment is defined by high level of conscious attachment to physical settings from local to distant places" (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2018). Individuals who live in a place for a long time tend to report a more traditional attachment, whereas individuals that have lived in a place for a short period of time tend to report more active attachment. (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2018). "Civic place attachment is associated with and symbolize one's association with a larger collective identity (such as feeling proud of one's city)" (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2018). "Natural place

attachment is a type of emotional attachment directed towards the natural features of one's local area" (Scannel & Gifford, 2010).

Scannel and Gifford (2010) propose a three-dimensional framework. The first dimension is the actor i.e. who is attached? At a personal level, it involves connections that a person has to a place, whether it involves personal memories, personally important experiences such as realizations or milestones. It's not only the place itself but more the experiences lived there (Scannel & Gifford, 2010). At a group level, place attachment has been examined in different cultures, genders and religions, and it usually entails places where groups may practice their culture through shared historical experiences, values and symbols (Scannel & Gifford, 2010). Cultural place meanings and values influence the extent of individual place attachment, and individual experiences within a place, if positive it can maintain and even strengthen cultural place attachment (Scannel & Gifford). The second dimension focuses on the way individuals and groups relate to a place, and the nature of the psychological interactions that occur in the environments that are important to them (Scannel & Gifford, 2010). Person-place bonding undoubtedly involves an emotional connection to a place, evidenced by displacement (when people must leave their places due to war or natural disasters, relocation or emigration) (Scannel & Gifford, 2010). Relationships with place can represent an array of emotions from love to fear, hatred and indifference (Scannel & Gifford, 2010). It also includes cognitive elements such as memories, beliefs, meaning and knowledge that individuals associate with the place. Individuals may connect to a place in the sense that it comes to represent who they are and can sometimes be incorporated to one's self-definition. (Scannel & Gifford, 2010). This also links place attachment to place identity, which refers to what is represented as the character of the neighbourhood, as determined by demographic composition, amenities, commercial establishments and local institutions, architecture, etc, and which could also be lost as gentrification progresses (Doucet, 2009).

The whole relationship between an individual and a place is represented by place dependency, that represents the conative domain of attitude in which the dependence expressed for one's setting is relative to the behaviours preformed there (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001). Place dependence thus concerns how well a setting serves goal achievement given an existing range of alternatives (Jorgensen & Stedman, 2001). People are more likely to become psychologically invested in a place if they spend a lot of time there (Anton & Lawrence, 2016). It also describes the functional bonds that people have with places, it develops when places provide conditions and features required to meet

people's needs and allows them to reach their goals, being evaluated as better than possible alternative places, resulting in that person becoming dependent on the place (Anton & Lawrence, 2016)

It is also important to point out that there is a behaviour level in which attachment is typified by proximity-maintaining behaviours such as length of residence and efforts to return when parted from the place (Hay, 1998 cited by Scannell & Gifford, 2010). They are typically divided into two levels: social attachment related to the social ties rooted in the place such as neighbourhoods, coffee shops and other places of social interaction and physical attachment like houses, streets, certain buildings, lakes or even the climate (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

While place attachments develop slowly, when disruption occurs, it is quick and creates a long-term phase of dealing with the loss and repairing or re-creating attachments to people and places. These disruptions refer to negative impacts that sudden ecological or human-induced change can have upon pre-existing place-attachment bonds and identities (Bailey, Devine-Wright & Batel, 2016). They bring about fragmentation of routines, relationships and expectations. Individuals struggle to define their losses in order to identify what types of connections will provide them with a meaningful relationship to the world (Brown & Perkins, 1992).

The process of gentrification disrupts the notion of place attachment and the sense of continuity, which is ordinarily a taken for granted framework for functioning in a universe which has temporal, social and spatial dimensions (Fried, 1963 quoted by Brown & Perkins, 1992). When we talk about these two key words, they are often accompanied by the notion of displacement. According to Macuse (1986), quoted by Doucet (2009), "lower-income populations could be removed from their homes in various ways: (1) direct, when a resident is forced out of a home; (2) exclusionary, occurring when higher prices have made it prohibitive to move into a neighbourhood; (3) chain, when successive chains of households move out of the same unit as it becomes upgraded beyond their reach; and (4) displacement pressure, when the threat of displacement looms over the heads of residents as they witness their former neighbours moving away." Displacement is often traumatic to households. Firstly, a major challenge for these families is to find a new home that is adequate and affordable, however more times than not, they find out that they have to move into new accommodations with improper conditions. In addition, the area to which they move into is far from their original home where they have no social networks (Morris, 2016).

As noted above, the link between an individual and a place involves an emotional attachment. “Emotions shape and respond to the processes and structures that change neutral (empty) “space” into lived (meaning-full) “place”, shaping and colouring who we are, where and how we live, and the kinds of relationships and communities which emerge in a given place” (Collins, 2017). In other words, “they have tangible effects on our surroundings and can shape the very nature and experience of our well-being in the world. Emotions can clearly alter what the world is for us, affecting our sense of time as well as space. Our sense of who and what we are is continually reshaped by how we feel.” (Davidson & Milligan, 2004).

Gentrification might impact the sense of place attachment of individuals specially when they are forced out of their homes. People don’t need to be physically displaced in order to feel negatively towards displacement, the witnessing of friends and neighbours leaving their homes as well as constant media reports are enough to sour one’s attitudes (Doucet, 2009). As such, displacement brings about a lot of emotions that influence people negatively, and according to Morris (2016), “displacement can evoke a feeling of grief and anger”.

### **Social Bonds and the use of public spaces**

Public spaces are the natural arena of citizenship, where individuals, groups and crowds become political subjects (Di Masso, 2012). According to Creswell (1996) quoted by Di Masso (2012), “on a psychological level, citizens’ behaviour in public is regulated by normative representations that tell us what actions are (in)appropriate, which special uses are (not) expected under specific circumstances, and who is (not) a legitimate public within the confines of “normal” coexistence”. The public space reflects social exchanges between individual and collective affairs, featuring personal rights that are both politically and spatially grounded, such as “right to the city” and freedom of action in the urban open space (Lefebvre, 1968 & Rivling, 1994, quoted by Di Masso, 2012). Public spaces involve complex patterns of material aspects, meanings, values, social activities and profound existential experiences (Canter, 1977, quoted by Di Masso, 2012). In community spaces territorial behaviour can occur reinforcing an ingroup sense of who belongs to the place. Power imbalances become even more visible in public spaces whenever socially disadvantaged individuals are sanctioned and removed from the urban territory for using it in ways that defy the sense of order (Di Masso, 2012).

Many working-class communities have a strong sense of social cohesion and can be associated with strong, local, social networks (Atkinson & Kintrea, 2000 quoted by Doucet (2009)). Social bonds are intimately related to place attachment since the sense of place has been viewed as a social construction, a product of shared behavioural and cultural processes rather than the result of perceptual and cognitive processes rooted in physical characteristics of settings (Lewicka, 2011). For that reason, focussing on the social bonds of our participants is very important to understand how they interact with the existing community and how they interact with the new commers in the community (increasing or not their attachment to the neighbourhood).

Shops and meeting places are neighbourhood resources that enable people to feel a sense of community. Although the availability of social services increases with gentrification, the range catering to the low-income population diminishes: “The places by which people once defined their neighbourhood become spaces with which they no longer associate.” (Davidson, 2008 quoted by Shaw & Hagemans, 2015). This decreases the opportunity of social bonding and consequently increases the feeling of displacement. This change in social networks can also have an influence on differing and potentially conflicting values and norms. For example, Freeman (2006) quoted by Doucet (2009) cited differences over what is considered acceptable behaviour and activities, such as barbeques in the park or drinking a beer in front of one’s house. Although these activities are normal and acceptable for the lower-class community, the new comers may become offended, due to the fact that, they do not use and are not prone to these behaviours.

As mentioned before, this work aims to focus on the psycho-social dimension of gentrification, or how individuals and groups experience and define this phenomenon and how it impacts important people-place relationships such as place attachment and social bonds. In so being, it aims to examine the more subjective, experiential side of gentrification.

## **Method**

### **Context**

To be able to study gentrification, we have chosen to focus on a historical neighbourhood in Lisbon called Santos-o-Velho. It is a part of the parish of Estrela composed by two other neighbourhoods: Prazeres and Lapa (figure 1). According to the official site of the Lisbon county, Santos-o-Velho is the smallest of the three neighbourhoods (0,53 km<sup>2</sup>).



According to a 2011 census it is populated by 4020 individuals. 60% of the population of the parish of Estrela are between the ages of 15 and 64, 32% have completed higher education.

Many historical neighbourhoods in Lisbon such as *Alfama*, *Chiado*, *Sé*, have been subject to gentrification and touristification. The lack of housing for Portuguese citizens has been a concern for a long time, grabbing the attention of the media. Quite often you can read headlines such as “Alfama: four in every ten houses are for tourists” (Ferreira, 2019) or even concerns regarding the building of new apartments that can block a view and even add a modern touch that can ruin the identity of the neighbourhood, such as “A group of Alfama residents don’t want a “wall of luxury apartments” blocking the light and view of the Tejo” (Cristino, 2018). As housing gets more expensive in the city centre, original residents are forced to leave whilst foreigners take the opportunity to live in a traditional Portuguese neighbourhood house or the houses are transformed in local accommodations, Airbnb’s and hostels. Media coverage is often for these phenomena “Alfama. The tourists and the three housewives” (Santos, 2018) and “Foreigners spend six times more buying a house in Lisbon than in Porto” (Sanlez, 2019). Santos-o-Velho however, is still under the process of gentrification, being easier to talk to the original residents and trying to understand their point of view.

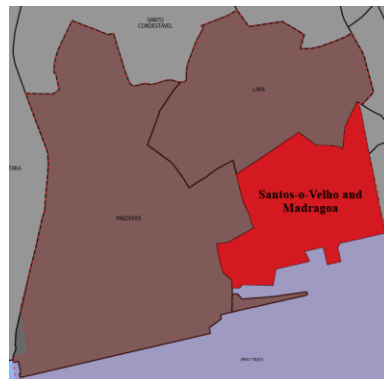


Figure 1: Location of *Santos-o-Velho*

## Procedure and Sample

To better understand the way the original residents feel about the changes that are occurring in the neighbourhood, a qualitative method was used. We chose to utilise the walking interview method where the researcher walks alongside the participant during an interview in a given location. Walking on the street means that both researcher and participant are more exposed to the multi-sensory stimulation of the surrounding

environment (Adams & Guy, 2007 cited by Evans & Jones, 2011). A major advantage of this type of interview is the capacity to produce insights into attitudes and knowledge about the surrounding environment (Evans & Jones, 2011). Due to the rhythm of walking, it allows for natural breaks in conversation which can then be picked up again as the walk progresses, making it easier to keep a conversation going (Evans & Jones, 2011). Walking interviews tend to be longer and more spatially focussed, engaging to a greater extent with features in the area under study than with the autobiographical narrative of interviewees and it has also been demonstrated as a highly productive way to access a local community's connections to their surrounding environment (Evans & Jones, 2011). This type of method also allows researchers to access less superficial and more mundane stories, uncovering relationship dynamics with places (Holton & Riley, 2014). This method allows the researcher to observe the participant in interactions with others in their community (Kinney, 2017). They also provide insights into the relationships with others or the sense of alienation or loneliness that the participant experiences (Kinney, 2017).

There are 4 different methods that can be used: the *docent method* where the participant is viewed as an expert guide who escorts the researcher around areas that are significant to them; the *go-along walking interview* where the researcher accompanies the participant on an outing that would have occurred even if the researcher wasn't present (i.e their natural environment); the *participatory method* where the researcher accompanies the participant on a walk around a geographical location that the participant selected, related to the topic being investigated; lastly, the *bimbling method*, where the researcher and the participant walk with no clear aim other than to blow off steam (Kinney, 2017). The docent method was considered the most appropriate.

Firstly, the participants were contacted one by one using the snowball sampling method where the interviewees gave contacts of other people that were potentially interested in participating. The interviews took place between march and september of 2019. After the first contact (through a phone call or e-mail), a meeting place was arranged. In this case a local coffee shop that all participants went to, and which allowed the first face-to-face contact to be done in a familiar location for the participants and a good ice breaker to start the interview. The consent form was read and signed then (assuring the anonymity and confidentiality of the participants information) and a small socio-demographic questionnaire was filled, with questions about age, gender, social class, schooling and how long they lived or had lived in the neighbourhood. Following that, I asked the participant to take me to places that were

important to them or places that had changed the most in the last 5 years. A semi-structured script was used to ensure all important questions were asked and that more information could be accessed throughout the interview and considering participants responses (annex A). Interviews were, on average, 1h long (Min. length = 41 minutes / Max. length= 1h36 minutes).

To ensure a heterogeneous sample, seven participants were interviewed and characterised according to their gender, age group, social class and schooling. Five participants still lived in the neighbourhood and two had left the neighbourhood after living there for many years.

<b>Participant</b>	<b>Gender</b>	<b>Age</b>	<b>Social Class</b>	<b>Schooling</b>
1	Female	45	Middle Class	Higher Education
2	Female	80	Upper Class	Secondary Education
3	Female	60	Lower Middle Class	Equivalent to Secondary Education
4	Female	66	Middle Class	Higher Education
5	Male	47	Lower Middle Class	Secondary Education
6	Male	34	Middle Class	Secondary Education
7	Female	27	Lower Middle Class	Secondary Education

### **Analytic procedure**

To ensure all data was considered, all interviews were audio recorded and subsequently transcribed word-for-word taking about four days each to finish. I opted to follow a thematic analysis approach to better understand the results obtained in the interviews. I decided to use a “domain summary” conceptualization, which summarizes what participants said in relation to a topic or issue (Braun, Clarke, Hayfield & Terry, 2019). Firstly, I grouped all the participant results into our main topics of analysis: place-attachment, emotions, social bonds, identity of place and negotiation of meaning of place and gentrification. This means the themes were conceptualized as analytic inputs (i.e. the patterns are identified and developed at the start of the analysis which guide the data coding process (Braun et al., 2019). However, I was also looking to find if any new patterns would come up during the interviews (analytic outputs), allowing new themes to develop later in the process of data analysis (Braun, et al., 2019). To ensure the validity

and quality of the analyses, the results were cross-analysed between me and my thesis supervisor to discuss the inputs and outputs that were found (Braun & Clarke, 2006)

## Results

### Place Attachment

To better understand the attachment the participants had to the Santos-o-Velho neighbourhood I asked for the interviewees to give some examples of places that had changed in the 5 year time frame (as these were stated I asked why it was important to them, the feeling it brought up before the initiation of the gentrification process and after); In addition, I asked what they liked and disliked more about their neighbourhood before and after the gentrification process had started. The results show that all the participants had deep attachment to the neighbourhood. When asked about what the participants most like in the neighbourhood of Santos-o-Velho going back 5 years, most stated that it was close to everywhere by public transport or on foot:

*“It’s a big area, within walking distance and then catch the underground and I can get to anyplace quickly.” Participant nº 1*

*“What I love the most about this neighbourhood, not only this one, is because I am living in a place where I’m 10 minutes away from the Baixa area, I am well served of public transport, the only longer trip I have to do is to get to my doctors, because I moved.” Participant nº3*

Another shared answer was the fact that it is a familiar neighbourhood, where people have a strong social attachment too:

*“I really like this neighbourhood, everyone talks to everyone, I was born here, everybody knows me. The other day an elderly neighbour, who saw me move, started crying because I was leaving... they carried me in their arms, everybody that’s 90 years old carried me in their arms so they know me” Participant nº 2*

*“Everybody knows everybody from the streets, they help, now that I’m sick, people come over “do you need anything?”, they come to the house and go shopping, I returned to living in that neighbourhood culture, although I wasn’t counting on it, and I benefited from it because I already knew the people here I knew Isabel from Batata Doce, who is a person how knows everyone.” Participant nº 4*

*“The simple fact of leaving my house, I lived up here on the Garcia da Horta road, leaving the house and knowing the next-door neighbour, saying “Hello, how are you?”, everybody knew everybody, we gathered at the end of the day, you arrived at the coffee shop and you would see families, sons and grandsons. And now you don’t see this, absolutely nothing”* Participant n° 5

Proximity to the river is also a highly valued feature for living in the neighbourhood:

*“I liked the house I lived in because it had a fantastic view that now doesn’t exist because they built a huge building. I could see the bridge, the river, I saw everything, I had nothing in front of me. It was an airy place, it isn’t as polluted as the neighbourhood where I live now, in that I can tell a huge difference.”* Participant n° 3

*“This is still a good neighbourhood to live in, where I feel good. And there is this proximity to the river, that is very important for me mainly because I write at home, have a view over the river, walk down the street and there is life. It isn’t an area that’s isolated and it still isn’t packed with tourist to the point that we can’t walk on the street like in Sé or the Baixa area.”* Participant n° 1

When asked what they didn’t like about the neighbourhood, the increase of tourists in the area was highlighted:

*“It was a quieter neighbourhood, but now there are more things, more cars, more scooters, more bicycles, more foreigners. We have to be constantly dodging people, it’s no longer the same (...) Maybe in a few years it will be impossible to be by the river, or maybe we will have to pay to walk alongside the river, I don’t know!”* Participant n° 1

*“Because it’s all for foreigners, nothing for us residents, it’s all foreigners. In this grocery store, in the old days, the groceries were bought by their weight, not like now where everything is packed.”* Participant n° 2

This increase in tourism has made it difficult for the community to do their day to day lives, such as parking, walking in the streets, problems sleeping due to the noise at night and garbage left on the streets:

*“Because parking was always... it wasn’t the tourists that... before the tourist it was already difficult to park, you see? With them coming it was harder, or course! I used to see a lot of cars (lots of tourists come without a car), but a lot of them come by car, but I*

*noticed a lot of cars and I saw by the license plate, and that made it a lot worse. It was more that... Oh and another thing very important, that I wasn't remembering, the notorious 28 tram that goes to Graça... unthinkable to catch a tram, it's always packed."*

*Participant n° 3*

*"What I like the least is the amount of restaurants that exist, the noise at night, not on my street, but on this one, and I think people now don't have any respect for others, they pile up on the side walk and we want to pass and we can't, except me, I have two dogs and I push them away with my arms and say "excuse me" and I walk right in the middle of them"* *Participant n° 2*

*"More garbage, especially temporary housing that throws away and substitutes anything that has a slight scratch and they put it on the streets... there a lot of houses being emptied, always a lot of garbage on the streets"* *Participant n° 1*

### **Services and Infrastructures**

To fully understand the changes that have occurred in the Santos-o-Velho neighbourhood, the interview script comprised a few questions with the purpose of understanding what changed positively and negatively in the neighbourhood, such as what new infrastructures opened since the beginning of the gentrification process. In addition, I asked whether the new services that opened up catered the pre-existing community and if the interviewees identified with these services, if they enjoyed them. Since, we opted for walking interviews, many examples of places that had closed or changed during the years were mentioned during our walk, new shops, restaurants, amenities, or even the aesthetics of the neighbourhood.

*"One of the most important situations here in the neighbourhood are these gourmet restaurants for the tourists. This one opened recently, about 3 months ago... "Heim" opened 2 years ago, they all work with hostels, local accommodations, through the internet. They have drowned out local trading that have been the livelihood for many years. There is a drug store, the oldest in the neighbourhood, that's around 100 years old (...)"* *Participant n° 5*

*"This was also a coffee shop... It hasn't been open for a long time, when I first came to live here, the first coffee shop I went to is where Subway is. It was a big place, it had good space. After, when this one opened the "Beira Baixa", that one closed and I started coming here. In the meantime, this one also closed, it when bankrupt, it didn't adapt to*

*the changes of the tourism. This was also a florist that disappeared, but this one is a restaurant that sells flowers, one thing balances the other.*” Participant n° 1

Another issue largely discussed in the interviews was the opening of many local accommodation and Airbnb’s in the neighbourhood.

*“I live in that building, I also lived in the building in front, but that is now all for rent for Airbnb. Many houses are being transformed into Airbnb’s. I feel I see the same faces for a long time, it feels like they are foreigners that come here to work, or study, or settle here for a longer time and then they leave. The rentals are long term, like a month and not one or two days for a holiday. I can see them working on their computers from my window.*” Participant n° 1

*“A lot of foreigners bought a house and came to live here. And then, here there is something else which is also a lot of changes, people live here, a year, two years and they leave. I don’t know if it because of their contracts (...) younger people, either because the houses don’t have proper facilities, in older houses, or because they find bigger and better houses because they have more children, people are always changing, and there are a lot of foreigners, aren’t there? There are foreigners who are residents and foreigners for Airbnb, for people that are just passing by, which is great for restaurants, I have two friends who own a restaurant here, and they are always busy, especially now in the summer”* Participant n° 3

*“Short-term, 3/4 days and they leave, one day one leaves and another one arrives. It’s a constant coming and going, people don’t know each other, you see? It’s a show we see every day!”* Participant n° 5

The biggest complaint mentioned is the lack of basic services for the locals, for example:

*“The lack of some services, for example a shoemaker, because all of them have moved to the shopping malls”* Participant n° 3

*“We used to have butchers, grocery stores and everything has disappeared... everything... everything down here. This here, use to be a shoemaker, now it’s a warehouse for this market. This market use to be a clothes shop.”* Participant n° 2

*“Day care services have disappeared, the good butchers have disappeared, day to day services for family life have disappeared and more things for people who want to buy already cooked meals have emerged, they want a different lifestyle.” Participant n° 1*

But not all is negative, rebuilding existing run-down infrastructures has embellished the neighbourhood:

*“There is a good thing to come out of this which was the rehabilitation of building, not just here but in all of Lisbon (...) That was something good because Lisbon stopped having that look... how can I say... Run down buildings, in that aspect it’s a lot better.”*

*Participant n° 3*

*“And that garden that was closed for so long, people were complaining because it was taking so long to fix it up, now that it opened, it’s all fixed, and at lunch time lot’s of people go to eat... people even have trouble to find a spot on the grass, because people buy food or bring their food from home, and for example now that the good weather is starting everyone goes outside for lunch.” Participant n° 4*

One of the biggest problems faced by the people who lived/live in the Santos-o-Velho neighbourhood is the substantial rise in rent, making it difficult for people to stay in the neighbourhood:

*“I think people had to leave because of the prices of housing and rent.” Participant n° 1*

*“People rent and then they reach a point where they don’t have money, they can’t pay rent, and then the landlords can’t kick them out and it’s a very long process. I know there is a bar here, the contract finishes, they don’t pay rent I don’t know for how long and they can’t close the bar. Because until they leave, they have already started the works on one side of the house, they wanted to do it all together, but they can’t, even worse is the fact that it’s not a very nice place.” Participant n° 4*

However, this negative feeling towards the changes that have occurred in the neighbourhood are not shared by the younger generation. They consider that there have been more positive changes than what the older generation thinks. One of the younger participants said that they prefer the neighbourhood how it is now:

*“What I didn’t like was the neighbourhood being dead. It was an aged neighbourhood, with no movement and dead.” But he adds that “I like the dynamic that the neighbourhood has. There are a lot more people, in contrast they might not be any children, but you see*



*a lot of people. In terms of business it's good, it's more interesting, there really is a good dynamic with the people and I like that.* ” Participant nº 6

*“I like to see more young people around, because there are definitely more younger people living here because they can afford rent.”* Participant nº 7

Another participant stated that she didn't like the fact that at the weekends it was difficult for her to go out and have a coffee because everywhere was closed, however with these changes:

*“What I love the most is the chance to go out. (...) Now there are more possibilities, now those coffee shops on that street, I don't have to go to Estrela to have a coffee, I can stay here.”* Participant nº 7

*“This street of Santos-o-Velho, was a street completely dead, deserted, you wouldn't see anybody at weekends, nowadays it has more dynamic, it's completely different!”* Participant nº 6

Another point of discord between the younger and older generation is the fact that the new services and infrastructures that are opening do in fact serve a purpose for the older residents of the neighbourhood, not just catering the newcomers:

*“(...) they are not a part of our Portuguese culture, but we have been adhering a lot, but it's not a part of our culture. Some services that open, I'm not saying that they will not become a part of our culture entirely in some years (...) but people like to go.”* Participant nº 6

*“Three new brunch restaurants have opened because there is a lot of local accommodation here and they are excellent choices (...) There are people that come from the north on purpose, because up north they don't really have brunch restaurants, it's relatively new. (...) So when they come they come on purpose because it's something they miss up there”* Participant nº 7

### **Place Identity**

All participants agreed that a few years back the neighbourhood wasn't viewed positively, considered a poor neighbourhood, especially Madragoa where the working class worked such as fishermen.

*“It wasn’t anything special. Back then it was nothing special. Poços Negros was a place... nobody wanted to come to Poços Negros! (...) It was all a matter of fashion as well. Can you see how it was? All very run down with a very simple population.” Participant nº 2*

*“This has always been a more popular area, and it’s changing, of course it is changing, it has to change with the population, right? Now the old ladies I saw walking by, back and forth to mass, to go here and there, one is in a home, the other is somewhere else, and now all you see are tourists...” Participant nº 4*

### **Social Bonds**

Due to rent increases lots of people have left the neighbourhood to find more affordable housing. For those who stay there is a difficult time since friends have left their side.

*“I lost a lot of friends (...) A lot of friends that came to live here at the same time I did but in rented apartments and the prices raised and they had to leave, some to Alcântara and a lot of people to the South Bank to the areas of Almada and Barreiro.” Participant nº 1*

When asked about the differences between the pre-existing residents and the new ones, some interesting aspects came up.

*“I think people don’t have any respect anymore for one another, they are piled on the curb and we want to pass (...).” Participant nº 2*

In terms of the increase in social-economic power of these new commers:

*“With the departure of people from their homes, because of absurd rents, it’s automatic. If I could pay 2000€ in rent, I needed to have an income of around three times more than I do know. Normally rent is about a third of your income technically” Participant nº 3*

*“There are big differences in lifestyles (...) they order Uber Eats in my building all the time, they use Uber (...) They eat very differently, their rhythm is different to ours. This is an area that is becoming more desirable for people with more money.” Participant nº 1*

Regarding the interaction between the new and old communities, most participants consider there to be a positive interaction between the two.

*“People come here and... no they do relate with us. The number of foreigners that live here shocks me, but that also has to do with my personality... They live here and they don’t speak Portuguese, they come to live in a neighbourhood like this, old, with a lot of*

*locals and they have some problems communicating, you see? A few days ago, I watched a program and he said: "but everyone speaks English and I don't have to worry about it!". I mean they don't care, and that type of attitude coming from them shock me a bit!"*

*Participant n° 4*

*"They are nice, they want to visit places and they think it's really nice that we are so nice to them, we say: "Good morning!" and "Good afternoon!". My neighbours are from London and they still travel back and forth all the time, they work here or there, and they say: "It's so nice to come home to a neighbour that says: "Good morning, how are you?"*

*Participant n° 1*

It is clear analysing these interviews that most are not very happy with the number of foreigners living in the area, fearing that after the older generation leaves that the essence of living in a neighbourhood will disappear.

*"They aren't positive, they take away everything that identifies the neighbourhood, you see? Everything you do in a neighbourhood, friendships you make, help from the neighbours, everything, everything that you do here stops. Because foreigners are not like us. They don't smile, they don't talk. This street was known as the fried sardines street, because during the Santos celebrations, all the neighbourhood would come and eat sardines! Now there is nothing like that."*

*Participant n° 2*

The younger generation, although sharing the concerns of the older generation in terms of the number of foreigners living in the area, they have a different approach considering them residents and part of the community:

*"A lot a people that used to live here, they sold their houses and apartments, there are a lot of local accommodations and foreigners residing here. (...) They are a part of the neighbourhood. They are not tourists, they are part of the neighbourhood."*

*Participant n° 6*

Another interesting difference is that the older generation consider that the new services and infrastructures cater to the needs of the new community in detriment of the needs of the older community, in this case, replacing local markets and services such as shoe makers for restaurants. However, one of the participants in this study works in one of these restaurants shining light to a new reality:

*"I can tell you that quite a few people go by, not to eat or drink but to talk. There is a lady called D. Alice that's very sweet, and like her there are two more older ladies that*

*go to the restaurant, they might not eat anything, we don't ask them to, and they know when it's full they don't come in, when it's calm they come and talk to us. They talk about the plants (...) people go to have some companionship, to get out of their heads. So, does the business strategically think about what they want? No. But they have an opportunity to talk a little bit with who is working, they see new things happening and being a part of the community (...)*” Participant n° 7

## **Emotions and Gentrification**

The most common emotion expressed by the interviewees is pity.

*“I have pity because I'm an older person, I miss certain things, but I'm a person that faces change in a positive way. Unless those things we talked about, feeling that everything focuses on the tourist and all that, I'm a person that is open to change.”*

*Participant n° 4*

*“I feel pity! (...) Every day passing by at the same time, we say good afternoon to people. I don't feel left aside in the neighbourhood because when I said I was leaving, everyone was sad because they say I'm a character of the neighbourhood. So I feel pity that everything is changing. Most of the houses are with foreigners, there is no longer... when the foreigners come, that neighbourly thing that existed years ago, for example knocking on the door to ask for sugar or an egg.”* Participant n° 2

This emotion was followed by nostalgia of what used to be.

Friends that have left and will never come back: *“They won't come back because they started their life somewhere else, but yes they miss living here”* Participant n° 1

*“We miss the people that used to live here, some of them we miss.”* Participant n° 3

Sadness is also a strong emotion expressed by a participant:

*“I feel sad that the warmth, the heart of Lisbon is disappearing in these neighbourhoods. For example, Alfama, that is ruined in terms of Portuguese people. They are all international cities and us Portuguese live in the suburbs because we can't afford what the foreigners can. I feel sorry that this is going to end, because it was Lisbon, and now it's not Lisbon. We walk on the streets and most are foreigners, you rarely find a Portuguese person. Just very early in the morning. After 10 o'clock you can only see foreigner. And they are rude and unpleasant.”* Participant n° 2

The constant raise in rent has also brought fear to who lives in the neighbourhood since from one day to the next the landlord/lady might want to kick them out and they will be forced to find a new house.

*“(…) was really afraid because my landlord owns all of the building. And I was a little scared because after the works were done on the building including the stairs (…) they do works to higher the rent, don’t they? But he has been increasing the rent in a normal way.” Participant n° 7*

It is also important to point out that a participant couldn’t quite put into words what the gentrification process had made her feel, so she answered that she didn’t know. This also shows how many emotions these processes can bring to the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods.

*“I don’t know if there are any changes that… I don’t know… I face things as they come up and not is something is good or bad, I always try to see the positive in everything.” Participant n° 7*

### **Negotiating meaning about place and gentrification**

At the end of every interview I explained that the phenomena that I was studying was gentrification. Before explaining, I asked if the participants could give me a small definition. Most said they knew what it was, however, could not explain the phenomena. One of the interviewees she knew that is was the same as what happened in the neighbourhood of Alfama:

*“What happened in Alfama, it’s explained! The mischaracterization of things. Tourists like Alfama so much that it changed the population, because it use to be typical. Now, I mean, typical, are French, English, Germans. Tourists.” Participant n°3*

Some knew it had to do with the population and tourists:  
*“I feel pity that this ends, because Lisbon is no longer Lisbon. We walk in the street and most of them are foreigners, it’s rare to find a Portuguese person. Only early in the morning can you sometimes find someone. After 10 o’clock you only see foreigners.” Participant n° 2*

This shows us that although this is a subject that speaks to a very personal level and triggers a negative emotional response, nobody knew how the phenomena was defined even though they knew it was happening in other Lisbon areas.

While analysing all the interviews and underlining significance of the words spoken, we understand that there are two perspectives of the gentrification of *Santos-o-Velho*. The older generation consider the phenomenon as mostly negative only attributing a positive connotation to the rehabilitation of the buildings. On the other hand, the younger generation feels that there are more positive consequences of gentrification, such as more activities and places to go, more commerce opportunities and younger people around.

After analysing the responses, we can understand that there is a difference in the way people view the changes in the neighbourhood. The participants that have lived in *Santos-o-Velho* over five years display a more traditional attachment, being rooted to the neighbourhood, whereas the residents that have lived the least time in the neighbourhood display a more active attachment, having a more conscious attachment to the physical settings like shops and buildings (Manzo & Devine-Wright, 2018).

Utilizing the walking interview analysis method in detriment of another method, enhanced the possibility of looking at all the services that used to exist (by accessing the memories of the participants while walking by buildings) and also being able to see all the new services that have opened in the past 5 years and even before. This way, we were able to understand how touristification has influenced the closing of services such as coffee shops and restaurants and the opening of other services to cater the newcomers and tourists that visit the neighbourhood, thus changing the functional dimension of the neighbourhood.

As the results show, the relationship participants have with the neighbourhood has changed along the years, as well as their practices as consumers. The fact that they no longer feel that services cater to their tastes and their economic standard, their consumer practices have changed, i.e, there has been a shift in their place dependence. Considering that the neighbourhood for most of the participants no longer features conditions that support their objectives or desires whether we analyse the quality of their social interactions or their basic needs such as affordable rents or supermarkets (functional needs) there is a decrease in the dependence of the place, lowering the perceived attachment to said place (Alrobaee & Al-Kunani, 2019).

Besides the significant environmental differences expressed by all participants, another big difference are the social bonds and social interactions within the neighbourhood.

Familiarity and the sense of a helping hand from your neighbours (solidarity) whether in the need of a cup of sugar or just a friendly salute when crossing paths in the street, has obligated the participants to negotiate the attachment they have to the neighbourhood.

Mobility within *Santos-o-Velho* also seems to be an issue for residents. Parking has become an issue since the EMEL (Lisbon mobility and parking inspection service) introduced parking meters and reduced parking spaces, leaving residents with high fees. At the same time, public transport doesn't keep up with the high demand of buses, trams and metro users that everyday struggle to get to work or to basic services like the hospital or supermarket.

The high value of real estate (whether for rent or to buy) keeps the locals from being able to purchase houses, increasing the amount of outsiders moving into the neighbourhood, due to the fact that they are the ones who can afford the prices; or the buildings are sold and turned into profitable Airbnb housing. This causes ambivalence within the participants, on the grounds that on one hand the constant coming and going of tourists changes the patterns of life-style and consumption within the neighbourhood (as specified above); on the other hand there are jobs that are created because of these places – directly in positions as cleaners or hostesses, and indirectly as waiters and shop keepers. All this combined, changes the lifestyle of the place. The new commuters that can afford housing tend to not mix with the locals and increase the expense of services. Making the original residents feel unlinked to the neighbourhood and renegotiating their life and role within it.

Unfortunately, this creates a division between the original and the new residents string up negative emotions of sadness and grief and also an increase of feelings of discrimination as reported by one of the participants “(...) foreigners are not like us (...)” further increasing the gap in between them.

There is a big sense of the difference between the “old days” and the “new days” in all aspects analysed in this thesis. Although the younger generation does not feel this in such a strong way, it is still significant in their speech. There is a general renegotiation of the way they use the neighbourhood. This stirs up psycho-social emotions most frequently connotated as sadness and pity.

Amongst all these more negative approaches to the life in the neighbourhood post gentrification, there is one aspect that is a positive constant in the interviews, proximity

and view of the *Tejo* River. Also, the beautification of lots of old buildings helps increase the natural place attachment of the participants. This shows us there is a positive natural attachment toward the neighbourhood (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).

## **Conclusion**

Economical shifts, the increase of the middle class and of tourism around the globe has exponentially changed the way cities are built and lived in through gentrification and touristification. Studies concentrating on the phenomenon tend to focus on the general picture such as the movements of the population, the opening and closing of services and increase of economic power however leaving behind the social impact and attachment to the place from those who continue living in the neighbourhood. This study aimed exactly to fill that gap and focus on the population that stays in the *Santos-o-Velho* neighbourhood for at least 5 years or left due the effects of gentrification and touristification.

There is a fine line between the healthy and normal changes in the population residing in an area with new people coming to live in the neighbourhood and other people leaving, the opening and closing of services and changes in the economy. However, when gentrification happens without the help of laws or legal guidance, it becomes overwhelming, affecting the attachment the population feels toward their neighbourhood, the identity of the place and dependence to it, the social bonds that happen and the use of the public space and the emotions related to these changes. It became clear with the results obtained, that all these psycho-social phenomena were strongly affected.

The attachment to the neighbourhood has clearly been affected, especially due to the increase in tourism and outsiders living in the area, the difficulty in going about day-to-day life like parking, walking in the streets and noise on the streets. Also, the dependence to the place changed, due to the fact that the services and infrastructures provided in the area no longer suit the population because they cater in most part to the newcomers to the neighbourhood. This also influences the social bonds within the place: the loss of neighbour friends, the differences between the pre-existing residents and the new ones especially foreigners (in terms of language, culture, way of life) and socio-economic power. As a result, a lot of emotions come across, being the most predominant pity and sadness with the changes the participants see and feel on their day-to-day life along side the nostalgia of what used to be, and they wished continued.



Despite the overall negative feeling towards the studied phenomena, the participants felt that there are also positive aspects to gentrification. The works done on buildings and gardens has made the neighbourhood more attractive and not so run down, increasing the natural place attachment.

The use of the walking interview method was an excellent way to access the functional side of the gentrification, through this method it was possible to understand the changes in infrastructures and services that existed and continue or closed. It also helped access memories of the participants on subjects like what they used to do, memories of parties and social gatherings and also the differences in the aesthetics of the neighbourhood. However, this work also presents some limitations, namely the reduced number of interviews conducted and specifically the fact that this was not due to the so called theme saturation criterion, but instead due to the difficulty of recruiting participants within the timeframe for the research. In turn, this might affect the transferability of the findings and analyses here presented to other contexts.

In summary, it is very important to understand the impact of gentrification and touristification on the original population. The impacts are so profound that cause a lot of stress to the population. It is necessary to create rent control to help the locals continue to live in typical Portuguese neighbourhoods and maintain the culture that captures not only the locals, but the new comers that want to live in these areas and the tourists that want to explore their beauty. It is also necessary to control the amount of local accommodations that take away housing for people to live. Certain basic services must be helped to thrive in order to help the elder population such as a pharmacy, a small supermarket and an affordable coffee shop, not being necessary for them to travel long distances in crowded public transportation. It is also essential to increase the amount of public transport to avoid the overcrowding of cars and help decrease noise pollution.

Future studies should continue this analysing these phenomena in depth, understanding the point of view of the owners of services and other age groups like young children and adolescents and also understanding the newcomers' point of view and attraction for the area.

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## **Annex**

### **Annex A – Semi-structured Script**

#### **Entrevistas**

##### **Relação Afetiva**

- Pode dar-me alguns exemplos de sítios que mudaram nos últimos 5 anos?  
(Realizado ao longo do passeio: Nos sítios mostrados pelo entrevistado perguntar porque é importante para o mesmo, os sentimentos que lhe causava antes do processo de gentrificação e após o processo de gentrificação)
- O que mais gostava no seu bairro antes desta alteração? E agora?
- O que menos gostava no seu bairro? E agora?
- Como se sente ao ver o seu bairro mudar tanto?
- Como se sentiria se tivesse que sair do bairro?
- **Para quem saiu do bairro: Porque saiu da sua casa?**

##### **Como foi essa experiência?**

##### **Relações Sociais**

- Sente que existem diferenças nas pessoas que vivem neste bairro agora comparativamente a quem cá vivia quando aqui chegou?
- De que forma acha que as novas comunidades se relacionam com as comunidades mais antigas, já existentes?
- Sentiu alguma dificuldade em interagir com estas novas comunidades?
- Sentiu que os valores do bairro mudaram com estas novas comunidades?

##### **Instalações**

- O que acha que mudou no bairro? Pela positiva? E pela negativa?

**Aprofundar caso não especificado na pergunta anterior:**

1. Abriram novas infraestruturas a partir do momento que o bairro sofreu alterações?
2. Pensa que estes serviços trouxeram novas experiências / vão ao encontro da comunidade pré-existente?
3. Identifica-se com estas? Usufrui dos seus serviços? Se sim, sente-se confortável a usufruir das mesmas?
4. Sente que os preços mudaram desde que este processo se iniciou? Ou sente que estas diferenças se devem ao poder económico geral do país?

### **Identidade**

- Pensa que esta identidade mudou?
- Quando chegou ao bairro, como é que acha que esta era vista pelos outros?
- Como via o bairro antes de viver nele? E agora?

### **Final**

- Para finaliza, as perguntas que lhe fiz foram com o intuito de estudar a gentrificação. Conhece o conceito? Para si o que é?
- Dar uma definição.