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Waving goodbye to Segundo Torrão: the role of people-place bonds in facing and coping with recurrent threats

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CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS
E HUMANAS

**Dando adeus ao Segundo Torrão: vinculação ao lugar e identidade de lugar no
perceção e respostas ao riscos.**

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To Nala.

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Resumo

Cenários de significativas consequências adversas dos perigos relacionados com a subida do nível do mar deverão aumentar em magnitude e frequência no futuro. O distrito de Lisboa e especificamente a área onde se situa o bairro de Segundo Torrão são identificados como os mais vulneráveis no que diz respeito aos impactos da subida do nível do mar. Esta tese visa compreender como esta comunidade costeira representa e lida com tais acontecimentos, combinando modelos de relação com o lugar e de resiliência comunitária. Assim, as políticas de identidade do lugar são discutidas em termos de injustiça sócio-ambiental. Além disso, inclui-se uma análise do papel dos meios de comunicação social - como amplificadores sociais do risco - nas representações ao tanto da comunidade em si, como dos perigos que enfrenta relacionados com a subida do nível do mar. Uma perspetiva de Investigação Ação Participativa orientou o processo de recolha de dados de 2 entrevistas semi-estruturadas e 1 grupo focal; foi realizada uma análise de jornais diários portugueses de 56 artigos. Todos os dados foram analisados através da Análise Temática.

Palavras-chave: Segundo Torrão; subida do nível do mar; vinculação ao lugar; identidade de lugar; estratégias de enfrentamento, percepção de risco.

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Abstract

Scenarios of significant adverse consequences of hazards related to sea level are expected to increase in magnitude and frequency in the future. The district of Lisbon and specifically the area where the neighborhood of Segundo Torrão is located are identified as the most vulnerable concerning sea level rise impacts. This thesis aims to understand how such coastal community make sense of and cope with such events by bringing together models of place attachment and community resilience. By doing so, politics of place identity are discussed in terms of environmental injustice. Also, an examination of the role of the media – as a social amplifier of risk – in representing both the neighborhood and related hazards is included. A Participatory Action Research perspective guided the process of data collection of 2 semi-structured interview and 1 focus group; a media analysis of 56 articles was performed. All data were analyzed through Thematic Analysis.

Keywords: Segundo Torrão; sea-level-rise; place attachment; place identity; coping strategies, risk perception.

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Glossary of Acronyms

APA	Portuguese Environment Agency
GMSL	Global Mean Sea Level
IPCC	The Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change
NATO	The North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PVI	Physical Vulnerability Index
RCP	Representative Concentration Pathway
SLR	Sea level rise
SROOC	Social Report on the Ocean and Cryosphere in a Changing Climate

Introduction

1. Introduction

Climate change is considered by the scientific community one of the greatest environmental threats of the 21st century (IPCC, 2014). It generally refers to long-term changes observed in climate components, such as temperatures and precipitation, that occur at a given location and over a given time interval (Chirala, 2013). In such a scenario of accelerated climate change, an impressive number of studies has been spotlighting the need of investigating the phenomenon and its increasing negative consequences. In particular, scenarios of significant adverse consequences of hazards related to sea level rise (SLR) between 2050 and 2100 are corroborated at a European level (EC, 2007). Portuguese's climate scenarios are expected to evolve during this century towards 1- and 1.5 meters SLR due to the continuous process of warming of the ocean (SIAM II, 2006). In mainland Portugal, the district of Lisbon and specifically the area of the Tagus' estuary, are identified as the largest vulnerable area of the nation and the most endangered concerning SLR impacts (Rocha, Antunes & Catita, 2020). Due to the serious consequences in magnitude and frequency that are expected to directly impact coastal areas (Nicholls et al., 2007), the relevance of local consciousness to mitigate those hazards becomes pertinent (Poumadère et al., 2015). Therefore, the present study set out to qualitatively investigate how the community of the neighborhood of Segundo Torrão make sense and cope with those risks as an example of a village directly affected by SLR. Moreover, the research aims to understand how people-place bonds can either mitigate or enhance the processes of risk perception and coping with SLR.

To do so, two main research goals oriented this project. The first one aimed to investigate how people-place relations (Scannell & Gifford, 2010) and specifically place attachment shaped risk perception on SLR as well as the psycho-social coping strategies (Bonaiuto et al., 2016) deployed against such climate change related effects in Segundo Torrão. The second goal delves into collective and intergroup processes within the village and how these are related to people-place relations and associated psychosocial coping strategies in relation to SLR. Transversal to those two goals will also be a special focus on relocation in this thesis, not only as a potential coping strategy to climate change effects as identified in the literature (Bukvic, 2015; Bonaiuto et al., 2016), but also given that Segundo Torrão, as an illegal, 'shanty town'

community, following institutional definitions, has been facing the possibility of relocation for already some time (see Results chapter).

As such, this thesis is grounded on different theoretical frameworks. Scannell and Gifford's tripartite model of place attachment (2010) is deployed to investigate the three dimensions of place attachment (process, place, and person) and link them to classical theories (Proshansky, 1978) and further research on place attachment (Peng et al., 2020). Concerning the relation between place attachment, risk perceptions and coping strategies, the dissertation gathers several other theoretical contributions (e.g., Bonaiuto et al., 2011; 2016; De Dominicis et al., 2015) to explore people-place relations with a focus on affective bonds and their relation with risk and coping strategies. Moreover, Drury and colleagues' (2019) social identity model of collective resilience is deployed to explore how collective and intergroup processes within the neighborhood are related to people-place dimensions and associated psychosocial coping strategies in relation to the effects of SLR as climate change. Additionally, during the process of the data collection, it became evident the relevance of outside representations in shaping the psycho-social processes and dimensions mentioned above, both in relation to how climate change and specifically SLR might be affecting and will affect that area of Lisbon; and how the Segundo Torrão community, as one of the illegal 'shanty towns' of the Lisbon metropolitan area, and its inhabitants are represented – often as dirty, unsafe, poor (see the Results chapter). As such, the role of the media as social amplifiers of risk (Kasperson et al., 1988; Slovic, Flynn & Gregory, 1994) is also explored, through a traditional media analysis, which investigates the representations of SLR as affecting Lisbon and that area specifically, as well as the representations of the Segundo Torrão community itself.

The methodology of the thesis is grounded on a qualitative approach, which combined and explored different methods. A Participatory Action Research (McIntyre, 2007) perspective guided the processes of face-to-face data collection, encompassing participants' perspectives to gain an in-depth comprehension of the topics and spending as much time in the community as possible. Additionally, two semi-structured interviews and a focus-group interview with inhabitants and local stakeholders of the organizations were conducted. Also, a media analysis was performed of articles in three main Portuguese newspapers (Público, Diário de Notícias and Correio da Manhã) which examined the outside representations of the neighborhood as well as the role of media in nourishing the debate and representations of risks related to climate change in Lisbon and specifically in Segundo Torrão. All data were analyzed through Thematic Analysis as proposed by Braun and Clarke (2006).

In the next sections, I will start by first presenting the context of SLR and Segundo Torrão, for then reviewing the literature and relevant theoretical frameworks on people-place bonds, intergroup processes, and media representations. After that, I will summarize the key research questions and goals for this thesis, after which I will detail the methodology used, both for data collection and analysis. Finally, I will present the analyses and key findings for then summarizing and discussing them and main avenues for future research and intervention in the last part of the thesis.

1.1. Sea level rise

According to the IPCC's 5th report (IPCC, 2014), climate change is a wide-ranging phenomenon that is essentially due to internal, natural causes and external, anthropogenic causes. Concerning the latter, human-induced climate change mainly refers to the effect of global warming, generated by the high level of greenhouse gas emissions and responsible for the continuous rise of temperature, precipitation levels, frequency and intensity of extreme weather events, and sea levels rise (Maslin, 2008). In general terms, global warming is a definition for the imbalance between solar energy and its reflection into outer space. The vast production of molecules of carbon dioxide and methane operates as a thermal blanket that traps solar radiation on earth, increasing the amount of heat absorbed by lands and oceans, consequentially warming the planet's surface (Maslin, 2008). The Representative Concentration Pathway (RCP), an index developed by the IPCC, provides different prospects of greenhouse gas concentration, modeling diverse climate futures based on diverse carbon dioxide emissions pathways (namely, RCP 1.9, 2.6, 3.4, 4.5, 6, 7, and 8.5). The SROCC, the Social Report on the Ocean and Cryosphere in a Changing Climate (IPCC, 2019), attributes the increase of anthropogenic greenhouse gas emissions to the progressive loss of Greenland and Antarctic ice, which is considered one among the major factors of global raising waters. These trajectories adopted by the IPCC affect the projections at various scales of analysis. The global mean sea level (GMSL) rise index, defined as the "increase in the volume of ocean water caused by warmer water having a lower density, and by the increase in mass caused by loss of land ice or a net loss in terrestrial water reservoirs" (IPCC, p.330), widens the range of scope and assesses the change at a global scale. Namely, GMSL is expected to rise between 0.43 m (0.29–0.59 m, *likely range*) under RCP 2.6, and 0.84 m (0.61–1.10 m, *likely range*) under RCP 8.5 by 2100.

On the other hand, the climate system consists of various and complex feedback mechanisms which impede specific impact-predictions at smaller scales. At this level of analysis, we refer to sea-level rise (SLR) indexes, defined as the time average height of the sea

surface (IPCC, 2019). Based on the same RCP projections, SLR impacts at regional (< 100 km), and local scales (< 10 km) are difficult to assess and vary depending on additional factors. Coastal ecosystems and adaptation scenarios, as well as collective and individual actions, still play a central role in shaping possible consequences of rising waters (Luís et al., 2015). Similar to these diverse social determinants, economic and political stances are still impacting adaptation scenarios (Griffin, 2018; Weber et al., 2018; Frandsen & Johansen, 2011). In such a multidimensional and intricate context, the human dimension is little understood. Whitmarsh and colleagues (2011) highlighted that the vast majority of the public is both aware and concerned about climate change, but behavioral change is still lacking. Required actions in changing our social, economic, and energy systems interlace with a fundamental rethinking of personal and collective use of resources, as well as with consumption habits. The underestimated dimensions of how people feel, think about, and perceive the risk of climate change, as well as how they act on their values, perception, and attitudes, is just as significant as reporting detailed prospects on the evolution of our planet (Clayton et al., 2015). In short, the magnitude of the change requires mobilization at all levels.

Geographically speaking, the literature does not directly attribute the same effects of sea-level rise (SLR) to all the world's coastal environments, but it is indicated (*very high confidence*) that the hazards and related impacts will generally increase in chronicity, harshness, and duration at the current prospect of water rising (IPCC, 2019). Scenarios of significant adverse consequences of hazards related to sea level rise between 2050 and 2100 are corroborated at a European level by the European Flood Directive (EC, 2007). Processes of increasing migration, industrialization, and urbanization of exposed coastal areas will eventually result in higher exposure in people's vulnerability, enhancing processes of displacement, as well as social and economic loss (EC, 2007). Continental Portugal, located in the extreme southwest of Europe, is under a great influence of the Atlantic Ocean, a sort of transitional area between the subtropical anticyclone (Azores anticyclone), and the zone of subpolar depression (Miranda et al., 2006). According to the SIAM II project regarding climate change (2006), Portuguese's climate scenarios will evolve by 2100 towards general rises in temperature especially during summers (from 3 to 5°C), reduction of general precipitation levels except for winter season, sea level rising on average between 1 and 1.5 meters due to the continuous process of warming of the ocean. In mainland Portugal, assessment of SLR-related risks is under the competency of the Portuguese Environment Agency (APA), which supervises periodical flood risk mapping reports. Over the past two decades, main scientific contributions along with APA reports on coastal vulnerability assessment of the area were provided by

Gornitz's Coastal Vulnerability Index (1994) and subsequent Coelho's review (2006). Grounded on these studies, Rocha, Antunes and Catita (2020) developed the Physical Vulnerability Index (PVI), which focuses on "determining geographical susceptibility to SLR and extreme flooding in the actual coastal environment ... [and] includes the internal and external physical characteristics of the system, defined through coastal characteristics and coastal forcing" (p.5). Based on two different temporal projections (2050 and 2100), they identified the district of Lisbon as the largest vulnerable area of the nation and the most endangered concerning SLR impacts. Among the serious consequences in magnitude and frequency that are expected to directly impact coastal areas, coastal communities will increasingly face detrimental events as erosion, ecosystem losses, larger extreme waves, storm surges, coastal retreat, and inundation (Nicholls et al., 2007). The coastal community of Segundo Torrão, a small village located at the Tagus' delta in the Lisbon metropolitan district, was selected as the case study for the present work. A brief introduction about the history of the village is now provided.

1.2. Segundo Torrão

Segundo Torrão is a small village in the south side of Tagus River, in front of the city of Lisbon. It is located under the administrative competence of Trafaria, in the province of Almada, part of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon. The village lacks an official admission into that metropolitan area though, as it is still conceived as illegal.

Along the Tagus, after the village of Trafaria and the small neighborhood of Primeiro Torrão, two large silos shade the dunes that surround Segundo Torrão. Flanked by an old NATO ship supply station and a small pine forest, it directly faces the water on sandy soil. By leaving the straight roads behind, the path within the village suddenly entwines into a labyrinth of small corridors between little one-floor houses, gardens, and a few hidden bars and restaurants. The first occupation of the territory started in the 1970s around the harbor of Lisbon. The real history of how the settlement started is still controversial (see Results chapter).

The architecture of the village reflects its nature and history. The first row of houses in front of the river represents the first and only legal settlement, encompassed in the administration of the Port of Lisbon. The rest of the dwellings lies on a private property of a beach entertainment company. After the earliest occupation in 1974, the resident population rapidly changed, determining a social and cultural enrichment of the place. Immigrants and returnees from the former Portuguese colonies started to move in. The housing renovation process transformed some temporary wood into masonry. Such housing development is still

occurring these days, supported by a social process of new immigration flows mainly from the same areas. The mutative nature of the environment can be easily perceived along the narrow streets that separate the houses by few centimeters only.

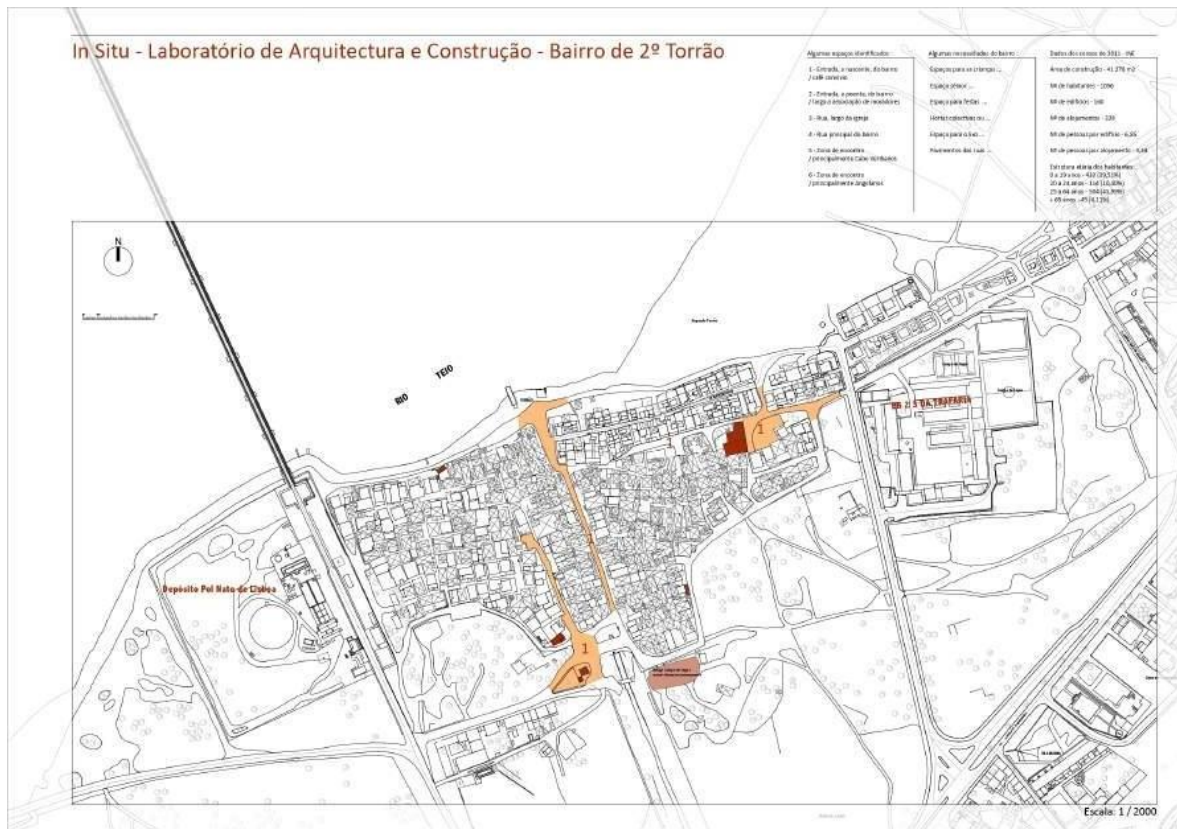
Figure 1.1.

A view of Segundo Torrão (Retrieved from the web).



Figure 1.2.

Blueprint of Segundo Torrão (Source: In Situ, Laboratório de Arquitectura e Construção).



The village hosts approximately 3500 inhabitants, a number that grows up to 5000 during the summer. While some would prefer a structural renewal of Segundo Torrão, others think it will jeopardize the sense of community and belonging (see Results section). It is important, accordingly to the latter perspective, to understand the significance of the history of the neighborhood that resulted from the work of all the residents. During my ethnographic field work and through informal conversations with residents in Segundo Torrão, I realized that the frame of the place itself describes properly a reciprocal life of the population which must occur mostly outdoor, in an intricate articulation of roads and points of interest.

Therefore, Segundo Torrão is geographically embraced in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon but differs manifestly from the rest of the city. Its unique nature is determined by a continuous process of social and architectural metamorphosis. Such distinctive trait exposes the village to external perceptions of instability, resulting in periodical menaces of relocation by administrative bodies. The precarious living conditions, catalyzed by a lack of transportation and energy networks, do not lead towards a reconsideration of human rights, or, at least, basic needs. Instead, they reinforce the idea of ridding the city of the unwanted reality laying on the other side of the river, as shown, and discussed in more detail in the Results chapter.

Given that Segundo Torrão is threatened by SLR, the main goal of the thesis was to investigate how people-place relations shape risk perceptions and coping strategies, as well as

how intergroup processes are related to people-place bonds and coping mechanisms. For that, it is important to review the literature on place attachment as a key factor in shaping coping responses to climate-change induced disasters, that I will turn to next.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

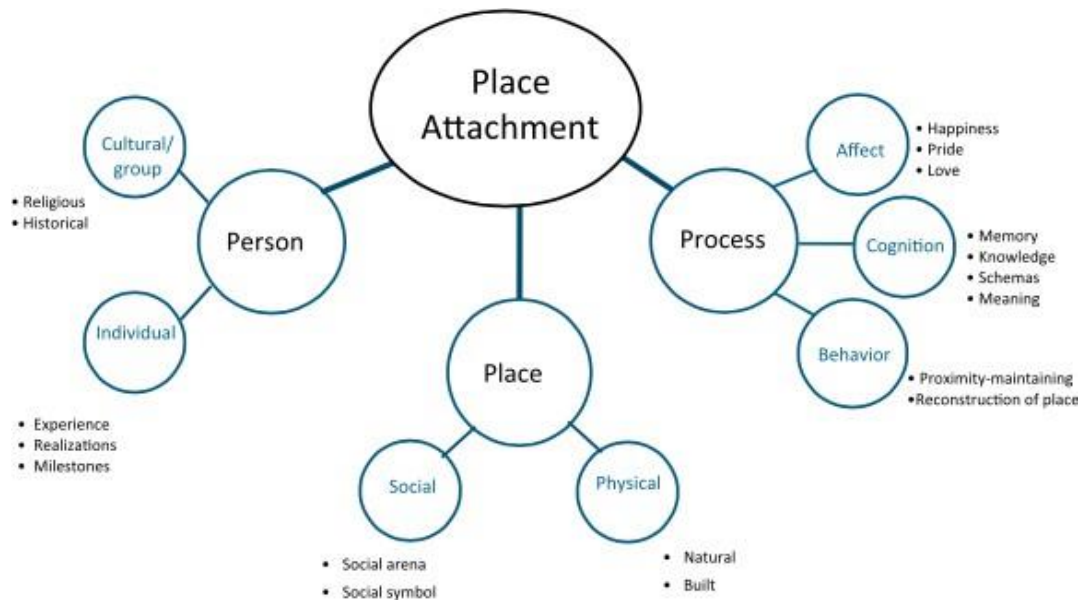
2.1. People-place bonds and intergroup processes

2.1.1 Place attachment, place identity and place dependence

The multifaceted nature of the concept of place attachment has found growing interest in the literature. Besides some criticisms on its ambiguity and the lack of shared conceptualizations (Hidalgo & Hernández, 2001), place attachment has been broadly defined as an emotional bond that people share with a place (Hernández et al., 2007). More specifically, place attachment is often conceptualized as an intimate bond with familiar locations (Manzo, 2003), associated with length of residence (Brown & Perkins, 1992) and incentive to action (Manzo & Perkins, 2006). In a wider characterization of place attachment, Hidalgo and Hernández (2001) encompassed three spatial ranges (house, neighborhood, and city) and two dimensions (physical and social). Concerning the dimensions, they observed that the notion of place attachment was generally determined in relation to the social environment, narrowing the scope and the extent of the concept itself. Accordingly, Scannell and Gifford (2010) conceptualized a three-dimensional framework in which the multidimensional nature of place attachment is expressed not only according to the ‘place’ dimensions, but it embraces the ‘person’, and the ‘psychological’ dimensions as well. In other words, the authors illustrated *who* is the actor involved, *how* is she/he/they involved, and “what is the attachment *to*, and what is the nature of, this place?” (Scannell & Gifford, 2010, p.2). The model is shown in Figure 2.1.

Figure 2.1.

The tripartite model of place attachment (Scannell & Gifford, 2010).



The ‘person dimension’ embraces both individual and group factors, focusing on both distinguishing between personal connections and collective meanings, as well as how they interlace. Therefore, personal backgrounds of positive (or negative) experiences and memories, and symbolic or cultural values on a collective level, can merge to reinforce place attachment (or diminish it).

The second dimension pertains to the interactions that occur in the environment from a psychological perspective. Place attachment is discussed in affective, cognitive, and behavioral terms. Namely, emotional connections widely contribute to one’s sense of place and belonging. It is relevant to underline that attachment to place is generally defined in positive terms, while the relationship can stem from negative or ambivalent feelings (Fried, 2000; Manzo, 2005). Positive feelings and well-being are directly related to a sense of place attachment and can therefore improve the quality of life (Harris, et al., 1995). Painful feelings of loss can be manifested as effects of displacements or relocations (Fried, 1963), as it will be further discussed in this thesis. On the other hand, cognitive elements as memory, knowledge, beliefs, and meanings contribute to the psychological dimension of the model. Place environments can be represented according to these cognitive schemas and therefore enhance person-place bonding, but they can also be conceived according to functional dimensions. In such way, some authors defined place attachment as a concept of two related dimensions, which reflect the functional bond on one hand, and the emotional one on the other: place dependence and place identity (Anton & Lawrence, 2016; Clarke, Murphy & Lorenzoni, 2017). The functional bond of place dependence occurs when places guarantee the conditions and features to meet individuals’ needs (Anton & Lawrence, 2016). In that way, a person develops a strong

connection with a place which is better evaluated than others, reflecting a dependence towards that place (Williams & Vaske, 2003). Place identity, on the other hand, appertains to the symbolic meanings given to a place. Proshansky and colleagues (1983) conceived the term place identity to describe the role of physical elements as objects and things, as well as the spaces and places in which they are found, in the development of one's identity. So, place identity denotes how diverse features of places are integrating in an individual's sense of identity (Devine-Wright, 2013). Such notion of place identity, which reflects and illustrates the process of building one's own identity by interacting with, and belonging to a specific place (Hernández et al., 2007), will be further discussed in terms of psychosocial resilience (Ntontis et al., 2017). This function is also analyzed at a behavioral level, where attachment is discussed in terms of actions. The active preservation of proximity towards a place, or towards similar community structures, is a further facet of place attachment. Length of residence and efforts to return might be the result of such bonding (Brown & Perkins, 1992). On the other hand, such effortful process of enduring in a place can mitigate preventive behaviors towards environmental risks and related coping mechanisms (Bonaiuto et al., 2011; De Dominicis, 2015; Luis et al., 2015; Bonaiuto et al., 2016). The unclear relation between place attachment, risk perception and risk coping will be illustrated in the further section of this thesis.

Lastly, both at a social and a physical level, the 'place dimension' of place attachment is illustrated. As mentioned before, the social dimension has been widely covered in the literature. However, social bonds and group identities, as well as community interactions and connections, involve direct attachment not only to local groups but to the place itself (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). Physical environments as natural elements are also considered as aspects of identity (Clayton, 2003). Clayton (2003) analogizes such 'environmental identity' to other forms of collective identity by describing the social significance of processes of interactions, emotional connections, and understandings between persons and the natural environment. Nonetheless, the physical context can determine the emerging (or reinforcing) of collective identities in relation to possible threats (Ntontis et al., 2017). Social ties, place belonging, and shared community identities will be discussed in the next section in relation to environmental hazards and vulnerabilities.

2.1.2. Place attachment and risk perception, coping mechanisms, and intergroup processes

This section of the thesis aims to explore the intricate relationship between risk perception, coping mechanisms and intergroup processes. People-place bonds can mitigate preventive

behaviors towards environmental risks and related coping mechanisms (Bonaiuto et al., 2011; De Dominicis et al., 2015; Luis et al., 2015; Bonaiuto et al., 2016). Besides an objective measure of probabilities and consequences, the subjective elements of risk perception are a critical part in risk management (Luis et al., 2015). From a psychosocial perspective, the study of risk perception embraces research on people's awareness, emotions, and behavior concerning hazards (Slovic, 1987). In these terms, risk perception reflects an individual or group representation of the hazard related to the object perceived as a threat (Slovic, 1987). Yet, the multitude of factors that influence risk perception encumbers a comprehensive categorization of the concept, while it is usually illustrated in relation to a specific situation or threat (Raaijmakers et al., 2008). The interpretation involves cognitive and emotional processes (Slovic, 2000), values and meanings (Kellens et al., 2011), as well as frequency, intensity, and experience of the hazard (Uzzell, 2000).

As such, several socio-psychological variables influence individual and collective perception towards environmental hazards. These factors may eventually enhance or lessen people's willingness to cope with risks (De Dominicis et al., 2015), but academic literature lacks a clear consensus about what precisely foster individuals to respond and mobilize toward a given hazard. Some authors focused on the mediating and moderating role of place attachment on the relationship between environmental risk perceptions and related coping mechanism (Bonaiuto et al., 2016; De Dominicis et al., 2015). Bernardo (2013) suggested that place attachment can either amplify or mitigate risk perception depending on the location and on the occurrence levels of such hazards. Namely, for unlikely risks, the author argued that people-place bonds tend to support a positive self-image, minimizing the perception of risk; conversely, in high probable risks, place attachment enhances risk perception. On the other hand, Bird and colleagues (2011) explored this tripartite relationship in areas at risk of volcanic eruptions, asserting that place attachment has no direct effect in recognizing the risk, but it negatively influences the mobilization towards risk coping mechanisms. Accordingly, De Dominicis and colleagues (2015) highlighted a general trend for place attachment in weakening the positive relation between risk perception and preventive coping behaviors. They reinforced the idea that place attachment may act as a defensive mechanism to protect people-place bonds and social identities when the external risk is highly concrete. On the other hand, place attachment may foster processes of collective sense of identity, which can mobilize communities in responding to an environmental threat (Bonaiuto et al., 2016). Processes of identification with a place may therefore modify and shape the sense of community and related intergroup processes in a protective fashion against external threats (Bukvic, 2019).

But environmental threats might not only bring place attachment to the fore, but also a sense of community – or, as put by the social identity model of collective psychosocial resilience (SIMCR) theorized by Drury and colleagues (Drury, Cocking, & Reicher, 2009; Williams & Drury, 2009), foster a sense of common fate. Based on a social identity approach, the model embodies and defines psychological group processes of identities and norms in emergency settings (Drury et al., 2019). Collective models of resilience result from psychosocial mechanisms based on supportive behaviors and shared identities (Drury, 2018). Ntontis and colleagues (2017) further explored this process in an area endangered by flooding, arguing that social identity can emerge not only in post-disaster environments but also in pre-impacted settings. A sense of common fate, which enhance and stimulate the sense of belonging toward a community (Ntontis et al., 2017), can therefore be investigated in relation to long term threats. Support, solidarity, and cohesion contribute fundamentally to a collective sense of empowerment that facilitates mobilization and participation in facing and coping with environmental hazards (Fresque-Baxter & Armitage, 2012).

Hence, Scannell and Gifford's (2010) model of place and interpersonal attachment, and Ntontis and colleagues' (2017) definition of emerging common fate play a crucial role in exploring how communities may face potential hazards. It is relevant to underline that relocation is widely considered as an effective coping mechanism in literature (Bonaiuto et al., 2016; Bukvic, 2015; Song & Peng, 2017), while in this thesis it will be discussed in different terms (see Result chapter). As such, behaviors that oppose relocations are generally interpreted as coping avoidance. Nonetheless, an incongruent pattern emerges from the literature: place attachment is often positively related to risk perception, but negatively related to risk coping behaviors, which might create specific psycho-social consequences that are important to investigate at the level of meaning-making and lived experiences (Bronchi et al., 2021).

2.1.3. Media representation and place stigma

As highlighted in the previous section, common fate can be a relevant factor in shaping coping behaviors with environmental and other place and community related risks. In turn, common fate has been shown to emerge based on community identities, co-created based on shared problems, goals, group boundaries and perceptions of vulnerabilities (Ntontis et al., 2017). From the perspective of place attachment theories, a contributing factor to the creation of those community identities includes as well how a given place and its community are perceived and represented by others – or the identity of a place and potential associated stigma (Ropert & Di Masso, 2020).

While investigating how the community of Segundo Torrão makes sense of and react to environmental hazards, it became clear that the media representation of the neighborhood, and of the risks that affect it, plays a central role in shaping and impacting the life of residents, their sense of belonging, their collective identity, and their perception of risk. Concerning the latter, academic literature highlighted the importance of media as social amplifiers of risk (Kasperson et al., 1988; Slovic, Flynn & Gregory, 1994). Namely, Smith (2005) described how notions of danger linked to climate change are moderated by news media decisionmakers. His detailed analysis on media representation covered political and methodological considerations. In an incessant pursuit of arresting narrations, climate change reporting involves a clear definition and evaluation of risk in an objective fashion (Smith, 2005). Such dominant representation of climate change and the direct connection to citizens' understanding of it was described by Olausson as “media centrism” (2011, p.282). The author detailed how the interpretative framework regarding climate change objectifies related risks drawing on a hegemonic production of meaning. On the other hand, Cabecinhas and colleagues (2008) explored social representations of climate change and investigated how the use of media can influence such process. In sum, media are found to be the main sources of information about climate change, but they still have a weak impact on risk perceptions.

However, the extensive coverage of media on such environmental issues identifies specific areas and eventually lead to stigmatizations of those places, which may result in detrimental consequences for residents (Kasperson et al., 1988; Slovic, Flynn & Gregory, 1994). Flynn and colleagues (1998) identified the steps through which stigma is created and replicated, from the initial awareness about the topic to the social amplification of risk mentioned above. They demonstrated how the public perception concerning a hazard could shift toward a wider, stigmatized perception of the area, the facilities, and the residential communities living in those places. Ropert and Di Masso (2020) investigated the social exclusion of “stigmatized neighborhoods”, namely “those areas of the city where residents' identity is degraded and rejected on the grounds of their negatively perceived place of residence” (p.2). Such places are extensive reservoir of media attention, which stimulate prejudice and normalize stigma to attract readers' attention. The territorial stigmatization reproduces power relations within the city, fasten processes of discrimination while creating “new forms of privilege” (p.2), and this is particularly relevant in the case of Segundo Torrão given that, as described above, it has also always been characterized by a very specific socio-economic composition – immigrants, working class, fishermen – which is also often portrayed as such and stigmatized by the media as unsafe, dirty, poor (see Results chapter). At an individual level, this climate and class-based

segregations undermine inhabitants and enhances their psychological discomfort, while suffering the contradiction of either collapsing one's own place identity or enduring processes of imposed stigma. On the other hand, social exclusion is a political and socioeconomical stance. Those neighborhoods represent a collective struggle for equality (Angelcos & Pérez, 2017), which recalls the Ntontis and colleagues' (2017) definition of common fate and, accordingly, can enhance sense of belonging not only towards a community, but towards the different dimensions that compose living in a place. In such way, the politics of place identity can be reinterpreted.

2.2. Sea level rise, people-place and intergroup relations and related psychosocial coping strategies in Segundo Torrão: A qualitative analysis

Scenarios of significant adverse consequences of hazards related to sea level rise between 2050 and 2100 are corroborated at a European level (EC, 2007). Portuguese's climate scenarios will evolve during this century towards 1- and 1.5 meters sea level rise due to the continuous process of warming of the ocean (SIAM II, 2006). In mainland Portugal, the district of Lisbon is identified as the largest vulnerable area of the nation and the most endangered concerning SLR impacts (Rocha, Antunes & Catita, 2020). Considering the serious consequences in magnitude and frequency that are expected to directly impact coastal areas (Nicholls et al., 2007) and the relevance of local consciousness to mitigate those hazards (Poumadère et al., 2015), the district of Lisbon and specifically the area where Segundo Torrão is located are some of the most vulnerable areas in Portugal to sea level rise. This thesis aims to understand how the coastal community of Segundo Torrão make sense of and cope with such events by bringing together diverse theoretical perspectives. The Scannell and Gifford's (2010) tripartite model of place attachment grounds a theoretical framework to understand the role of place attachment and place identity in affecting risk perception on sea level rise as well as psychosocial coping strategies deployed against climate change. On the other hand, Drury and colleagues' (2009) social identity model of collective resilience is deployed to explore how collective and intergroup processes within the neighborhood are related to people-place dimensions and associated psychosocial coping strategies in relation to the effects of climate change. Finally, the role of media communication and related place representations were included in the study as the media is not only seen as a key responsible in amplifying or otherwise attenuating (environmental) risk perception, but also in shaping the outside place representation of given communities and neighborhoods, with particular socio-demographic and spatial characteristics, as in the case of the neighborhood chosen to be analyzed in this thesis.

CHAPTER 3

Method

This thesis relies on qualitative methodologies and approaches. This process of research is grounded on empirical work based on a Participatory Action Research approach (McIntyre, 2007). The PAR approach involved a dialectical process of reflections on the topics of climate change, perceptions of risks and related coping strategies, sense of community, shared meanings, as well as possible actions to deploy against the main threats that were found with the studied community and relevant local stakeholders in Segundo Torrão. This whole process, which lasted several months, framed the initial questions, based on the literature review, towards different directions and research questions. In such way, the research process evolved. PAR often encompasses diverse methodologies and analytical methods (McIntyre, 2008). In this thesis, 2 semi-structured interviews (Smith, 1995), and a focus group (Vaughn, Schumm & Sinagub, 1996) composed by 6 participants explored the perspectives, experiences, logics, and narratives of the community. Moreover, a media analysis of 56 articles (Macnamara, 2005) shed light on the outside representation of the neighborhood as well as on the role of media in nourishing the debate and representations of risks related to SLR in Lisbon and specifically in Segundo Torrão.

3.1. Face-to-face data: individual interviews and focus group

3.1.1. Participants

The sampling criteria for the interviews and the focus group was mainly guided by the relevance of participants with the territory. The sample was divided in *local inhabitants* and *other key stakeholders*. People involved in roles of responsibility in the main associations operating in the villages of Segundo Torrão were considered as '*other key stakeholders*'.

The stakeholders' sample of Segundo Torrão encompassed active members and presidents of the local association of inhabitants of Segundo Torrão (Associação de Moradores do Bairro do Segundo Torrão) and of the association Canto do Curió, which is a grassroots organization operating on the territory. Overall, a total sample of 8 inhabitants were interviewed including 2 stakeholders and 6 inhabitants: 1 stakeholder and 1 inhabitant were individually interviewed, while 5 inhabitants and 1 stakeholder participated in a focus group. 3 of the participants were

female, 5 males. Their age is between 18 and 64 years, which complies with ISCTE's ethics guideline for non-vulnerable population.

3.1.2. Field work

The entire data collection processes of this thesis suffered harshly the impact of the pandemic COVID-19. Fieldwork began with direct and informal contacts with main stakeholders. Pre-interviews were later arranged to explore the interest in participating in the project, discuss the main themes of the thesis and test the feasibility of the project. The research questions that guided the first processes of the interviews' guidelines and literature review were developed concertedly with the supervisor and reviewed during all the stages of analysis.

The fieldwork was initially supported by the supervisor and then assisted by the stakeholders. Inhabitants were subsequently recruited through snowballing, but the saturation point was not reached. Besides the hindrances caused by the pandemic, a general aversion towards institutional bodies and academia was evident in the local population. In fact, I was able to discuss the main themes of thesis and the main issues that affect living in the neighborhood with many inhabitants, but most of them eventually decided to withdraw from the study. The face-to-face data collection process lasted several months and required a constant, deep involvement in the neighborhood.

3.1.3. Semi-structured interviews

Semi-structured interviews (Smith, 1995) were conducted by me in cafés. The interview guide (see annex A.) was developed concertedly with the supervisor and covered a diversity of topics divided in three main categories: people-place relations and intergroup processes; sea level rise; relocation. Each interview started with a review of personal data protection and signature of an informed consent, that was ethically approved by ISCTE. The interview guide was provided to the participants. The interviews were audio-recorded and fully transcribed. English language is spoken by the participants. The interviews lasted between 30 and 90 minutes, which was adequate to stimulate personal reflections on all the topics and enough to cover further themes.

3.1.4. Focus-group interview

As the time for recruitment protracted excessively, a focus-group interview (see annex B.) of 6 participants was set. As above, the reviewing of personal data protection, the informed consents and the interview guides were provided to each participant. Members of the Civil Protection were present to further discuss the themes related to the risk perception and coping strategies

but did not participate in the focus group. Overall, some advantages emerged comparing to the semi-structured interviews. The conversation run smoothly, and the discussion spontaneously covered the themes of interest. Moreover, some other unforeseen topics arise. The focus group was led by me with the support of a translator. The use of Portuguese language was assumably one of the main reasons for a more prolific discussion. The focus group was audio-recorded, transcribed, and translated by me with the supervision of the interpreter.

3.2. Media Analysis

This part of the analysis focused on the narratives that are told about Segundo Torrão, sea level rise, and climate change across different mainstream Portuguese newspapers. The main questions that led the research were: How do newspapers represent Segundo Torrão, specifically in relation to sea level rise and climate change, and frame the public discussion? Público, Diário de Notícias and Correio da Manhã were selected among the Portuguese's newspapers according to three main criteria: location of the headquarters (Lisbon); circulation; political orientations. Namely, Público is identified as liberal, Diário de Notícias as liberal-conservative, while Correio da Manhã reflects more populist stances¹.

The first criterion for selecting the articles was the time range 2016-2021, recent enough to cover the current situation and provide an understanding of the representations deployed by the newspapers on the topics of analysis. The articles were retrieved from the online archives of each newspaper. The search was performed using the keywords “subida do nível do mar” (sea level rise), “Segundo Torrão”, as well as combination of the words “subida do nível do mar-Lisboa-Segundo Torrão” (sea level rise-Lisbon-Segundo Torrão). The articles were then systematically classified, based on the headline, subheading and head paragraphs, and articles not relevant to the topic or duplicates were removed. Finally, the articles were translated with the help of an online tool (DeepL Translator). The final sample size was composed of 56 articles: 18 from Público; 21 from Diário de Notícias; 17 from Correio da Manhã.

Data analysis was performed manually through an Excel file. I could no longer benefit of an NVivo's valid license, as it will be explained below.

¹ This political classification was retrieved from the site: <https://www.eurotopics.net/en/>

3.3. Analytical approach

Thematic Analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006) is the foundational data analysis method of this thesis. The thematic approach was chosen both for its theoretical freedom and flexibility in managing the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). We believe that this method was the most suitable to identify and analyze patterns of meaning within data of diverse nature without being theoretically bounded. In fact, a general deductive approach – meaning that the research questions were derived from the theory and guided the data collection processes (Terry et al., 2017) – granted a strong theoretical underpinning in the early stage of the research, while other relevant concepts that emerged from the data and through the adoption of a PAR approach could be integrated in the research without affecting the coding reliability or the theoretical frameworks. On the other hand, the methodological flexibility of Thematic Analysis allowed us to investigate a wide range of different data. This method was indeed suitable for analyzing both face-to-face data, as interviews and focus groups, as well as the media sources.

Data analysis was performed through the software NVivo. This tool is widely used in qualitative analysis to organize and manage information. Unfortunately, ISCTE could not provide a valid license for all the necessary period, which resulted in a way more complex and time-consuming process. In fact, the first process of coding and early thematic maps were lost, as it was impossible to access the NVivo project any further. Hence, data analysis progressed manually.

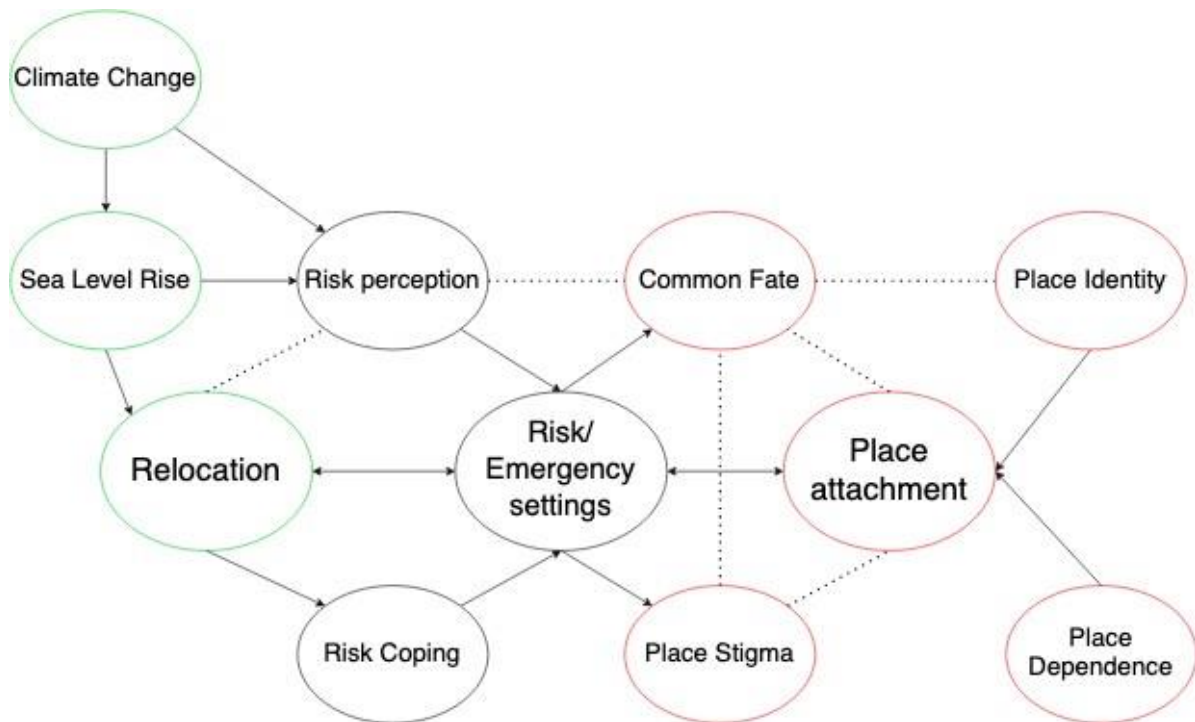
The data analysis consisted in transcript reading, translating (the focus group only), interpreting, coding, and creating themes. The process of coding has the scope of extracting the meaning of part of the data (data segments) by labelling them accordingly to the research questions (Terry et al., 2017). However, the fully transcribed and translated data had to be reorganized, as the processes of recoding and themes creation could not be finalized through the NVivo software. The next stages involved reinterpreting the data by recoding, reidentifying reoccurring themes throughout and revising the literature review accordingly. Therefore, this analysis combined top-down and bottom-up strategies, that is a mix of *inductive* and *deductive* approaches (Terry et al, 2017). In such way, themes were finally constructed, reviewed, and defined concertedly with the supervisor. Early thematic maps were reviewed, and a final thematic map was developed, as presented below.

CHAPTER 4

Results

Figure 3.1.

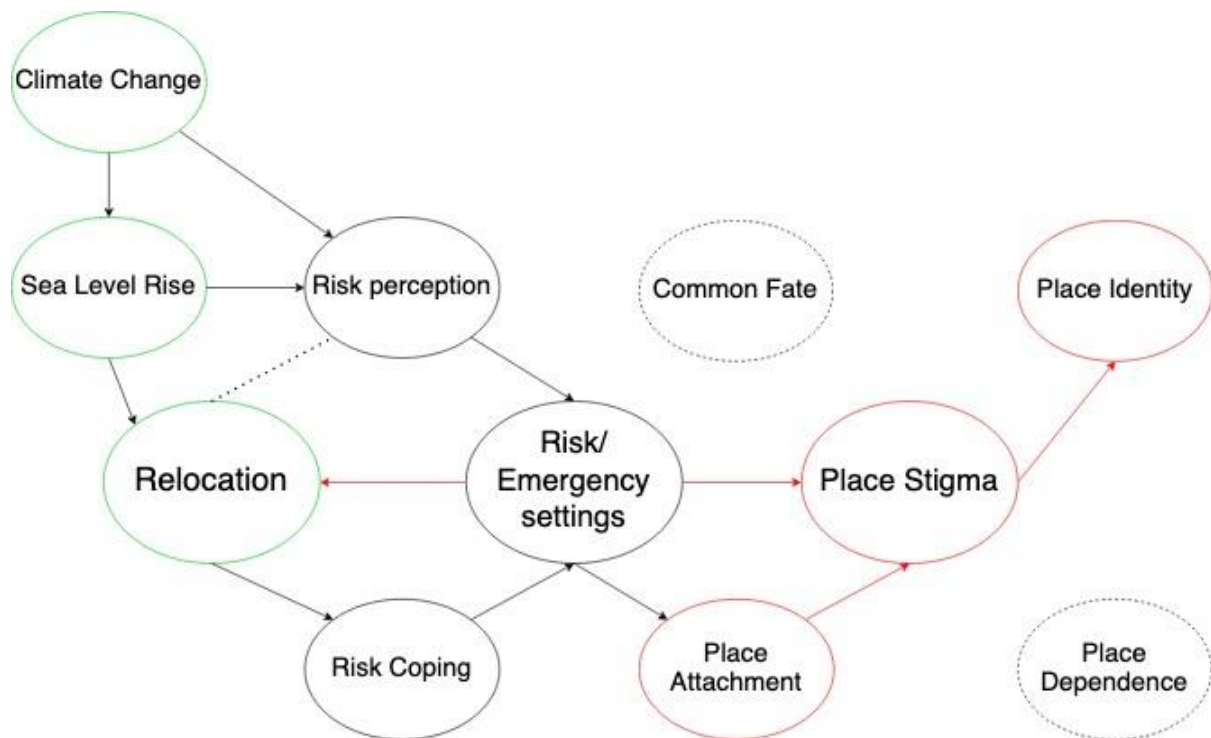
The thematic map.



In the thematic map the arrowed lines represent the connections between themes that were derived by the literature, while the dotted lines show associations that emerged from the data. The same thematic map was first used for the media analysis and later modified accordingly to the development of it.

Figure 3.2.

Media Analysis thematic map.



In the revised version of the thematic map the red arrowed lines represent the connections that were emerged from the media analysis, the black arrowed lines represent the relevant connections between themes that were derived by the literature, while the dotted lines show the association that was reported through inhabitants' words in the media – which correspond to the previous version of the thematic map. Common Fate and Place Dependence themes were faded as they did not emerge from the media analysis, while Place Stigma was moved to a central position for its great relevance in the media. In fact, conversely than above, it plays a central role in how the community and related people-place dimensions are portrayed.

Themes presented in Figures 3.1 and 3.2 are analyzed below. The structure of the results is coordinated between data derived from the interviews, the focus group, and the media analysis.

4.1. Results emerging from face-to-face interviews

4.1.1. Sea level rise, place attachment and coping strategies

Risk perception and coping themes in relation to SLR are presented to explore how the coastal community of Segundo Torrão makes sense and copes with events related to SLR. Moreover, they are presented first as it was through the discussion of such exposition to environmental hazards that we could unfold related themes to gain a wider perception and understanding of the community and its intergroup relations. Surprisingly, this content gradually faded into a background threat, as it will be further discussed below.

It is relevant to underline that Segundo Torrão is located in the Tagus' estuary in the metropolitan area of Lisbon, a transition ecosystem that is not only exposed to flooding events in the present, but it is also expected to suffer increase in magnitude and frequency of environmental impacts in the future (Rocha, Antunes & Catita, 2020). On the other hand, it became clear that the risk perception of residents is not only shaped by future threats but also by representations and narratives of past impacts:

“There was this special one woman, M., she experienced a big storm. And the waves came to her house and catch her and almost took her. But her elbow went... was stopped by a tree she had in the garden, and she wasn't taken by the waves. She had that episode in 2001. And 5 minutes before she took her child, her baby from the front porch, where the sea came. So, still today she thinks ‘What would have happened if I haven't taken my baby 5 minutes before?’, the baby could have been taken by the sea. ME - but, still, it isn't perceived as a major threat?

I mean, M. and some people there, they do... shiver when they hear the sea growing...”

(Interview 1)

“The events of flooding by the sea, they've happened in the history of this community. (...) But in 1978, they structurally damaged the village, so that some houses were taken by the waves (...) it was when they were able to call the Prime Minister to come to the place and she was the one making the order to put the rocks... the protection... the first barrier”

(Interview 1)

Inhabitants seem to be aware of the risks, which are described in detail through personal experiences of hazard events, and in the past, it seems that they had been able to cope with them by calling to the relevant authorities to put in place infrastructures that allow to control SLR (i.e., rock barriers). As shown above, awareness of past disasters is enhanced in the population

through narratives of significant gravity. Yet, frequency, intensity, and experience of the hazard are only some factors of subjective and collective risk perception (Uzzell, 2000). Regarding the present, dimensions of place attachment also influence the extent of such perceptions towards plausible danger for the future or through mechanisms of denial:

R1 - *“Living here, it's on one hand, it's good, it's wonderful. But it's honestly a frank risk. Nobody thinks on what can happen, what's going to happen. A risk is a risk, so there may be a flooding as it may not”*

(...)

R2 - *“(...) it could happen to us”*

R1 - *“Yes, it can happen to us”*

L1 - *“I don't think so, I don't think so”*

L2 - *“Me neither, I don't think it will happen”*

(Focus group)

In fact, water activity is not always perceived as an extreme hazard. Long-term residents show great knowledge about local environmental events (type of winds and waves which cause periods of greater flooding), usually referring to them as poor weather conditions that *rarely* result in major threats. For instance, marine infrastructure deployed in the past, as the marine mole, are interpreted only as a mechanism to reduce the strong impacts of waves, which in turn is tolerated as a seasonal condition. As such, it appears that this first-hand knowledge is not generally translated into coping strategies, coupled with a general apathy towards adaptation measures:

*“There was a storm warning, and I was there. I saw some waves going over the barrier (...) it was very normal. The people around were not very triggered by it or anything. Even we put some warnings not to leave the car by the sea, where the people usually leave them, and people were still around... they see the sea coming over and they don't give a s**t. That's part of life, that's kind of normal... like when you have the big waves, like in August, with this big waves' thing... people are living their normal lives. So, what I saw it was just some big waves over but not really flooding”*

(Interview 1)

There seems to be then a normalization of risk (Lima, Barnett & Vala, 2005). Yet, collective protective strategies to deny risk perception and preserve place attachment dimensions are challenged by the spatial dimension of physical exposure to the risk. That is, in the neighborhood some of the areas are perceived more susceptible to greater impacts than others, to the extent of being conceived as the only ones at risk. The proximity to sea is represented as the main contributing factor of those perceptions, as the effects of sea rising hit mainly one part of the neighborhood. In such way, perceptions of threats related to SLR do not seem to enhance sense of community or common fate, and do not seem to lead towards collective actions:

“(...) it’s not the same because the people in front of the sea they feel the wind, sometimes they get a bit of water on their windows... it’s different... that’s what they got there”

(Interview 1)

“(...) The part of the neighborhood in front of the sea, it’s gonna disappear”

(Interview 2)

L2 - *“Me... my place is closer to the sea (...) I like to stay there; I like to stay there. I’ve been there for 22 years now. If the sea it’s not rough, I’m not worried. If it gets a bit rough, obviously I get a little worried”*

(Focus group)

R1 - *“At the moment, I’m happy, because they are doing works near my house. So much the crater (referring to the crater they created in NATO’s spot to enlarge the barrier) ... there, as it was opened, is already being closed. So, they’ve already reinforced there a little bit. The sea barrier is, therefore, there... which will protect my house a little, isn’t it? And protecting my house there will also protect a part of the neighborhood. I don’t mean the whole neighborhood because it needed other works”*

(Focus group)

Some contradictions emerged from the data. For instance, in the focus group the same person (L2) expresses concerns *“If (the sea) gets a bit rough”*, while in a previous occasion ventilated no apprehension for the risk of flooding. Similar incongruent patterns of risk perceptions can be a process of enduring in a place that mitigates preventive behaviors towards environmental risks and related coping mechanisms (Bonaiuto et al., 2011; De Dominicis, 2015; Bonaiuto et al., 2016). The unclear relation between place attachment, risk perception and risk coping becomes evident when the topic of relocation is discussed. Relocation, which

is usually conceived as a possible coping strategy against environmental hazards in the literature, seems to be interpreted differently by the community of Segundo Torrão. As it will be explained in the section below, it is linked to other dimensions of belonging to the place and perceived as a threat itself. Though, in terms of coping mechanisms against environmental hazards, traits of coping denial are mentioned and seem to be enhanced by a strong place and community attachment, as highlighted in the extract below:

R2 - *“They (the inhabitants) don’t want to get out of here, and at the same time they might have to get out of here, due to the conditions in the world. They have their homes, no matter what kind of weather conditions might be. (...) That’s the issue here, that’s the issue. What she was saying... you don’t want to leave because you love your place”*

(Focus group)

4.1.2. Dimensions of place attachment, common fate, and relocation

The neighborhood of Segundo Torrão is described by the inhabitants as a place of enormous changes through time. Today, it represents a part of life that involves senses of belonging, which are reinforced by mechanisms of shared meanings. Local practices and identities play an important emotional role. The affective dimension of place attachment is therefore crucial to enhance all the related mechanisms of understanding of external threats and strategies of collective resilience.

All these dimensions and processes of collective identity seem to result also from a controversial history of repression and stigmatization. Residents often refer to it in compelling myths and stories about the origin and the early development of the neighborhood. In most of them, outside representations of the village depict situations of instability and poorness. While talking about a more recent time, or even the present, most of those traits persist:

“There’s even a myth that where is 2T (now) or a bit further the Marques do Pombal sent a fleet to kill everyone because... to burn everything and kill everyone. Because there was a commune, like in the French way, that they were do their own thing against the state (...) it was always seen as a place of indigents and, you know, like criminals and sick people, bandits, and sick”

(...)

“It is still seen as an illegal, illegal place in the sense that the houses are not legal, even if the community exists since the 1950s... it’s still... and there’s also some

stratification. Like, Cova do Vapor² is very different from Segundo Torrão, even if they are both illegal in a sense, Cova do Vapor is not included in these free housing plan, in the relocation, right now. And there's a certain perception that people from Cova do Vapor, they're smarter, they know how to move in the system. And in Segundo Torrão they're poor and stupid or something..."

(Interview 1)

R2 - *"Segundo Torrão was closed. It was disliked (...) because we've searching for jobs, and when we asked, and say that we are from Segundo Torrão, they wouldn't give us any job (...) I thought that it was necessary to clean the name of Segundo Torrão"*

L2 - *Only few people worked before and the outsiders were always saying: 'Oh, this one is from the 'barracas'. This one also'. And there was no job"*

(Focus group)

"When I was here the first time, I didn't even know that a "bairro de lata" or "barracas" exist. I mean... what they³ mean. I didn't know why other people call them like this... and also when I was a kid it was still growing and expanding"

(Interview 2)

Bairro de lata and *Barracas* seem to be key to negative outside perceptions and to 'materialize' the place stigma. Similarly, it appears that such territorial stigmatization enhances individual processes of place disruption. By identifying the inhabitants with the condition of their dwellings, forms of economic and social exclusion determined a vicious circle of segregation. In that condition, individuals are deprived of the choice of either *living* or *leaving* the place (Ropert & Di Masso, 2020).

On the other hand, the residents of Segundo Torrão developed counter-narratives where a sense of injustice blends with emotions of pride and concern. They well describe how the living conditions of the neighborhood improved throughout the years through their own work and care and how the community evolved accordingly. As such, it seems that senses of common fate (Ntontis et al., 2017) in the community do not emerge by environmental threats but they are mostly fostered by outside representations of the place and stigmatization. Affective and cognition dimensions of place attachment are evident in those counter-narratives:

² Cova do Vapor is a village adjacent to Segundo Torrão in the municipality of Trafaria.

³ Referring to the words *bairro de lata* (slum) and *barracas* (literally tents, but here referred to shacks)

L1 - *“There was no electricity ‘in commissions’, there was no water... it was complicated. But since few years, it all changed. Because I have enough electricity and water, everything in my house has changed”*

L2 - *“It all changed. We have good things, we have water, we have everything. Nobody is lacking anything”*

L1 - *“We are proud, we are proud because we know what we passed through. We are very proud now”*

(...)

R2 - *“Everything has changed because when I came here, they were all shacks, nowadays, thanks to God, those are real houses that we have here in the neighborhood”*

(...)

L1 - *“Because I like my house, but by a lot, my house. They call it “Barraca, barraca, barraca”, as if my house was a shack! And I know what... in Cape Verde I was living in a shack. And I don’t live like an animal in here. I have a room, a bathroom, a kitchen, a living room, everything. It’s a shack because it’s not an apartment. But my place has everything. I am so proud of my place because it is my place. It’s something I love. I don’t want to leave from place, never. Never. A shack it’s something I don’t like, and my place isn’t a shack. My house is my house. My apartment”*

(Focus group)

Positive feelings and well-being are directly related to a sense of place attachment and can therefore improve the quality of life (Harris, et al., 1995). This is here represented through forms of emotional connections (*We are proud*) and positive place dependence (*we have everything. Nobody is lacking anything*). The temporal dimension of how the place was perceived in the past and how it *should* be perceived in the present is evident through the dichotomy *barraca-house*. The structural development of the dwellings is expected not only to shape the representation of the place itself, but to recognize a community that evolved through collective action:

L1 - *“All my neighbors, my colleagues, they are all part of my family. A big, big family because the neighborhood is big (...) If the guys didn’t have so much for themselves, a*

big family will solve it. That's why I love my neighborhood. Because it's people with goodwill"

(...)

R2 - *"We created the association, and it was different. Because the association is responsible for a group of people, so you're not left alone in talking"*

(...)

R3 - *It's undeniable that we are a team here. (...) We together saw the change in people's mentality here. Because, as they I've already said, I will also say it, that a lot of people saw it was necessary, and we managed to transform the mentality of the youth especially. These are days of proudness for me too. I saw, they saw, what people thought of us in the past.*

(...)

R2 - *I want people from outside to say: "Segundo Torrão, it's a safe place, it's a nice place, there can be a party, everything went very well"*

(Focus group)

Moreover, outside representations of the place still play a central role for what is perceived as a recurrent threat for the population of Segundo Torrão. While environmental hazards (as SLR and flooding) contribute to or mitigate individual strategies of risk attenuation, relocation is perceived as a collective threat that undermines the sense of belonging to the place and enhances forms of place disruption:

R2 - *"The fact that they⁴ talk, talk, talk; talk, talk, talk, it unnerves people. It creates a bad environment for the people. The mentality of these⁵ people is not the same, because people happen to be divided... because they think in this way: "Why should I invest in this place if then I have to leave?". And then it leads to the conclusion that person looks back, two, three, four years go by and then: "I could have better hygienic conditions, better conditions". I stopped having the best conditions because I believed, because I was told that we move from here... for, I don't know what for. Then, like, the investment that people have to make in here... And many of them say, they even said to my face,*

⁴ Referring to the members of the chamber of Almada.

⁵ Referring to the inhabitants of Segundo Torrão.

“Why should I waste my money on something if tomorrow we're going to be sent away?”

(Focus group)

In these terms, Velicu's (2019) conception of environmental prospective injustice (that is, actions perpetrated by the state or relevant actors which damage a given population even before they are implemented) is relevant to highlight how perceived stigma and the lack of clear communication result in a political deadlock which already impact the neighborhood. Being first stigmatized as individuals and as a community, people of Segundo Torrão are then disqualified as political agents, as they are forced to wait for formal decisions about their future. As such, the disunity of the community seems to be perceived as a political strategy deployed by the government which, in turn, seems to be identified as the perpetrator of such injustice:

R2 - “So, there are people who decide to look for the information and there's someone who gets a little fooled. What happened, therefore, it's just a process of filling the ears up. As we usually say, this is very bad, because you failed to fulfill your duties. Isn't it? Where is the truth? The truth is that at this time there is no truth. The only thing I can say is: they talk, it's true. it's on the table to talk about a possibility of relocating”

(...)

R2 - “What is happening today? I have people calling me since early in the morning until evening, at eleven o'clock at night, saying: “Ah, I don't know, I have here a paper from the chamber, what am I supposed to do?”. That's what sad. And that is the sad thing, because there is no development, they said. So, the question of us, one day leaving here... it's a personal matter. There's a lot of talk about why... and you don't know perfectly well... that “gentlemen have been scavenging for over forty years”, as they say, it isn't true They never wanted to know about projects, and high school and this one, that they're now making an attack. It is not? After they did nothing for the neighborhood. They're working to create confusion

(Focus group)

“20 years and nothing happened. And when there are elections, like now, they promise people that, man”

(Interview 2)

Skepticism and mistrust of political institutions is a focal point in discourses about relocation. This perceived injustice and related threats stimulated processes of collective resilience and mobilization which, in turn, enhanced forms of place attachment and identity. On the other hand, displacements or relocations can determine painful feelings of loss (Fried, 1963) which amplify traits of psychological damage due to possible disruptions of identity processes, as it is shown in the extracts below:

R3 - *“If it happens the same thing that happened last year, if they’re coming to evict me from my house, I’m going to the Chamber. Because we were threatened for such the conditions. There’s s**t like that. So, so... so, as the citizen that I am, I need something... I pay my taxes, we also have the right to decent housing, therefore... whatever. So, what are we talking about? (...) I say, if I go, for example, in any (other) area, my mentality out there...”*

(Focus group)

“I personally believe there are solutions for this. The problem with the resettlement is the way how it can happen, it may happen. Like, if you scatter, if you put people around in different places and they lose their connections, or if it’s possible to make a resettlement in an area that could respect and replicate the social connection and some of the urban patterns (...) you can have a next-door neighbor that you haven’t spoken with for 30 years but it’s still your next-door neighbor. If you don’t replicate that and you still don’t have that social interaction, you can’t yet have... a sense of belonging”

(Interview 1)

4.2. Results emerging from media analysis

4.2.1. Representation of sea level rise

The dramatic issues related to climate change are widely covered by the media, as it became a global threat for any society (IPCC, 2014;2019). The media interpretative framework of climate change and the objective fashion in which climate-related risks are portrayed (Smith, 2005; Olausson, 2011), are corroborated by catastrophic perspectives of extreme events, that *will* impact specific areas in the future. Concerning Portugal, the area of Tagus’ estuary and, specifically, the province of Almada (where Segundo Torrão is located) is identified as one at the highest risk of SLR and related events, as can be seen in the extracts below.

- Extracts n.1.** (a) *Almada⁶ will be the first municipality to be buffeted by climate change and will suffer serious damage. (...) in addition to rising water levels, extreme events are expected, such as storms and strong winds, effects that will have a strong impact on infrastructure and on the safety of people and property [Diário de Notícias, #19⁷]*
- (b) *Almada, the municipality pointed out by the Plan to Combat Climate Change in the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon as the most affected by the predicted rise of the sea in the coming years (...) [Público, #1]*
- (c) *The overflows and floods in this extensive coastal area (...) on the Tagus' estuary, are pointed out as the main threat (...) This means that the human occupation of that coastal area, in terms of buildings and infrastructure, has to move to a more inland area. The most critical cases are the Segundo Torrão neighborhood, Cova do Vapor - a village that will be totally submerged. [Diário de Notícias, #19]*
- (d) *The geographer sustained that the inevitability of the sea level rise is a fact to be taken into account in the spatial planning of the coastline [Correio da Manhã, #11]*

Besides being an attempt of a diverse representation of the interconnection and complexity of climate and ecosystems, specific areas are targeted to a direct, and *inevitable* risk. Extracts 1.a and 1.d portray SLR effects in the area of the Tagus' estuary either in their magnitude, as a compound of different events, or inevitable. Moreover, extract 1.c introduces relocation strategies to face such hazards. Extracts below reinforce this concept.

- Extracts n.2** (a) *Following the scenario outlined by the Metropolitan Plan of Adaptation to Climate Change of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon, it advises that the communities and their assets be removed from the most critical areas, with special urgency in the neighborhood of Segundo Torrão. [Diário de Notícias, #19]*

⁶ In the extracts, the use of single underline aims to highlight the parts of quotations that are relevant for the analysis.

⁷ Articles have been numbered and classified for each newspaper. The same number for different newspapers refers to different articles. One article retrieved from a newspaper of the analysis is provided in annex C. as an example.

(b) *“The year 2100 is already tomorrow and it is inevitable, from a technical point of view, that Cova do Vapor will have to retreat”, says the researcher. Retreating means that the human occupation of that coastal area, in buildings and infrastructures, has to move to a more interior area. (...) The conclusions of the study point out, for example, that Cova do Vapor will be submerged* [Público, #1]

Extracts 1.a, 1c and 2.a are retrieved from the same article, as it is one of the few available sources of this analysis where a direct link between SLR and relocation plans of Segundo Torrão could be evident. In fact, even if relocation plans are widely conceived as adaptation measures to fight SLR (Bukvic, 2015), as shown in extract 2.a, newspapers generally mention those relocation plans while narrating the living conditions of the neighborhood, as it will be highlighted in the section below. This widely occurs even though Segundo Torrão is located only 1.5 km eastern than Cova do Vapor, which, in turn, is expected to suffer harshly from SLR, to the extent of being *submerged* and *retreated*.

4.2.2. Representation of Segundo Torrão

The representation of the neighborhood of Segundo Torrão as a degraded place is spread in the newspapers in both implicitly and explicitly ways. Generally, such representation is built both from the living conditions reported in the articles and from the illegal nature of their dwellings. This is illustrated in the extracts below:

Extracts n.3 (a) *The neighborhood of Segundo Torrão grew clandestinely over decades in Almada. Half of the houses have no basic sanitation, access to water and electricity is scarce* [Público #9]

(b) *It was about 40 years ago that Segundo Torrão began to form illegally, a condition that remains, as well as the housing shortages, lack of electricity, sewage, or street cleaning* [Correio de Manhã, #6]

(c) *I don't like to call them “bairros” [neighborhoods] because it gives the idea of something big, while there are small nuclei of five, six, or seven dwellings. Those are degraded, precarious nuclei without sanitation, without any habitable conditions. We have identified dwellings that may not be made of tin, but [those] are dwellings that don't have bathrooms, that have nothing* [Diário de Notícias, #6]

- (d) *"Even at the beginning of the last century, Trafaria functioned as a quarantine area before entering Lisbon. This was always the backyard of Almada. And here Segundo Torrão is probably the worst" [Público, #14]*

The abundant references about the shortages of Segundo Torrão, as shown in extracts 3.a, 3.b and 3.c, are frequent in the three newspapers, depicting some fixed characteristics of the place, while the extract 1.d not only reports an evident judgment on the nature of the area, but through its history depicts a complication that grew with time. Specifically, the extract 3.b suggests a direct link between the illegal *condition* of the neighborhood and the poor living *conditions* that affect it. How a given place and its community are perceived and represented by others becomes a contributing factor to the creation of those communities' identities – or the identity of a place and potential associated stigma (Ropert & Di Masso, 2020). That is, the widespread narrations of poor conditions, illegality, and criminal events of the neighborhood identify the population of the neighborhood with the very same traits. Such emplaced narratives of territorial stigmatization are further illustrated in the extracts below.

- Extracts n.4** (a) *A neighborhood made of immigrants and migrants (...), dominated by gangs, where days are lived on the razor's edge (...). From the police or any other neighbor, whose gun may accidentally go off; whose baton may inexplicably come to life and rise into the air; or whose razor may, in a stroke of bad luck, quarter your life [Público, #5]*
- (b) *A 37-years old man tried, on at least three occasions, to solve his problems by shooting a shotgun in the Segundo Torrão neighborhood in Trafaria, Almada. He did not hit any of his rivals [Correio da Manhã, #6]*
- (c) *Stepping on the 2nd Torrão is to enter the country of two decades ago, when precarious constructions, the "barracas", marked the landscape of cities (...) Some houses still have no basic sanitation or access to water. Electricity is scarce and often made with illegal pulls. There are reports of hidden violence in a neighborhood that still goes unnoticed by those who drive through Trafaria on their way to the beaches of Caparica, and which is only a bridge away from Lisbon [Público, #11]*

Extracts 4.a, 4.b., and 4.c are examples of how the narration of the neighborhood can become vivid and explicit, while negative social meanings shape individuals' disqualification as a political subject. Accordingly, Segundo Torrão is portrayed as a dangerous, dreadful place,

an area of *hidden* and exposed violence in front of Lisbon. The stigmatization of the illegal dwelling crystallized a class-based segregation of the local groups in both implicit (*immigrants and migrants*) and explicit fashions (*gangs; any other neighbor, whose gun may accidentally go off*).

This narrative is predominant in the media, yet very few articles shift the focus on and the agency to locals' words about Segundo Torrão.

Extracts n.5 (a) *The living conditions are not always easy, but you live close to the sea and nature, you live in a community, everyone knows each other, and if it depended only on the residents, they would live there forever* [Diário de Notícias, #6]

(b) *The president of the Residents' Association of the Second Torrão, Paulo Silva, is proud of his neighborhood and doesn't fail to mention that conditions have been improving* [Correio da Manhã, #6]

Attachment to the place, sense of belonging to the community and collective mobilization are generally neglected by the media narratives of Segundo Torrão. This very few examples usually refer to inhabitants and local stakeholders' words. Nonetheless, such slight but not irrelevant recognition highlights group processes of identities (*a community [where] everyone knows each other*), norms in emergency settings and place attachment (*if depended only on the residents, they would live there forever*). Moreover, the extract 5.b reports both a process of renewal in the neighborhood which would facilitate a process of political recognition, implying agency for the residents and positive social meanings.

4.2.3. Relocation

As mentioned above, relocation plans for Segundo Torrão are generally linked to the perceptions of the place, that is, the living and social conditions of the neighborhood. Moreover, a time dimension emerges from the data, which once again pertains to the history and the nature of the dwellings:

Extracts n.6 (a) *"The information I have, that I learned last year with the previous executive (of the City Council of Almada), is that this is not a neighborhood that can be transformed into a legal genesis, it has to be relocated"* [Correio da Manhã, #6]

- (b) *According to the official (the councilor of Social Intervention and Housing of the Municipality of Almada), the solution "is to start solving the problems little by little and find a way to relocate" [Diário de Notícias, #8]*
- (c) *Inês de Medeiros pointed out that the municipal regulation for access to municipal housing has already been drawn up, and that the investment in the "dignity of the housing stock" will serve to "house a significant part of the population that currently lives in shacks" in the municipality of Almada. (...) the Left Bloc accused the municipal government, with a PS majority, of trying to "evict families with no alternative" [Público, #18]*

In the extract 6.a the illegal condition of the place is depicted as an irreversible problem, as its history, its nature, or *genesis*, deprives the neighborhood of any legal recognition or solution. It also implicitly aims to a problem passed through different governmental *executives* without being solved, which, once again, reinforce the idea of relocation as the unique strategy. On the other hand, recurrent threats of dislocation enhance a condition of in-betweenness (Ropert & Di Masso, 2020). Extract 6.b reports that the problem is faced *little by little*, specifying that the goal is still the relocation, while extract 6.c refers to municipal regulation already *drew up* to invest in the *dignity of the housing stock*. In sum, the resettlement of the neighborhood is portrayed both as a long-lasting, intricate issue that affects the whole area, as well as a problem which solution is almost taken and inevitable. Segundo Torrão became a political problem where politics of place identity are neglected. Hence, relocation gains different nuances depending on the time and the political actors involved:

- Extracts n.7** (a) *According to Maria Teodolinda Silveira, Almada's Housing councilor, the local authority is not planning to build a social housing project, but rather to re-house people in scattered settlements or to subsidize rental subsidies [Diário de Notícias, #6]*
- (b) *In this sense, the municipality considers priority not only the rehousing of slums, such as Segundo Torrão (...), but also the rehabilitation of municipal housing [Diário de Notícias, #4]*
- (c) *(...) the Left Bloc accused the municipal government, with a PS majority, of trying to "evict families with no alternative" [Público, #18]*
- (d) *And what's on the table is to be placed in a social housing project in Monte da Caparica. Those who live here are afraid of losing their identity and closeness to their neighbors [Diário de Notícias, #19]*

Extracts 7.a and 7.b illustrate how the program of rehabilitation of the area can be interpreted as a process of *subsidies* which not only dislocate the people of Segundo Torrão from their houses but also enhances forms of dependence and exclusion. In this way, relocation, more than being conceived as a coping strategy against environmental hazards, enhances forms of social inequality and economic polarization, as any sort of social integration process that fails. Extracts 7.c and 7.d reinforce the concept that clearly emerged from face-to-face data: person-place processes and dimensions should play a more significant role in the management of risks (Bonaiuto et al., 2016), and it is necessary to avoid the negative impacts of relocations and stigmatizations on the identity of the place.

CHAPTER 5

Discussion and conclusion

As coastal floods and events related to SLR are expected to grow stronger and become more frequent due to climate change (IPCC, 2014; 2019) this thesis aimed to understand how the community of Segundo Torrão make sense and prepare for these evolving risks by linking those processes to main theoretical frameworks of people-place bonds (Scannell & Gifford, 2010) and models of collective resilience (Drury et al., 2019). As shown above, endured stigmatization and relocation were then included as found to be focal themes in the life of the community and for this thesis as well. Considering those findings and the goals of the research, results are here summarized and discussed in three sections: sea level rise and relocation as threats; emerging common fate in a stigmatized neighborhood; coping strategies in a stigmatized neighborhood and politics of place identity.

5.1. Sea level rise and relocation as threats

The relation between people-place bonds, risk perception and coping strategies against SLR is particularly intricate in Segundo Torrão. Face-to-face and media findings differ in terms of interpretation and narration of environmental hazards. Concerning the media, notions of danger are described in an objective fashion of definition and evaluation of risk, which is aligned with relevant literature on the topic (Smith, 2005; Olausson, 2011). The role of media as a social amplifier of environmental risks (Kasperson et al., 1988; Slovic, Flynn & Gregory, 1994) is evident in the arresting narrations of the area of the Tagus' estuary, where predicted magnitude of compound events depicts situations of high and inevitable danger. On the other hand,

inhabitants seem to express differences in risk perception at a cognitive and emotional level. The face-to-face data of this analysis depict a situation where the risk of SLR is faced at an individual level through mechanisms of acceptance, normalization of risk (Lima et al., 2005), denial, and fatalism. While discussing the concept of SLR related to climate change, inhabitants did not seem to show traits of environmental hyperopia (Uzzell, 2000) – which is the notion of perceiving distant threats as more serious than local ones –. Instead, it appears that the location of dwellings within the village determines different perceptions of SLR impacts and, therefore, risk perception. Extreme proximity to object perceived as a threat (Lima, 2004) – in this case, the sea – seems to be identified by inhabitants as a crucial factor in the perception of the hazard, as that specific location has been experienced as the most exposed and endangered by SLR effects. In any case, face-to-face findings highlighted traits of cognitive efforts to minimize the perceived threat and less favorable coping attitudes in focus group’s participants who reside in that area. Similar incongruent patterns of risk perceptions can reflect a process of enduring the place that mitigates preventive behaviors towards environmental risks and related coping mechanisms. Such process aligns with the literature on place attachment, which underlines that place attachment may act as a defensive mechanism to protect people-place bonds and social identities, and may enhance mechanisms of coping avoidance (De Dominicis, 2015; Bonaiuto et al., 2016). While the media seems to interpret coping only in terms of retreat or relocation of coastline communities, inhabitants rely on past deployments of marine infrastructures which, on the other hand, do not seem to be efficient in preventing recurrent flooding. Luís and colleagues (2015) highlighted how participation of temporary and permanent residents can facilitate effective coping strategies against environmental threats, but in Segundo Torrão the collective level of SLR risk management seems to be annihilated. Residents of Segundo Torrão seem to be excluded from the decision-making process regarding coastal risk management, which in turn is not conveyed as the most urgent need.

In the media findings, the resettlement of the neighborhood is portrayed both as a long-lasting, intricated issue that affects the whole area, as well as a problem which solution is almost taken and inevitable. The narrative on relocation plans for Segundo Torrão reflects different nuances of meanings but is widely linked to peculiar representations of the place, that has poor living and social conditions, and forms of danger associated with the neighborhood. In this way, relocation seems to be supported in the media, depending on the time and on the political actors interviewed. As above, the media’s role as social amplifiers of risks (Kasperson et al., 1988; Slovic, Flynn & Gregory, 1994) seems here to reinforce the threat of relocation. In fact, the inhabitants seem to identify relocation as the greatest and most urgent threat for the community.

On one hand, it seems to determine a strategy of risk comparison which justify their lack of preparedness in relation to coastal floods, on the other, affective dimensions of place attachment appear evident when the topic is discussed. In this way and conversely to environmental hazards, people-place bonds seem to enhance perceptions of risk and collective strategies of coping. Sense of belonging and forms of place disruption appear to be a stake, which in turn mobilize people in various forms of participation and collective resilience. In the following sections I will further discuss how outside representations enhanced sense of common fate and how it is linked to coping strategies.

5.2. Emerging common fate in a stigmatized neighborhood

The literature on place and place attachment supports the notion that the built environment is as much socially constructed as it is a physical construction and material form. Environmental threats can affect dimensions of place attachment (De Dominicis, 2015; Bonaiuto et al., 2016) and sense of community (Drury, Cocking, & Reicher, 2009; Williams & Drury, 2009), but can also foster a sense of common fate which, in turn, stimulate sense of belonging towards a community (Ntontis et al., 2017). As described above, in the case of Segundo Torrão environmental threats are not either represented as an imminent danger for the community nor seem to enhance a sense of belonging and mobilization. Instead, all these dimensions and processes of identity seem to result from a controversial history of repression and stigmatization that persists today. In fact, outside representation seem to play a key role in this process. The representation of the neighborhood of Segundo Torrão as a degraded place is spread in the newspapers and face-to-face data support such perception of those outside representations. Such narration stems from a link between the poor living conditions and the illegal nature of their dwellings. The same narration eventually evolves in processes of class-based segregation by identifying the inhabitants with those condition and by attributing them illegal traits. In this way, the long history of harsh conditions and deprivations is bond to an enduring stigmatization of the neighborhood. In these terms, Segundo Torrão can be still conceived today as a stigmatized neighborhood, where living in the place becomes a political matter of social exclusion (Ropert & Di Masso, 2020). On the other hand, both that history and the related outside representation of the village seem to have stimulated forms of emerging common fate (Ntontis et al., 2017), through which senses of belonging are reinforced by mechanisms of shared meanings. The structural development of the dwellings and the creation of grassroot organizations seems not only to have shaped the self-representation of the community, but, through mechanisms of shared meanings and local practices, to have enhanced forms of social

identity and place attachment. A strong relation between intergroup processes and people-place bonds seems to be consolidated through forms of emotional connections, which link sense of belonging to pride and perceived injustice to concern and mobilization. Inhabitants' counter-narratives of the place are therefore the key to understand how identity processes, evolved from social exclusion, determine forms of collective coping strategies and how affective dimensions of place attachment evolve accordingly.

5.3. Coping strategies in a stigmatized neighborhood and politics of placeidentity

In the two previous sections I described how people-place bonds shape risk perceptions and coping strategies against SLR in Segundo Torrão, as well as how intergroup processes, which emerge from outside representations and territorial stigmatization, are related to dimensions of place attachment and coping mechanisms. In particular, I identified relocation as the most urgent threat for the community, as it seems to play a crucial role in impacting the social environment and the identity of the neighborhood. It seems that residents of Segundo Torrão endure future risks of SLR while being deprived of political agency to negotiate adequate coping strategies. As suggested by Guillou (2016), relocation and stigmatization of the place are two consequences that derive from a lack of sense of control over environmental risks and can determine sense of loss and negative impacts on the identity of the place. Though, I suggest that in the case of Segundo Torrão the combination of relocation and stigmatization stimulated the community into processes of self-identification and collective resilience. In these processes I recognize the ground for coping strategies that, by facing the risk of relocation, could eventually lay the foundations to face and react against environmental hazards. Territorial stigmatization seemed to unfold struggles for equality (Angelcos & Pérez, 2017) and in this way stimulated the creation of place identities. On the other hand, emerging affective dimensions of place attachment seem to foster a sense of common fate which contributes fundamentally to a collective sense of empowerment and enhance processes of collective coping against the shared perceived threat, which was identified by the residents in the relocation. Counter-narrations of the place can be already conceived as forms of defensive mechanisms to protect people-place bonds which support shared meanings and collective resilience. Also, those narrations disclosed community processes of renewal of the dwellings and social maintenance, which I interpret as political acts to claim the right to stay. A great effort still lays on socio-political recognition, which seems to be still neglected by territorial institutions and media. Inhabitants of Segundo Torrão seem to endure class-based constrictions

that place them in a situation of multifaceted dangers and inequality. Part of those dangers seem to be identified by the residents in institutional tables of decision making, which are described with skepticism and mistrust. Without a common strategy between institutional bodies and inhabitants of the neighborhood, relocation can be either conceived as a simplistic mechanism to face intricate environmental threats, or as a deliberate, governmental strategy of oppression through politics of community disappearance and marginalization. I argue that local knowledge, dimensions of place attachment and identity could and should contribute to face environmental hazards while, at the same time, preserving the social fabric of a given place. Yet, Segundo Torrão still represents a stigmatized neighborhood where politics of place identity are neglected.

We never believe in doom, but one day it might come.

We must get ready for that.

(Focus group: participant R1)

5.4. Limitations and future research

This thesis suffers some methodological limitations. It has been a wonderful and stimulating task to enter the community of Segundo Torrão, as I was able to discuss with them both the themes of this thesis as well as many other topics, and could effectively communicate with residents and stakeholders, despite my hesitating Portuguese, thanks to a mutual effort and to translators that volunteered in that task; I also believe that a better knowledge of the language could stimulate further conversations and give a better interpretation of nuances of meanings. Additionally, as already referred to above, the COVID-19 pandemic further constrained my fieldwork and collection of primary data.

Thematic Analysis, or qualitative analyses in general, requires a long-lasting effort of organizing, managing, interpreting, reorganizing, and analyzing data which in this case had to be done manually due to the expiration of a valid NVivo's license. Moreover, part of the process of analysis was already happening through the software, but ISCTE-IUL was not able to provide a license renewal. The analysis of the data and specifically the media analysis could therefore be more systematic and extensive by including a larger number of articles and exploring other relevant themes (for instance, a wider geographical representation of SLR in the media).

This thesis describes how people-place bonds can be related to intergroup processes, risk perception and coping strategies while exploring themes of environmental and social injustice

in Segundo Torrão. Further research is needed to better investigate how emerging common fate can be linked to those dimensions and the role of people-place bonds in risk management in deprived communities. Multiple dimensions of place attachment could be therefore explored and analyzed in other stigmatized communities, exploring possible links between processes of gentrification and social exclusion from place identities' perspectives.

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Appendices

A. Semi-structured interviews template

<p>Introduction to the interviews</p>	<p><i>Thank you for agreeing to meet with us. I am Federico Giacomo Mollica and this interview is part of a master's dissertation thesis underway at Iscte – Instituto Univeritário de Lisboa. I also have my colleague João Cão present to help in translating tasks.</i></p> <p><i>I am conducting this research to investigate how the inhabitants of Segundo Torrão and Cova do Vapor deal with sea level rise. Specifically, the study sheds light on how and if the communities of each village recognize this problem and work together to face it. Moreover, the study also focuses on the relationship between individuals and the community, how they help each other and their territorial belonging.</i></p> <p><i>If you would like me to clarify or provide more details about the aims of this research, please let me know at any point during the interview.</i></p> <p><i>I would now like to ask you some questions about the following topics, and I am only interested in your opinion this is, there are no right or wrong answers. I will treat your answers as confidential and anonymous. I will not include your name or any other information that could identify you in my thesis. I will destroy the notes and recordings after I complete my study. Also, if at any moment you do not want to continue with the interview, just let me know and we stop it.</i></p> <p><i>Do you have any question about the study at this point?</i></p>
<p>Introduction to Topic 1</p>	<p>Topic 1: People-place relations and intergroup processes</p> <p>1. <i>Please, introduce yourself and your relationship with this village.</i></p> <p>1.1 <i>Can you describe to me the story of this village?</i></p> <p>1.2 <i>How would you describe the village nowadays?</i></p> <p>1.3 <i>What about the community or communities of the village? How would you describe the people living in here and the relations between them?</i></p> <p>1.4 <i>Can you talk more about the relevance of the organization on the territory and its scope?</i></p>
<p>Introduction to Topic 2</p>	<p>Topic 2: Sea level rise</p>

	<p>2. <i>I would now like to hear you about the relation between this village and the sea/river. Is this an important relation? How so?</i></p> <p>3. <i>What do you think about sea level rise in relation to this village?</i></p> <p>4. <i>What strategies or solutions do you think to be the best to deal with sea level rise in this village, if it has happened/is happening/ will happen? Why?</i></p> <p>5. <i>What do you think the people living in this village think about sea level rise? Do they discuss it as a problem?</i></p> <p>5.1 <i>If so, which strategies are discussed to deal with it?</i></p> <p>5.2 <i>If not, why do you think people do not see it as a problem?</i></p>
Introduction to Topic 3	<p style="text-align: center;">Topic 3: Relocation</p> <p>6. <i>Have you ever heard about municipality's plan of relocation for this village? (Yes/No answer. In case the participant has no information about any relocation plan, this topic will not be discussed any further).</i></p> <p><i>The Metropolitan Plan of Adaptation to Climate Change of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (PMAAC-AML) recently identified Segundo Torrão as one among the most possible affected areas by sea level rise negative effects.</i></p> <p><i>On October 14, 2020, Manuela Gonçalves, chief of the Housing Division of the Municipality Chamber of Almada (Câmara Municipal de Almada) declared to the Almadense journal that, depending on governmental funds, it is intended to start the relocation of the inhabitants of the village in 2021.</i></p> <p>6.1 <i>What do think and fell about the relocation plans for this village?</i></p> <p>6.2 <i>What possible consequences for your organization and yourself do you see?</i></p> <p>6.3 <i>In your opinion, would there any alternative to relocation? Which would it be?</i></p>
Final thoughts	<p>7. <i>Do you have any suggestion, advice or clarification of your concern related to the topics that we discussed?</i></p>

B. Focus group guidelines

Introduction to the focus group	<p><i>Thank you for agreeing to meet with me. I am Federico Giacomo Mollica and this interview is part of a master's dissertation thesis underway at Iscte – Instituto Univeritário de Lisboa. I also have my friend and colleague João Cão present in here to both participating and helping in translating tasks.</i></p> <p><i>I am conducting this research to investigate how the stakeholders and inhabitants of Segundo Torrão deal with sea level rise. Specifically, the study sheds light on how and if</i></p>
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	<p><i>the communities of each village recognize this problem and work together to face it. Moreover, the study also focuses on the relationship between individuals and the community, how they help each other and their territorial belonging.</i></p> <p><i>If you would like me to clarify or provide more details about the aims of this research, please let me know at any point during the focus group.</i></p> <p><i>I would now like to raise some questions about the following topics, and I am only interested in your opinions. I will treat your answers as confidential and anonymous. I will not include your name or any other information that could identify you in my thesis. I will destroy the notes and recordings after I complete my study. Also, if at any moment you do not want to continue with the focus group, just let me know and we stop it.</i></p> <p><i>Do you have any question about the study at this point?</i></p>
<p>Introduction to Topic 1</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Topic 1: People-place relations and intergroup processes</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>You are all part of the village community.</i> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1.1 <i>How would you describe the life in the village?</i> 1.2 <i>What about the community or communities of the village? How would you describe the people living in here and the relations between them?</i> 1.3 <i>What are the main organizations operating in the village and how would you describe them?</i>
<p>Introduction to Topic 2</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Topic 2: Sea level rise</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. <i>I would now like to hear you about the relation between this village and the sea/river. Is this an important relation? How so?</i> 3. <i>What do you think about sea level rise in relation to this village?</i> 4. <i>What strategies or solutions do you think to be the best to deal with sea level rise in this village, if it has happened/is happening/ will happen? Why?</i>
<p>Introduction to Topic 3</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Topic 3: Relocation</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. <i>Have you ever heard about municipality's plan of relocation for this village?</i> <p><i>The Metropolitan Plan of Adaptation to Climate Change of the Metropolitan Area of Lisbon (PMAAC-AML) recently identified Segundo Torrão as a possible affected area by sea level rise negative effects.</i></p> <p><i>On October 14, 2020, Manuela Gonçalves, chief of the Housing Division of the Municipality Chamber of Almada (Câmara Municipal de Almada) declared to the</i></p>

	<p><i>Almadense journal that, depending on governmental funds, it is intended to start the relocation of the inhabitants of the village in 2021.</i></p> <p><i>5.1 What do think and feel about the relocation plans for this village and possible consequences?</i></p> <p><i>5.2 In your opinion, would there any alternative to relocation? Which would it be?</i></p>
Final thoughts	<p><i>6. Do you have any suggestion, advice or clarification of your concern related to the topics that we discussed?</i></p>

C. Media articles template

Diário de Notícias #6

Almada, Setúbal, 07 May 2019 – Lusa

Almada City Council wants to solve housing problems in 10 years.

The Almada City Council wants to solve the housing problems of the municipality, where there are 62 run-down neighborhoods, in a 10-year horizon, having approved the Local Housing Strategy, which allows the application to the program 1º Direito.

According to Housing Councilor Maria Teodolinda Silveira, the municipality has identified in this document that around 4,000 homes are needed to rehouse not only the around 2,200 families living in the 62 run-down neighborhoods, but also other people in precarious housing situations. Speaking to the Lusa agency, the mayor said that the Local Housing Strategy, approved on Monday in a city council meeting, corresponds to the first phase of application to the 1st Law program, promoted by the Government, that the City of Almada, in the Setúbal district, considers as "an opportunity to think about housing" in the municipality.

"The strategy has a time horizon of 10 years, with an intermediate stage of six, which is what the 1st Right program foresees, but we've made it a little broader, because we've also broadened the vision about housing," he explained. In this sense, the municipality considers priority not only the rehousing of slums, such as Segundo Torrão and Terras da Costa, but also the rehabilitation of municipal housing. "We have 2,400 municipality dwellings and we know now, because we just had the report, that we have several houses that are not inhabited because they are not in condition and others that are inhabited but also need a major intervention," he said.

These are among the 10 measures classified as first priority, according to a document that Lusa had access to. The same document also mentions as measures the supply of municipal housing for rent, the rehabilitation of degraded private buildings, temporary financial support for

housing costs, the program of accommodation and support to homeless people or the intergenerational renting program. In statements to Lusa, the councilwoman of the Left Bloc, Joana Mortágua, welcomed the creation of the housing strategy, especially in this municipality "with serious problems", but in the vote on the document ended up abstaining.

"We think there should be a strategy, but there are two things that cause us concern in that document. One is that there is no timetable, nor any deadline for the implementation of the various measures listed, that is, when it is said that a rent subsidy will be created (...) it was never quantified. We know that we have 8.000 people to rehouse in 10 years, but at no time is it explained how many people per year are going to be rehoused or to resort to each specific measure", she explained. Maria Teodolinda Silveira justified that only after the application will it be possible to choose "which path to follow", as well as the "concretization and forecast of financing amounts". Joana Mortágua agreed with the need to rehabilitate the municipality's housing estates but warned of the "total absence of references to the need to build social housing". "We believe - and I think that in general the executive also knows this - that without new construction it is impossible to solve this problem in the medium term," argued the councilwoman. In this regard, the councilor of Housing of the municipality chaired by Inês de Medeiros (PS) clarified that, at this time, does not intend to "cut any chance", clarifying that the construction of new housing "is the last" measure to which they intend to appeal.