INCLUSIVE / EXCLUSIVE CITIES
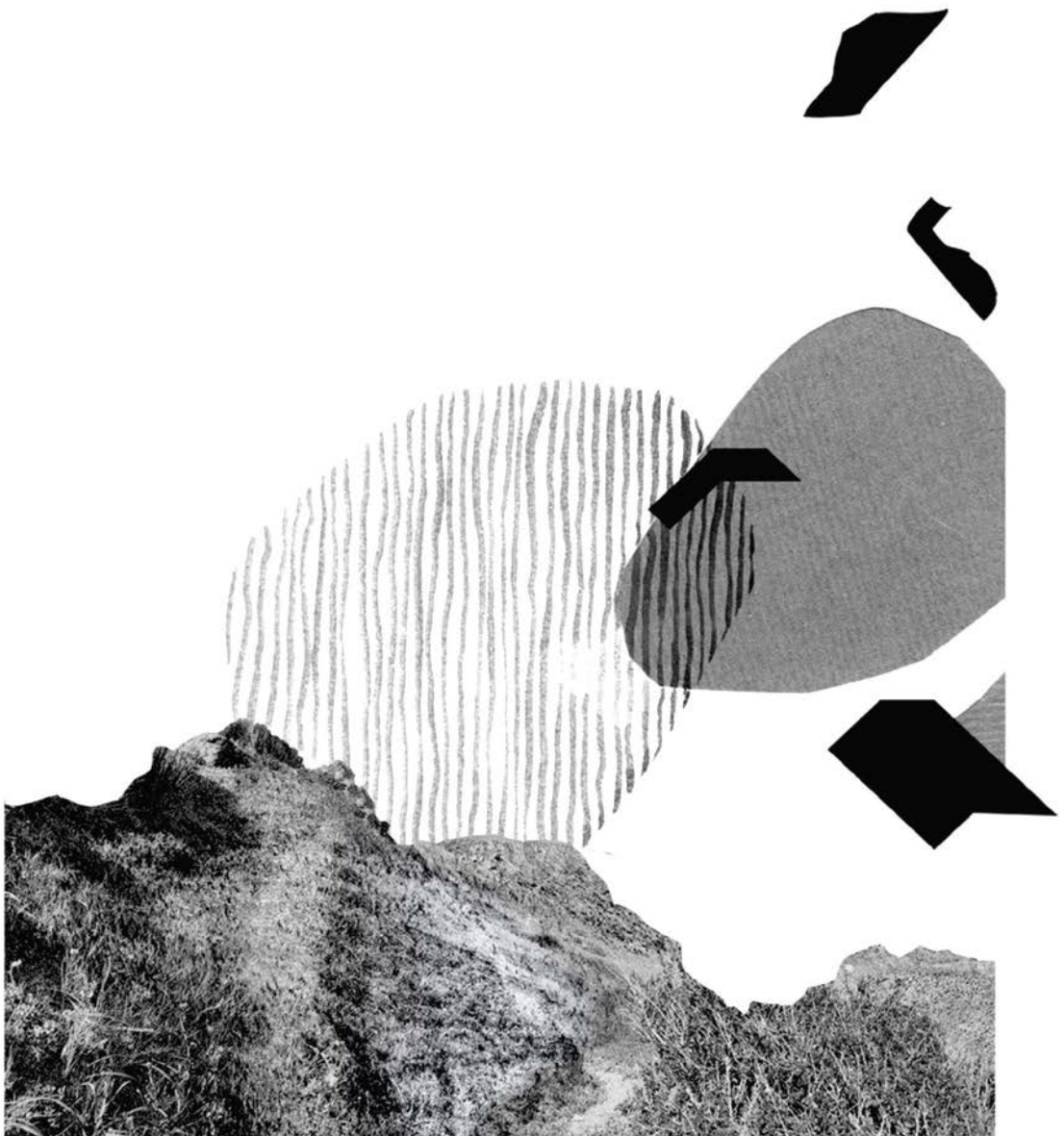
Book of Proceedings - International Scientific Conference

Editors
Ognen Marina
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SINERGI Project

Social Integration through Urban Growth Strategies

The SINERGI Project (Social Integration through Urban Growth Strategies) is a network of twinned cities that provides exchange of knowledge, experience and good practices of partner cities, Universities, civic organizations and social groups enabling better social integration through joint development of urban growth strategies. The project has enriched the sense of identity and mutual understanding between European citizens by bringing upfront problems and issues of urban life that are shared among them, but also by sharing common values, history and culture in an open dialog.

The network organized two seminars as a platform for creative and open debate between local authorities, academics, experts, civil activists and citizens from local communities about the problem of social integration in ever-growing cities. The SINERGI Book One: "The Projects for an Inclusive City" is the result of these two seminars. The purpose of this book is to provoke decision-makers and citizens to challenge their perception of the city and, through critical understanding of mutual interests and shared values, to create a sustainable and lasting network of cities and active citizens.

Inclusive Exclusive Cities

Book of proceedings from SINERGI Project International Scientific Conference

Edited by
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Credits

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Inclusive/Exclusive Cities

Cities are complex systems of elaborated spatial and social relations. The challenges of the contemporary urban transformation have surpassed its economic aspect and emerge as a social, environmental, spatial and identity crisis with sometimes devastating effect on the social fabric of local communities and cities. The pressure of the financial crisis and outdated concepts and strategies of urban growth have caused the policies and politics of the urban growth and management of cities to become exclusively matter of city administration, decision makers and politicians. Whilst the questions of democracy and broader social inclusion in the scope of urban growth is mainly discussed and raised in the domain of the urban activism, within the academic debate or in marginalized and excluded groups of civic society. It reveals not only different ideas and tools how to provide the urban growth but also the tremendous difference in vision of the future of cities and urban imaginaries.

This condition has a direct implications for the process of development of cities but also of governance and confinements of democratic potentialities in designing of urban space that are only released with the broader inclusivity. Consequently, the emerging resistance to imposed spatial order made apparent the role of social and spatial inclusion in democratization processes and social relations in a society framed by its differences. Completely opposite from inclusive, transparent, participative planning for diversity, the process of creation of exclusive projects and spaces in cities encourages divisive tendencies and damages future prospects for open, connected and socially sustainable cities and societies. In spite of everything, these trends across the world provoked reawakening of public sphere and demonstrated that urban space is central to democratization processes. We can recognize strongest reactions in emerging every-day spatial practices with increased movement across newly marked social and cultural barriers and turning of the border zone into contact zone. In this dazzling blend of financial crisis, challenged concepts of urbanity, dysfunctional policies and citizenship in crisis we can go through the social and economic contradictions and failures of the cities by innovating the urban policies and practices, aiming to enable a more inclusive, effective and socially responsible approach.

In order to understand the potential for joint effort for construction of better cities this Conference aims to develop a platform of knowledge and to promote an informative debate about concepts, approaches and tools that are coherent with the complex nature of the cities and societies, but comprehensible and simple enough to be useful for institutions and citizens that are affected by the processes that are shaping cities. The questions that could be addressed and topics are: Where and how we could identify and analyze the issues of social inclusion/exclusion in a transformation troubled cities and what we can learn from good and bad practices of social inclusion and/or exclusion? Is there a new complexity of the relationship between cities and society, uncertainties, and questions to be addressed? What are the new approaches, tools and practices that will enhance democratization of urban development through better inclusiveness? To what extent could urban disciplines can be engaged with urban progress in terms of theory,

practice and education in an era with new social networks, new political policies, new digital tools and new forms of art and culture? How cities can encourage urban inclusion at a time of intense social and cultural transformations, especially through design and urban planning and to what extent are urban plans able to facilitate communication between citizens and institutions, society and the form of the cities?

Maria Manuela Mendes
Olga Magano

Territories of exclusion the reproduction of social and urban inequalities in Lisbon Metropolitan Area

ABSTRACT:

Urban areas continue to be characterized by physical spaces that reproduce social inequalities arising from the economic and symbolic value attributed to different areas, owing both to the pressure of the real estate market and the higher classes or social elites who tend to gather on the "best" places in general more expensive and with good mobility. In contrast, economically poorest people are confined to urban spaces with unskilled population and to the outskirts of the urban fabric (poor accessibility, urban abandonment, lack of urban planning and no landscaping, dilapidated housing, etc.).

This latter context applies to the Gypsy/Roma population who is usually poorly housed and reside in disqualified urban areas. These territories are marked by a strong stigma, mainly due to the effects of hyper media coverage and by a strong isolation in relation to the surrounding areas. This reality impacts directly in the schools of these neighbourhoods, regarding the level of success and the continuity of the education pathways of children and young people, many of which are of Gypsy/ Roma origin. This paper intends to give an account of these existing urban concerns in specific territories (neighbourhood relocation) within the metropolitan areas of Lisbon. An ethnographic approach will be used in the analysis of space and its dimensions that reveal the reproduction of social inequalities in some social groups, particularly regarding the Gypsy/Roma population.

KEYWORDS: *territorial exclusion, urban inequalities, Gypsies/Roma, residential and social vulnerabilities, Lisbon Metropolitan Area*

1 INTRODUCTION

In the last decade, alongside the European Union enlargement process, the 'Roma/Gypsy issue' became central to European political debates. The inequalities that marked Gypsies across Europe were no longer confined to a set of countries, exposing the weakness of a Europe that although prosperous, has been unable to reduce the asymmetries between Gypsies and non-Gypsies for centuries. Even today, as a recent World Bank (2014) report shows, the disparities between a Gypsy family and an average European family broadens every day and a great majority is at high risk of poverty. Gypsies, either individuals or families, are in a position of socio-economic vulnerability (FRA, 2012) resulting from a complex set of interrelated factors. Gypsies are affected by a self-perpetuating cycle of unequal opportunities, ethnic discrimination and stifled aspirations. The launch in 2012 of the National Gypsies Integration Strategies fostered new possibilities to improve the living conditions of Gypsies in Europe. In Portugal, estimates suggest that there are about 40000 to 60000 *Ciganos* citizens (ACIDI, 2013), a small population size when compared to other countries, namely, in Central Europe. Nevertheless, the living conditions experienced by Portuguese Gypsies are very similar to those lived by other Gypsy across Europe (ERRC/NÚMENA 2007; FRA 2012). Portugal is now implementing its National 'Gypsies Communities' Integration Strategy, which is based on four fundamental aspects: education, employment, healthcare, and housing. This new political perspective is expected to bring important changes that might contribute to reduce the pressing inequalities between Gypsies and non-Gypsies.

This paper aims to present some results of a research about the impact of public policies on the living conditions related with the right to the city and with the housing of Portuguese Gypsies, including men and women, individuals and families. This study encompasses a literature review, document analysis centred on public policies, programmes and projects and interviews with individual and institutional stakeholders. An ethnographic approach is used for the analysis of the several dimensions that reveal the reproduction of social and space inequalities regarding Portuguese Gypsies/Roma.

Urban areas continue to be characterized by physical spaces that reproduce social inequalities related to the economic and symbolic values attributed to different areas under the pressure of the private housing estate market but also by the pressure of the classes with a higher status. Privileged classes tend to choose the "best places", usually more expensive and offering good mobility and quality of life. In opposition, poor people are relegated to the most unskilled urban spaces and to the outskirts of the urban fabric. Loïc Wacquant (2014) presented the concept of advanced marginalisation which does not describe a residual or transitive situation, but an organic and institutional one. In other words, it is a situation in which the state plays a strong role in the production of marginalization, for instance in the development of policies for the construction and location of social housing. The hyper-incarceration (Wacquant, 2000) is connected with the territorial stigmatization,

given that public policies (e.g. housing) generally tend to punish the poor. In urban space, side by side but without connection, gated communities exist: medium and large housing estates; spaces of ethnicity, or urban ethnic ghettos or spaces of exile (Castel, 2008). In Portugal, gypsy population, in general, tend to live in **marginal** urban areas in a context of severe social and residential vulnerability.

2 ETNOGRAPHIC APPROACH: BRIEF OVERVIEW

Ethnography has gained some importance in the social sciences, and not only in the anthropological field, conceived as a qualitative methodology of knowledge production which describes a particular social reality (Denzin et al. 2000). One of the key points of this method is the centrality of the field work, observation and intersubjectivity.

In this research, the ethnographic approach was carried out in three selected areas of the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (Loures, Lisbon and Amadora) and took place between June and December 2014, followed by a period of sporadic visits to the field (s). The ethnographic work field began during the phase of exploratory mapping and selection of territories that we wanted to know in a more in-depth way, involving short journeys to the field in order to carry out exploratory interviews and to participate in activities organized by the institutions that were our field liaison. The collaboration with institutional actors during the exploratory phase, specifically technicians and leaders of local intervention some of which were gypsies, was essential to the success of the work, since the period of time for this preliminary work was limited. As they knew the community well and had access to them, they introduced us to the local families and Gipsy people of these territories, facilitating the initial contact to the field and the identification of families that would be worthwhile knowing in accordance with the aims of the research project.

Despite the many advantages of this strategic approach to the field, some constraints were identified regarding how our presence in these territories was experienced by the Gypsies. Since we were seen as being closely connected with the technicians that bridged our first contact with them, some Gypsies considered that we were mostly committed to our research agenda, while others stated that they had either no ability, or competence to reply. On the other hand, the fieldwork allowed us to better understand the relationship between the Gypsies and those who intervene in these territories at the institutional level, as well as to identify the needs and difficulties of the community more directly.

The most challenging time in the field was faced when we extended the periods of observation of the everyday lives of the persons we met in these neighbourhoods. Some of the individuals raised questions about the reasons of our presence: "Why are you staying here? I've already answered to everything!"; "Look, they (technicians) are down there, why are you not there?". They expressed these doubts especially when asked about issues regarding the school environment. Despite being introduced to each other several times, and after posing some questions, we were at times

questioned whether we would be engaged in social work: "Listen, you're not studying to be a social worker, are you? You're not social worker, are you?".

Conducting ethnographic observation together with semi-structured interviews allowed us to collect several direct testimonies on the topics that interested us. However, if the relational informality that we built up allowed us to get insight into the everyday of Gypsy people who were known to us, it soon created some hindrances, either in terms of the difficulty of scheduling the activities in the field, or in keeping the timetable of the pre-arranged interviews.

3 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Even though Gypsies have lived in Portugal for more than five centuries, they are still relatively unknown and unrecognised either as a national minority, or as an ethnic one. They are considered to be citizens with no special rights, guarantees or protection. The lack of recognition and the prejudiced incorrect 'knowledge' about them help in creating views that are confined and distorted, which convey feelings of disdain and superiority towards the Gypsies. These factors negatively affect and restrict their lives and can be considered as another form of oppression (Taylor, 1998). The inadequate or non-recognition of what it means to be a Gypsy and its way of life by institutions and public policies, as well as their social invisibility in the public space have adversely affected them (Bastos, 2007). Also, there is no statistical information about Gypsy citizens in the case of Portuguese communities. However, in the last decade, alongside the EU enlargement process, the 'Roma/Gypsy issue', as it is frequently called, became central to European political debates. In Portugal, until recently the political and public discussions around Gypsies remained minimal and at the margins of other EU Member-States efforts. The pervasive invisibility of Gypsies in society and the absence of regulation in public policies regarding their issues have been consistently reinforced by stereotypical negative representations. Such negative imagery helps explaining why Gypsy persons are still the largest rejected minority in Portugal. The refusal by the Portuguese State to participate in the first political commitment signed by several governments which directly addressed the socioeconomic situation and the social integration of Gypsies populations, known as the Decade of Roma Inclusion (2005-2015) is a striking example of the non-recognition of the unequal situation experienced by Portuguese Gypsies. More recently, along with the intensification of the official discourse on the social integration of 'Roma' in Europe, the 'integration' of Portuguese Gypsies/Roma attained an unprecedented attention in the national context, culminating in the establishment of the first known National Strategy for the integration of the 'Comunidades Ciganas' ('Gypsy/Roma Communities') in 2013 (Council of Ministers' Resolution no. 25/2013 of 27 March), this time following a direct request from the EU to its Member States (European Parliament 2011). Many criticisms were made against the ways in which the Strategy was conceived, raised by those who directly work with Gypsy families. Even among Gypsy representatives and mediators there was a lack of knowledge

about the Strategy. Despite all this, it is recognised as being an important political step that might contribute to reduce the persistent inequalities between Gypsies and non-Gypsies.

The living conditions and challenges experienced by Portuguese Gypsies are close to others in EU, particularly in terms of education, employment and vocational training, housing, health and discrimination they are subject to (ERRC/NÚMENA, 2007; FRA, 2012). The increasing wave of scientific work produced since the '90s, mainly qualitative and micro studies located in specific geographical areas made in the Master's and Doctoral Programmes, made evident the plurality of ways of living amongst the Gypsies, the exclusions and tensions experienced, the complexity of intra and inter-ethnic relations (Bastos el al. 2012, Mendes el al. 2013) and the changes and continuities between generations, of those who are considered by other Gypsies as living as 'Senhores' ('Gentlemen/as non gypsies) (Magano 2014). However, outside academia a lack of knowledge about them remains, including amongst the technicians who work with these communities and the social intervention project coordinators. For instance, there is a persistent social representation that associates the 'Gypsy way of life' with 'nomadism', despite the fact that a majority of Gypsies has been living, for decades, in the same places in urban areas (Mendes et al. 2013, Mendes et al. 2014).

Until recently, there was also an absence of studies with a more global view. The first national study conducted in 2014 corroborated previous research findings and, more than ever before, exposed the harsh reality of Gypsies' lives and the deep inequalities between them and the rest of the population, namely in relation to schooling paths (Mendes el al. 2014), as well as in other spheres, as housing. Specifically, the national study shows that in 1599 respondents, about one third did not exceed the first 4 years of school or never attended school; only 2.8% have secondary or higher education. But the study also shows important underway changes and its impacts in various dimensions, such as the growing interest in schooling, a strengthened relationship between the school and the families, a reduction of absenteeism and dropout rates via the Social Insertion Income policy and a higher presence of children in nurseries and kindergartens. It is worth while mentioning that there was an increase in the participation of women in adult literacy and courses.

However, the hostility and rejection towards Gypsies persists in different configurations, for example, it is manifest in the high visibility of their social and ethnic segregation, actually re-enacted by the relocation operations which result in their displacement to the periphery and to suburban areas. Empirical evidence reveals the high anti-Gypsy hostility in Europe, including Portugal; data shows that 48.9% of Portuguese say they do not want to have a Gypsy as a neighbour (Vitale, & Claps, (2010). The Gypsies continue to experience double discrimination in terms of housing: in the private sector of the housing market when seeking accommodation to rent or buy; and in the access to social housing. Nowadays, Gypsies generally live on the outskirts of cities, villages and localities. They dwell in profitability without land, next to industrial areas that are difficult to access, places where rubbish is dumped or where animals live. They are systematic separated from the rest of the

population in regard to the public facilities, including schools and health centres, which proves to be a disincentive to education and medical care (Neves, 2013).

4 RESIDENTIAL AND SOCIAL VULNERABILITY

Housing is one of four areas chosen by the National Strategy as key to operate the integration of Gypsies. The shaft housing, among other objectives, is reinforced by the need to promote non-discriminatory access to housing, including social housing. The importance of this dimension extends beyond the issues inherent to the problem of social housing since it also addresses the specific needs of Gypsies that are not sedentary (e.g. get access to adequate stopping places), including the persistence of "forced nomads" (Correia, 2012; Bastos, Correia and Rodrigues, 2007; Brazzabeni, 2013). It should be remembered that in Portugal there are still Gypsy people who did not have access to adequate housing, and therefore are still living in unhealthy environments, such as camps or dwellings with no sanitary conditions and without access to most basic public services (Nicolau, 2010; Parliamentary Commission, 2008).

Since 1993, through the implementation of the Special Re-housing Plan (PER), conceived as a solution to address the housing needs, with the ultimate purpose of proceeding to the eradication of the stalls and the relocation of the families (DL nº 163/93, 07 / 05). Many Gypsies families were re-housed in social housing neighbourhoods, promoting their sedentariness and facilitating the everyday coexistence in intercultural contexts.

According to RAXEN National Focal Point- Housing Conditions of Roma and Travellers, the PER helped to reduce levels of segregation of immigrants and ethnic groups (NÚMENA, 2009), but there are problematic aspects associated with this program (Guerra, 1994; Malheiros and Mendes, 2005; Pereira et al, 2011), particularly the high concentration of Gypsies in social housing and strong residential vulnerabilities in the post-resettlement. Moreover, Gypsies are also over-represented in precarious housing situations. It is estimated that between 16% to 31% of the Gypsy population live in precarious conditions, while this data is 0.8% among Portuguese in general (Neves, 2013; Parliamentary Commission, 2008).

In a survey conducted in 2011 by the European Union Agency for Fundamental Rights in 11 member countries, 80% of respondents were Gypsies households at risk of poverty, and the highest levels occurred in Portugal (almost 100%), Italy and France. In particular, as regards the living conditions in the homes of respondents Gypsies lived on average more than two people in a room; about 45% of the respondents lived in housings that did not have at least one of the following facilities inside: a kitchen, a bathroom, a shower, a bathtub, or electricity.

In 2011 the European Committee of Social Rights condemned the Portuguese State based on a complaint grounded on a comprehensive report of the European Centre for Roma Rights, between 2005 and 2011, which concluded that the way the Government viewed the Gypsies housing situation was "discriminatory". The sentence also mentions specific cases of "social and spatial segregation" of Gypsies in Portugal as it is the case of Pedreiras neighbourhood in the city of Beja "where local authorities walled-off the Gypsies "(Neves, 2013). More recently, the NGO European Roma Rights Centre denounced the eviction of 70 Gypsies in the municipality of Vidigueira (in Alentejo Region) through a public letter.

It was also made known by this letter that Almeirim municipality "is not for Gypsies". Recently, on 8 of April, The Roma International Day, the Municipality of Almeirim began to raze the Gypsies camp in an industrial zone. For now, three tents were torn down, and approximately 40 children and 20 adults who have lived there for twelve years in wood and canvas tents with plate covers are under threat of expulsion.

According to a national study (Mendes el al. 2014), in terms of housing, although most of the 1599 respondents (67%) live in conventional dwellings (apartments and villas), about 28% still live in tents, rudimentary houses or wood. However, there are notably some regional differences. Thus, in the region of Lisbon and Tagus Valley, 94% of respondents are living in classic dwellings. This percentage drops to 71% in the North, while 68% of the Algarve's Gypsies live in tents or rudimentary houses. When asked about the occurrence of food deprivation which the household may have experienced last year, 48% said there were moments when they were starving, among these, 16% indicated that this had happened many times. Food deprivation is more common among the less educated, those with 65 or more years and especially among residents in the Algarve. Most of the respondents are tenants or sub state tenants. Although most of them live in relatively recent social housing, these have problems and pathologies, noise and the cold are the two problems more frequently mentioned by respondents. In our perspective, sometimes the resettlement can be one mechanism of social production of marginality where the state has a significant responsibility in producing the marginalization of these people and incorporating into the territory (Wacquant, 2014). The resettlement is in most cases a process which perpetuates the disadvantages of previous situations and segregation. Their relegation and segregation to disqualified spaces reveals the territorialisation of poverty and exclusion, constituting an obstacle to integration.

5 METROPOLITAN AREA OF LISBON - QUINTA DA FONTE NEIGHBOURHOOD

The ethnograpnic approach was conducted in some neighbourhoods with a strong presence of Gypsies, such us Quinta da Fonte, between June and December of 2014. This neighbourhood is located in the municipality of Loures, standing along the right bank of Tagus River in the North of Lisbon. Quinta da Fonte neighbourhood was created under the Special Plan of Resettlement (PER), between the years 1996 and 1998, and emerges as a response to the need to relocate the population that lived in slums along a highway named CRIL (Circular Regional Interior de Lisbon). Some of the residents came from the area of Expo 98, from which they were displaced. This resettlement resulted in a forced cohabitation and a forced ethic mix. The appraisal of this resolution by different institutions working on the ground is that the majority of the population that resides here is in a "great social exclusion". Some are in position to meet the conditions to leave this place, while others cannot or do not want to leave.

Quinta da Fonte is geographically isolated (see photos) and closed off from the inner city. This is one of the neighbourhoods where the residents experience the most difficult access to the city of Lisbon (30 minutes by public transport to Campo Grande in Lisbon), where many of them work. This implies higher travel costs (price of normal travel by public transport EUR 3.25). It was not infrequent to find many people, gypsies and others, using this means of transport without paying or using a "borrowed" card.

This neighbourhood is composed by more than 500 houses, inhabited by families with different backgrounds. Here, in 2008, were living around 2,206 people, almost 40% of families were of African origin and 39% of Gypsy origin. In recent years, a drastic reduction occurred in the number of Gypsy families in this territory motivated by the sense of insecurity felt by families. Nowadays almost 200 Gypsies live here. This decrease of population size occurred after some conflicts between Gypsies and "Africans", one of which became known to the wider society as "the shooting case". It became a very stigmatizing event to the whole neighbourhood and to those who lived there. The media coverage of these events in Quinta da Fonte had a negative influence in their lives (mainly in job search, when they call a taxi, etc.). The relationship with the media is a complex one, since they tend to over-reporting and sensationalism. According to the media, Quinta da Fonte is part of the cartography of prohibited neighbourhoods (Wacquant, 2000).

Therefore, in the field, especially in the first approaches of interaction between residents, particularly between "Gypsies" and "Africans", everyone (residents and institutions) are quick to contextualize what happened and to devaluate the relevance of the incident. However, relations between Gypsies and "Africans" are not peaceful. The interaction between Gypsies and "African" is a complex process, but not so problematic among the residents who know each other before the relocation. Gypsies tend to report that the problem is among the youngest, not among the oldest. In the interview extract below conducted with a Gypsy resident and his wife, it is very evident the existence of mutual feelings of fear.

"R1: Many people left this place. So, it was stuffy, and they [Africans] know that if there is another war again it means to kill. And then they are also afraid, they know that there are people who kill. And then they are afraid… R2: We want to live in peace, that's it." (R1: João, Gypsy man, 42 years old, resident, unemployed; R2: his wife)

In this neighbourhood, Gypsies are a numeric and symbolic minority, while the "African" presence in is very marked. Social and ethic divisions are reflected in the use of public space. There is almost a division of space between Gypsies and Africans, not so much at the level of the dwellings (though some ethnic concentration was identified) but more in terms of the occupation of the territory. For example: some benches and stairs can solely be for use by Gypsy people, while some other areas tend to be monopolized by Africans. The Gypsies stay more time at the north end of the neighbourhood (one of the main entrances). The public space is perceived as very degraded and some Gypsies have shops in the neighbourhood, however, they failed to exploit them, choosing to rent the property of other non-Gypsies residents.

Very few Gypsies, and also non-Gypsies, are happy to live here. Many wanted to live elsewhere and often asked to be relocated, especially those who have no family in this place. Others say that they still live here because they reached "the end of the line". This is the case of people with heavy debts, or persons that have lost their business and their home.

6 CONCLUSION

All the way through the history of the gypsy population until now, the role of the state in producing their marginalization is significant. Moreover, the persistence of segregation processes in space reflects and reinforces strong social inequalities and divisions.

The consequences of the processes of resettlement housing indicate that this measure only transfers the same problems to other places. The social, cultural and economic problems that existed in pre-relocation tend to be reproduced in the post resettlement spaces, perpetuating negative stigmas. The marginalization that affects Gypsies is also incorporated into the new territories of resettlement. Therefore, to change this situation an integrated, participatory and multidimensional intervention and approach is needed, which would simultaneously promote structural development and social change.

This research confirms that there Portuguese Gypsies, which contradicts the essentialist and reifying images that still persist associated to people and Gypsy families including among social stakeholders, academics and policy makers.

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