Urban Governance and its Implications in Parque das Nações

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Abstract:

Industrial brownfield regeneration projects have become, on the one hand, a way of responding to certain urban issues nowadays, but on the other hand, they have become problematic due to the need of a high budget. The thesis will be focused on how urban governance influenced the development of a new city district in Lisbon through the regeneration of a brownfield site, which is nowadays known as Parque das Nações or Park of Nations, and what was the outcome of urban governance. Three issues were chosen to be discussed: the rationale behind brownfield regeneration; urban governance in the development process and, in the end, what is the outcome of urban governance and what gaps can be identified in this process. Methods used in the analysis will be focused on literature review and interviews. The thesis aims to highlight the importance of reintegrating the sites into the urban system, the interactions between stakeholders and decisions made in implementing a large-scale urban development project in a former brownfield site and to present a new urban development practice created by the Portuguese State. The conclusion will highlight the success of this project, its impact in Portugal but also its negative outcomes, putting a strong emphasise on the fact that it was 100% developed by the State.

Preface

This thesis was written by an individual student on the 4th semester of the Urban Planning and Management master's program at Aalborg University, representing the degree paper and the continuity of the research started in the 3rd semester, during an internship in Lisbon.

I want to mention important persons that helped me conduct this research, therefore I wish to thank Associate Professor Enza Lissandrello, from Aalborg University, for supervising my research this semester. In addition, I want to thank my former internship supervisor from Lisbon, professor Margarida Queirós, from the Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning (IGOT), University of Lisbon, for arranging an interview and for further insights on this project given during my stay in Lisbon. Finally, I want to thank the two interviewees for taking their time to debate the development project in Parque das Nações: Professor Emeritus Jorge Gaspar from IGOT and Pedro Neves, urban planner and owner of Global Solutions 4U.

Reading instructions

First of all, the referencing style applied in this thesis was Harvard, which can be identified as [Last name, Year]. Direct quotations can be identified as [Last name, Year, Page] and direct quotations from interviews can be identified as [Last Name, Year, Hours: Minutes: Seconds]. Other elements, such as pictures or tables, have the same referencing style and the ones that were elaborated by the author don't have a source, only title. Furthermore, each reference is detailed and these details can be found in bibliography. Figures and tables are numbered before every title as following: if we have tables or figures in chapter 1, the tables are numbered as 1.1, representing the first table of the chapter, followed by 1.2 as the second table or figure and so on.

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Introduction 1

"[“Parque das Nações”] is an icon of urban regeneration within Lisbon city. The area covers 340 ha, with 5 km of riverfront area on the Tejo river estuary integrated into a 60 ha area around the Doca dos Olivais [Olive Groves Dock] – built in the 1940s for use as a hydroplane airport. In just over 10 years this neighbourhood has become a mixed use area for housing and services with a high quality of life." [Ashley O' Toole, Brenda McEvoy and Louise Campion, with contributions from Expert Panel, 2017, p. 19].

"[Today], Nations Park is being visited every year by all urban planners around the world, as a success story. Nations Park is considered the top example of how expo sites should be developed." [Neves, 2018, 15:26]

The urban development project in eastern Lisbon can be considered one of the most successful urban regeneration projects in Portugal's history. An obsolete industrial area that was avoided by people, where a very poor population used to live, is now one of the high-class neighbourhoods in Lisbon and, nowadays, it manages to compete with the city centre in relation to tourism. The area is located in the eastern part of Lisbon (see figure 1.1), integrating 340 ha on the riverfront of Tagus with a length of 5 km [Ashley O' Toole, Brenda McEvoy and Louise Campion, with contributions from Expert Panel, 2017], 25000 inhabitants and 18000 jobs [Neves, 2018].
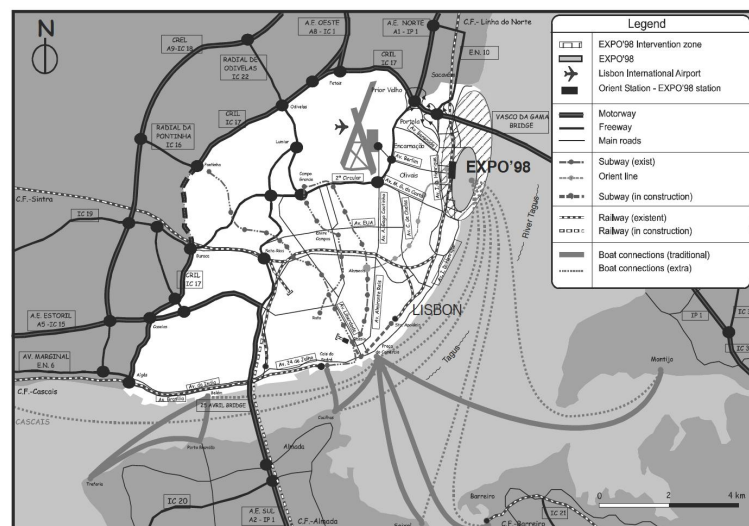
Figure 1.1. The location of Parque das Nações
[European Conference of Ministers of Transport, 2003, p. 216]

The multi-functionality of this area and mixed-use spaces created here transformed it in

one of the most attractive neighbourhoods in Lisbon. The success of this project can be seen in visitors as well, and in addition to tourists which are the main *"costumers"* of this area, these are researchers interested in gathering knowledge from this successful urban development operation [Neves, 2018]. The creation of a large-scale neighbourhood that provide excellent public services represents Lisbon's business card in tourism and new urban development practices. Figure 1.2 presents an aerial view of Parque das Nações.

Figure 1.2. Aerial view of Parque das Nações
[Catalão Monteiro on flickr, 2013b]

Probably the most important feature of this projects is the creation of a large-scale urban development project through the 100% involvement of the State and this was done through the creation of a public company that had several subsidiaries and it can be considered the creator of Parque das Nações, named Parque Expo 98, S.A.: *"[...] the reason was how are we going to implement a project, an urban project that is defending public interest at national level and at city level and for this a State-owned company with municipal participation was created. In my opinion, I believe this was the right choice."* [Neves, 2018, 14:26]. The creation of a State-owned company represented the foundation of this project and the idea was to prepare Lisbon for organising World Expo 98 event by creating a strong body that would prepare the land for the exposition. The strategies and objectives formulated by local authorities depended on the outcome of this major event, as we can identify in the following statement: *"[The] development of the 1998 World Fair site in Lisbon, considered not just as an event but as a catalyst for urban restructuring, embodies more general trends in urban development and planning."* [Carrière and Demazière, 2002, p. 71]. The author suggests that the World Expo 98 was the opportunity to promote the development project, since these events have large audiences, from tourists or residents to journalists from all continents. In addition, the world exposition was also an experiment on urban development carried out by the State, in which a new planning practice was implemented. Furthermore, it was also an opportunity to reverse the balance in favour of world expositions as successful events promoting urban regeneration projects, after a failure of World Expo 92 in Seville that reduced the confidence in organising these events.

The success of World Expo 98 pushed the urban regeneration project as planned before the exposition took place and 12 years after World Expo 98 a new city district emerged in Lisbon, Parque das Nações.

This thesis will follow the whole process mentioned above and the main research topic is urban governance which will identify every component and interaction from the beginning until the end and present times. First of all, the emergence of urban governance will be presented, which was determined by Lisbon's economic and social status and urban governance was seen as gateway towards remediating these issues through urban regeneration of a key industrial area that wasn't sustainable and reliable for Lisbon anymore. Followed by this decision, urban governance was building a strong body formed by the State and which invited the private sector and citizens in different periods of the project, which influenced the final product of the project, shaping a mixed-use area. Furthermore, the end of the project marks the outcome of urban governance that will bring into discussion other elements that are still not clear and in contradiction to this project. In this project there is a debate regarding values and practices embedded in the development process. While a few papers labelled this project as a neo-liberal large-scale project, the interviews carried out in this research contradicts this argument and this influenced the decision to debate this issue. The research will be reflected through answering a main research question, together with its three sub-research questions that will explain the process:

"How urban governance influenced the development of Parque das Nações and what were the implications and results of this ongoing urban governance?"

- What was the context of developing the brownfield site and what ideals were embedded in the development project?
- How urban governance influenced the development process in Parque das Nações?
- What was the outcome of urban governance and how we can identify gaps of urban governance?

Structure of Master's Thesis

The introduction presented a short description of this project. Afterwards, chapter 2.1 will present methodology used in this research, followed by chapter 3.1 where the theoretical framework is presented. Followed by theory, the paper presents the case of Parque das Nações in chapter 4. The empirical analysis in chapter 5 presents the answer to the sub-research questions, which is followed by chapter 6 where the answer to the main research question will be elaborated. In the end, an appendix will include other formalities and transcripts of interviews, in section A.

Methodology 2

2.1 Introduction

Methodology chapter will present how this research was carried out and what tools were used to develop it. First of all, the scientific approach will be presented in section 2.2, followed by research design in 2.3 and, finally, methods in 2.4.

2.2   Scientific Approach

This section will present the scientific approach which represents the rational behind the research, suggesting why it was conducted in this way [Farthing, 2016]. This rational is represented by several scientific assumptions hidden in the research, such as ontological and epistemological assumptions [Farthing, 2016].

Ontological Assumptions

Ontological assumptions represent the first scientific component of the research. It highlights *"[...] the claims or assumptions that are made about the nature of social reality, claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with each other."* [Blaikie, 2010, p. 8], as quoted in [Farthing, 2016, p. 23]. This highlights the idea of how we see the world and thought this what elements we can identify in this world, how we see the reality of things [Farthing, 2016]. Ontological assumptions are focused on creating the foundation of a research to have an initial perception about the world and, in the case of urban planning, to identify a research topic based on the existence of things that could attract the attention of the researcher, being interested in getting knowledge about unknown or unclear things.

In this context, Parque das Nações represents an interesting project that attracted the attention of several scholars, researchers, planners, architects and so on. The former industrial area in eastern Lisbon, which is know nowadays as Parque das Nações, represented a social reality of Lisbon in the 80s. Back then, Lisbon and Portugal, in general, had one of the highest poverty rate and the solution to rescale the balance was the creation of Parque das Nações. This represents the ontological assumption in the research of Parque das Nações, things identified as urban issues and the remediation through urban development, influenced the assumption that this research topic represents an opportunity to identify new practices that emerged in urban development.

Epistemological Assumptions

The second scientific component of this research is represented by epistemological assumptions, which *"[...] refers to the claims or assumptions made about possible ways of gaining knowledge of social reality, whatever it is understood to be."* [Blaikie, 2010, p. 8], as quoted in [Farthing, 2016, p. 23-24]. Epistemological assumptions represent the knowledge about things [Farthing, 2016] mentioned in *ontological assumptions*. This represented an important element in the definition of this research, through which the problem was identified and the knowledge gained about this case study determined the research to move on and to make a final decisions in relation to what exactly the research should be focused on.

To contextualise, Parque das Nações was identified as the only large-scale urban development project in Lisbon and it was implemented through brownfield regeneration project. Certain aspects were identified in this project, such as new practices in urban planning, public sector's 100% involvement in this project, private sector controlled by the State, the creation of high-quality public spaces with a strong emphasis on green areas, the creation of a new neighbourhood in Lisbon and so on. Therefore, through this research it is possible to get knowledge about things that created dynamics in the urban system and

we can observe how these things influenced the evolution of urban development.

The following section will present the research design, highlighting the research framework used in this paper and explaining the justification of the case and methods.

2.3   Research Design

This section will present the steps in this research, which will be carried out through case study method. This method is frequently used by researchers, and it has the following definition: *"[...] a detailed examination of an event (or series of events) which the analyst believes exhibits (or exhibit) the operation of some identified general theoretical principle'."* [Mitchell, 1983, p. 192], as quoted in [Farthing, 2016, p. 116]. This is a perfect definition of the case study analysed in this thesis, the research being supported by a solid theoretical approach, presenting a series of events. Therefore, the first subsection will present the justification of the case study, which will highlight the rationale behind using the case study as a method.

The Justification of the Case Study

The case of Parque das Nações is presented in literature as one of the most successful urban regeneration project in Portugal. The ability of local authorities to regenerate an area which was associated with a industrial ghetto, where antisocial activities were carried out by its residents and where the petrochemical facilities were polluting the city, represents a example of how effective a local institutional structure guided by the national government can be in urban development, encouraging other cities to take example. In addition, the fact that this project reversed the balance in favour of organising world exposition, along with other events that involved urban regeneration, which started to have a bad reputation in urban planning represents another successful story of Parque das Nações. Therefore, through this project it was possible to experiment new planning practices and Lisbon managed to draw the attention of planners through the implementation of a large-scale urban development project financed 100% by the State. This case has become part of successful case studies that are unique and they can be used as a reference for future planners who are willing to get insights on new practices in urban planning. These arguments justifies why this case has been chosen to be researched in this paper.

The research will be carried out through the following main research question:

"How urban governance influenced the development of Parque das Nações and what were the implications and results of this ongoing urban governance?"

The main research question focuses its attention towards the main topic that will be discussed through the analysis of a case study focused on several concepts. The concepts are explained in three sub-research questions, which will act as guidelines to answer the main research question:

- What was the context of developing the brownfield site and what ideals were embedded in the development project?
- How urban governance influenced the development process in Parque das Nações?
- What was the outcome of urban governance and how we can identify gaps of urban governance?

To be more accurate on what my research is focused on, I elaborated a research design (table 2.1), focused on explaining the methods used in the research and what data I want to generate through the analysis of the three sub-questions.

Research Question How urban governance influenced the development of Parque das Nações and what were the implications and results of this ongoing urban governance?		
Sub-question I	**Sub-question II**	**Sub-question III**
What was the context of developing the brownfield site and what ideals were embedded in the development project?	How urban governance influenced the development process in Parque das Nações?	What was the outcome of urban governance and how we can identify gaps of urban governance?
Theoretical Approach	**Theoretical Approach**	**Theoretical Approach**
First level of analysis, reflected through: • Urban governance of large-scale urban development projects and brownfield sites regeneration • Urban governance of Mega-events • Controversies of governance cultures - welfare state model and neo-liberalism	Second and third level of analysis, reflected through governance process and episodes	• The implications of world expositions on a local, national and international scale • Urban governance - a cluster of mega events • Urban governance and its role in the creation of neighbourhoods • Gaps of urban governance
Themes	**Themes**	**Themes**
The idea behind developing Parque das Nações.	Urban governance and its role in the development stages of the project.	The outcome of urban governance and gaps of urban governance
Methods	**Methods**	**Methods**
Literature review Interview	Literature review Interview	Literature review Interview
Data	**Data**	**Data**
• Historical insights on the brownfield site in eastern Lisbon; • Socio - economic, geographical and political factors that influenced the development of Parque das Nações	The evolution of the project through changes in governance process and episodes: 1. The preparations for World Expo 98 and the creation of Parque Expo 98, S.A. 2. The World Expo 98 in Lisbon 3. The development of Parque das Nações, a new city district 4. The dismantlement of Parque Expo 98, S.A.	• The World Expo 98 event - implications and its role in Lisbon and Portugal • Portugal - a cluster of events • Parque das Nações - the new product of urban governance • Gaps of urban governance in Parque das Nações

Table 2.1. Research Design
[Kirilko et al., 2017], as cited in [Radu, 2018]

The design is a representation of the research structure and the most important element is the main research questions, which depends upon the answer of 3 sub-research questions, which are presented below.

What was the context of developing the brownfield site and what ideals were embedded in the development project?

The first aspect analysed in this research, in relation to the main research question, is the context on which urban governance was built and the development of Parque das Nações emerged as an idea and a potential project for Lisbon. The first sub-research corresponds with the 1st level of analysis, based on [Kirilko et al., 2017], as cited in [Radu, 2018], presented in table 2.1.

The theoretical approach in chapter 3.1, and the first part of section 3.5, representing the first level, describes the concept of urban governance (section 3.2) and its components in relation of this research. Furthermore, the theoretical framework presents the role of urban governance in relation to urban development, theory relevant in relation to the case study. Therefore, urban governance of large-scale urban development projects (section 3.3) will be one of the theories described in the first part of theory chapter, followed by urban governance of brownfield sites regeneration in section 3.4. In addition, the first level integrates governance cultures, representing the first component of levels and dimensions of urban governance, developed by Patsy Healey in table 3.2, in which urban governance of mega-events is included, together with the controversies of governance cultures, focused on the welfare-state model and neo-liberalism that emerged in urban governance, described in the first part of section 3.5.

The first level of theory chapter is the foundation of the analysis of the first sub-research question in chapter 5, section 5.2, presenting the former industrial area and other historical insights from Lisbon. In addition, several factors that influenced the regeneration of this brownfield are described in the analysis of the first sub-research question, such as socio-economic, geographical and political factors.

How urban governance influenced the development process in Parque das Nações?

The second part of the research presents the governance process in Parque das Nações, representing second and third level, based on [Kirilko et al., 2017], as cited in [Radu, 2018], as presented in table 2.1.

The second sub-research question represents a detailed presentation of urban governance through Patsy Healey's work, representing the continuity of levels and dimensions of urban governance in Parque das Nações, based on table 3.2. Levels are represented by governance processes, which integrates a series of dimensions, such as governance process and specific episodes, according to [Coaffee and Healey, 2003], [Healey, 2007], as cited in [Healey, 2004]. Governance process (second level of analysis) presents networks and coalitions, stakeholders, discourses, practices and specification of laws and other formalities, as we can identify in 3.2, while specific episodes (third level of analysis) present actors, arenas; settings and interactive practices [Coaffee and Healey, 2003], [Healey, 2007], as cited in [Healey, 2004].

In relation to theory, the empirical analysis, in section 5.3, will present four episodes of urban governance, mentioned in table 2.1. Every episode will be presented through dimensions corresponding with second and third level and they will be described in

the following order: actors, arenas, settings and interactive practices; networks and coalitions, stakeholder selection process, discourses, practices, specification of laws and other formalities [Coaffee and Healey, 2003], [Healey, 2007], as cited in [Healey, 2004].

What was the outcome of urban governance and how we can identify gaps of urban governance?

The third sub-research question will present the outcome of urban governance, which connects the first, second and third level of analysis [Kirilko et al., 2017], as cited in [Radu, 2018], represented in 2.1.

The outcome of urban governance is represented by several theories in relation to the case study of Parque das Nações, such as the implications of world exposition on a local, national and international scale; followed by urban governance as a cluster of events; its role in the creation of neighbourhoods and, in the end, gaps of urban governance. Theories focused on the context, levels and dimensions of urban governance shaped the outcome of urban governance and these processes are reflected in the analysis of the third sub-research question.

These theories applied in the empirical analysis of the third sub-research question, in section 5.4, shaped the empirical analysis on outcomes of urban governance in Parque das Nações, identifying key features, such as the World Expo 98 event, its role and implications in Lisbon and Portugal; Portugal as a cluster of mega-events; followed by Parque das Nações as the new product of urban governance and, finally, gaps of urban governance in Parque das Nações.

The last section of this chapter will present methods used in this research.

2.4   Methods

This last section will present methods used in this research paper. Using effective methods helps the researcher to gain more knowledge of the case study and to develop a more accurate and comprehensive research. Two essential methods were used in gathering information for this thesis: literature review and interview.

Literature Review

Literature review represents the first method used to collect a large amount of data and it was an essential tool to expand the research carried out in this thesis. It is important to mention that literature review was used as a starting point to this research and it had a significant contribution to the researcher in a sense that the research carried out depends on literature review in the early stages of a paper because it helps the researcher to identify several case studies and to decide one specific case that can be analysed. This approach was important in researching the case study of Parque das Nações and it helped in developing a framework that highlighted the main features of Parque das Nações.

The literature review focused on the case study of Parque das Nações represented an opportunity for the researcher, especially if the paper is written in English, due to the fact that there is a large variety of papers in English focused on this case, which implies how international this case have become and this represents the rationale behind the variety of literature that was found and used in this paper. This possibility of having access to a large number of papers increased the accuracy and quality of this research. The papers included in this research are represented by books, articles, power point presentations, conference papers, European Union reports, other types of reports, manuals, decree laws, special laws or other related documents, websites and guides, etc.

The following subsection will present the interviews applied to former actors in the development of Parque das Nações.

Interview

Interview is the second method used in this research and it was introduced in the case study after the literature shaped the structure of this thesis. Interviews represent an opportunity to collect data that can't be found in literature. This method is also known for its more accurate data, compared to literature review, which means that interviews helps the researcher to gather critical insights from experts that are directly involved or were involved in the case study analysed. In this context, the research of Parque das Nações presents this aspect, where a paper that labelled this case as a neo-liberal project was criticised by a planner who was an important actor in the development project.

The research was focused on applying a number of two interviews and regarding the typology of these interviews, the decision was made to apply semi-structured interviews. The interviews were conducted during a data collection trip in Lisbon, which took place from 15th of April 2018 until 26th of April 2018. My former internship supervisor, professor Margarida Queirós, was contacted in advanced to discuss the possibility of contacting other possible experts to discuss the development project, excepting the experts that I contacted before my departure to Lisbon. Table 2.2 presents the two experts interviewed in Lisbon.

Expert	Institution/company	Role/position	Expected result
Professor Emeritus Jorge Gaspar	• Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning (IGOT), University of Lisbon • Center of Geographic Studies (CEGUL), University of Lisbon	• Geographer, researcher • Actor in the early stages of the urban development project	• The rationale behind developing the brownfield site in eastern Lisbon • Urban governance and the development of Parque das Nações • The outcome of urban governance in Parque das Nações
Pedro Neves	• Global Solutions 4U	• Urban planner and owner of Global Solutions 4U • Former employee of the development company Parque Expo 98, S.A.	• Early stages of the development process • Urban governance – actors and the role of the private sector, the role of the market, the World Expo 98 event, citizen participation. • Outcome of urban governance – the newly created neighbourhood in Lisbon, the creation of public spaces and other important insigths

Table 2.2. Interviews

Several institutions and key actors were contacted in advance to arrange interviews in Lisbon. It was expected to arrange them before my departure to Lisbon, however, some institutions or persons didn't reply my e-mails, while others replied but they weren't available. The first person interviewed, Jorge Gaspar, was contacted and accepted the initiative of arranging an interview. The interview with Pedro Neves was arranged through professor Margarida Queirós, who suggested that it is important to talk with Pedro Neves due to the fact that he was one of the most important actors in the project. The interview was carried out in Cascais, approximately 30 km from Lisbon.

The interviews were carried out in a professional way and the first step was focused on elaborating two different interview guides, one for the interviewees and one for the interviewer. However, only one interviewee managed to receive the guide, since the interview with Pedro Neves was scheduled in the last moment, a day before the interview, therefore it was impossible to work on two guides in one day. The other interviewee, Jorge Gaspar, received, via mail, the guide one day before the interview so that he could have knowledge on what the discussion will be focused on. The interview guides were elaborated in English, since the interviewees agreed to have an interview in English in relation to my thesis which is written in English. During interviews, with the approval of the interviewees, a mobile phone was used to record the conversations, in order to obtain an 100% accurate transcription. In this context, *Express Scribe* was used, a professional software that has useful functions for recordings that makes the transcription process easier and it makes it less time consuming. The transcriptions were written through *Microsoft Word* and the level of accuracy and quality of these transcriptions was determined by the level of comprehension the transcriber had, due to the fact that some interviewees are having difficulties in expressing themselves in English, since it's not their native language. In addition, several interruptions occur or other elements, like breaks or our conversation is being interrupted by other persons who don't take part in the interview. Therefore, all these misunderstandings or interruptions that disturbed the interview and the recording itself is highlighted with the symbol *(...)*. The transcriptions were attached to the appendix in section A.6.

An important aspect to mention here is that an old interview was included in this paper, an interview with architect Carlos Barbosa, who had very important insights that Pedro Neves and Jorge Gaspar didn't mention, which was carried out in December 2017, when I was working for the first time in this project, as an intern at IGOT. Therefore, it was very important to mention these aspects since there were significant insights of urban governance, information which cannot be found anywhere else. There are only small portions of this interview used in the analysis (see in section 5.3), therefore the transcription of the interview wasn't introduced in the appendix of this thesis, since it's already available in a submitted paper. In addition, no direct quotation were used from the transcription in the appendix of this paper, only one quotation used in the report that was cited in this thesis, but not an in-text quotation, just a quotations used to create a scheme. The transcription of this interview can be found in my third semester report, in the appendix section, elaborated during my internship period.

Chapter 3.1 will present the next approach in this thesis, which is the theoretical approach.

Theoretical Approach 3

3.1 Introduction

Chapter 3 will present the theoretical approach of this research, focused on theories of urban governance and its outcomes. The theory chapter starts with presenting urban governance theory in general, to get knowledge on how it emerged as a new concept in cities and what elements it incorporates, in section 3.2. This is followed by urban governance of large-scale urban development projects in section 3.3, highlighting the role of urban governance in the implementation of this type of projects. Section 3.4 presents the urban governance of brownfield sites regeneration, describing the implications of urban governance in the regeneration process of brownfield sites. Afterwards, section 3.5 will present the work of Patsy Healey focused on levels and dimensions of urban governance, representing governance process in urban development. The final theory of urban governance is the outcome, presenting the final product of urban governance and the importance of this aspect in urban development, which can be found in section 3.6. Finally, an illustration of theory chapter will be presented in section 3.7, focused on the framework developed by Patsy Healey and a scheme explaining the connection between theories and how every element will be reflected in the empirical analysis.

3.2   Urban Governance

Urban governance represents a frequent tool adopted by major cities from every continent. It is known that it has *"[...] become an important concept in more policy-oriented debates; it has emerged simultaneously as an analytical and a normative tool."* [Gupta et al., 2015, p. 28]. Therefore, urban governance covers the urban planning scene in cities that are focused on economic growth, being used as a innovative tool to implement large-scale urban development projects. Urban governance is associated with *"[...] an interdisciplinary research agenda on order and disorder, efficiency and legitimacy all in the context of the hybridization of modes of control that allow the production of fragmented and multidimensional order, within the state, by the state, without the state and beyond the state."* [Levi-Faur, 2012, p. 3], as quoted in [Gupta et al., 2015, p. 29]. This presents the fact that urban governance has no boundaries and it's omnipresent in all institutional structures and it has a strong influence in the interaction between institutions coordinated by the State. These features represent the result of policies implemented by a centralised state [Gupta et al., 2015], which is the case of Portugal, where the state has a major role in the development projects. Urban governance represents a complex process that integrates several elements that *"[...] can refer to actors and networks (the underlying powers, the relationships); the process, architecture and structure of governance (formal and informal norms and rules); and the quality of governance (e.g. ' good governance' includes elements such as rule of law, legitimacy, equity and effectiveness)."* [Rothstein, 2012], as cited in [Gupta et al., 2015, p. 28]. Under these circumstances, urban governance has multiple elements embedded in its structure and it becomes problematic because several institutional changes emerge under the guidance of urban governance. These elements and their features can be identified in section 3.5.

The interactions between actors through networks and other elements have moved to a different scale, driven by external factors, such as globalisation or EU policies. Therefore, we can identify a *"[...] change in urban governance [...] focused upon the apparent shift away from the formal institutions and procedures of government to a wider governance process."* [Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012, p. 239]. This statement clearly describes the process of implementing new ideals in urban governance, shifting towards a more complex governance structure which involves not only institutions, but also formalities and practices through which these institutions govern the urban space. To substantiate this argument, the transition determined the change of the political-institutional structures, known as national regimes [Castles, 1995], [Koopmans and Statham, 2001], as cited in [Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012], towards a growth coalition focused on economic development, social integration and global politics [Tambini, 2001], as cited in [Syrett and Sepulveda, 2012]. This shift towards a more broad urban governance was determined by the emergence of large-scale urban development projects, meaning that urban governance has a different understanding, nowadays, and it integrates different values and ambitions through these projects. The shift represents a result of a political change that occurred in Portugal, described in section 5. In order to understand this modern concept of urban governance, the following section will present the urban governance of large-scale urban development projects, in order to get a accurate perspective on the role of these large-scale projects in urban governance.

3.3   Urban Governance of Large-Scale Urban Development Projects

Large-scale urban development projects have become a solution in responding to major issues in large cities. However, it is know that *"[They] are part of a process of profound restructuring that over the past few decades has transformed the urban landscape in unexpected, perplexing, and often disturbing way."* [Moulaert et al., 2005, p. 9]. This significant transformation in the physical space is often associated with the aim of economic growth, which might have a double-edge effect, solving major economic issues but creating a large area and difficult to manage, often associated with the creation of large-scale built environments and modern architecture. The *urban governance of large-scale urban development projects* will present the features and the role of large-scale development in the regeneration of industrial sites through urban governance.

Large-scale projects are applied in different contexts but this research will be focused only on their role in brownfield regeneration of industrial sites. To contextualise, this process of implementing large-scale projects, we can highlight that they have *"[...] become highly complex as they involve multiple actors with different expectations."* [Tașan-Kok, 2010, p. 126]. The argument presented by Tașan-Kok presents the complexity of these projects due to changes in urban governance that involved the inclusion of multiple actors in the development process. In relation to brownfield regeneration, they are set *"[...] in locations which, as a consequence of urban restructuring, have lost their previous uses but have potential to be once again profitable within the post-Fordist urban economy; [...] developed within the context of public-private partnerships; [...] mixed-use; [...] cater to the needs of office-based businesses and tourism and leisure services; [...] introduction of new methods of financing, with greater collaboration between the public and private sectors."* [Orueta and Fainstein, 2008, p. 760-1], as quoted in [Guironnet and Halbert, 2014, p. 5]. To concretise, the author considers that large-scale projects brought an innovative development solution focused on creating mixed-use areas through the collaboration of the public and private sector. However, these interactions might determine difficulties in developing an institutional framework for implementing large-scale projects. The two sectors, in addition to State-owned institutions, are usually represented by *"[...] nongovernmental institutions, such as health care providers and educational institutions; nonprofit associations, such as community-based organizations; and intermediary groups, such as business improvement districts. Citizens and neighborhood groups also have a stake in the process."* [Corrigan et al., 2005, p. v]. This highlights the main characteristic of the new urban governance and how we can distinguish it from the old governance structure. Through the collaboration of these sectors "creative alliances" [Corrigan et al., 2005] are *"[...] formed between a government entity and private developers to achieve a common purpose."* [Corrigan et al., 2005, p. v]. This represents the structure which will influence the success of the large-scale urban development projects and if certain disagreements might emerge during the process, it would jeopardise the success of the project. These kind of projects are labelled as *large-scale* due to the *"[...] size of the geographical, financial, and/or symbolic features of this phenomena."* [Daamen, 2011, p. 18], which highlights the features based on which we can identify these projects.

The symbolic features of large-scale urban development projects [Daamen, 2011] *"[...]*

constitute the pivot of contemporary global-local (glocal) restructuring processes. Through such interventions, cities and city-builders attempt to relocate their position on the cartographic map of competitive globalization." [Moulaert et al., 2005, p. 10]. The main advantage of large-scale urban development projects is that it stimulates economic growth, the planners are introduced to a new and innovative way of planning cities, integrating them on the world map, attracting investments and highly qualified human resources. In addition, these projects are responsible for modelling processes on local and global scale [Moulaert et al., 2005], creating a balance between these two scales. To contextualise this process, it is vital to express that the aim of the cities towards a modern global economy represents, on the one hand, a positive outcome but, on the other hand, a negative aspect that affects the social status of these urban areas. However, they have become a popular tool in urban planning and several large-scale project emerge around the World focused mainly on obsolete areas or abandoned sites.

Overall, as a summary, the implication of new stakeholders in the process brings innovative ideas and changes in the urban governance of the development of large-scale projects, topic which will be debated in the empirical analysis of this thesis. In addition, it is a fact that large-scale urban development projects support the regeneration of brownfield sites through urban governance. To contextualise this connection, the following section will present the regeneration of brownfield sites.

3.4   Urban Governance of Brownfield Sites Regeneration

In relation to large-scale urban development projects, the process of regenerating the brownfield sites involves a significant amount of resources, the implication of actors through institutions and organisations and it is known that this process requires a long-term plan to efficiently reintegrate the target site into the urban system. A smart approach in the regeneration process is to enhance the value of existing resources that can be found in the brownfield site that might be useful for the implementation of the large-scale urban development project. To substantiate this argument, *"[By] taking full advantage of existing infrastructure, cleaning up contamination, and leaving greenfields untouched in their virgin states, brownfields take center stage in a sustainable planning strategy of thwarting sprawl, preserving open space, reducing greenhouse-gas emissions, and reinvesting in urbanized areas and their communities."* [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 2-3]. This process described in the previous statement takes into consideration that the goal of brownfield regeneration is to create sustainable areas reintegrated into a community. The first subsection will present how important is the remediation of a brownfield site and why it is important to take into consideration its features to start the redevelopment process.

The Characteristics of Brownfield Sites

Nowadays, in urban areas, local authorities are concentrated on obsolete industrial areas, either abandoned sites or sites that accommodate heavy industrial activity. The first phase of the reintegration process is reflected by [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 21], which points out that *"[The] most significant are the relevant cleanup standard(s) and the method(s) selected to reach the standard(s)."*. This confirms the necessity of applying the cleanup strategy as the first step in the regeneration process of the brownfield. These standards and methods can be identified through the characteristics of these brownfield sites. Four main characteristics were chosen to be presented based on their importance and relevance for this research: *site setting*, *common elements*, *location of potential pollutants* and *environmental hazards* [Hollander et al., 2010]. This confirms how complex these sites are through several elements incorporated within their boundaries and through these characteristics we can create a strategy based on findings to submit the site to regeneration process. Each characteristic is thoroughly explained through typologies and an additional section that describes each typology, highlighting the potential these sites offer, creating opportunities to reintegrate them in the urban system, presented in table 3.1.

Characteristics	Typology (in-text quotations) *	Description (in-text quotations) *
Site setting	• *isolated landfill sites*	- close to or within the boundaries of towns, cities, and communities.
	• *part of the built urban fabric*	- adjacent to port-lands, docks, harbors, railroad yards and corridors, riverfronts, airfields, and industrial manufacturing districts.
	• *isolated brownfield sites*	- in suburban and rural areas where industrial, manufacturing, or polluting agricultural practices have occurred or are still carried out.
	• *specialized brownfields*	- located on [...] mining and extraction sites usually at some distance from built-up areas
Common elements	• *abandoned or semi-abandoned, padlocked, rusted and potentially structurally hazardous industrial building structures*	- set within an external landscape of broken asphalt and stained concrete slabs.
	• *mounds of toxic and non-toxic industrial waste, lagoons, ponds, pools, and canals*	- with standing water and bottom sediments and sludge
	• *underground and surface oil tanks and storage vats*	
	• *above- and below-ground infrastructure*	- including transformers, sewage and sanitation chambers, pipe ducts, utility corridors, overhead ducts, industrial equipment, barrels, and debris produced within or brought to and disposed of on-site.
	• *infrastructure of rail corridors and roads*	- including signals and tracks, catch basins, storage pits and road beds
Location of potential pollutants	• *in the ground-surface soils of the site*	- any determination of the presence of contamination, or lack thereof, has to go beyond the apparent degraded visual and aesthetic conditions to determine the extent of potential pollutants to be found.
	• *in the standing and subsurface groundwater*	
	• *in sediments found in tanks, pools, ponds, rivers, and canals*	
	• *in the physical materials of the building construction*	
	• *within site infrastructure, catch basins, ducts, and pipe-work channels*	
	• *in on-site civil engineering works*	
	• *as part of indoor and outdoor air studies*	
Environmental hazards	• *volatile organic compounds (VOCs) – for example, solvents and gasoline*	- potential future contamination from gases and rising vapors underground should be taken into account during the evaluation period.
	• *semi-volatile organic compounds (SVOCs) – for example, dyes*	
	• *petroleum products (total petroleum hydrocarbons - TPHs)*	
	• *pesticides/herbicides*	
	• *polychlorinated biphenols (PBCs)*	
	• *metals*	

Table 3.1. The Characteristics of Brownfield Sites
[Hollander et al., 2010], *[Hollander et al., 2010, p. 23-24, 27-28]

The table presented above shows that there are several typologies identified in the characteristics of brownfield sites and they influence the remediation process of these sites, which will be presented in the following subsection.

Evaluating and Planning the Remediation of Brownfield Sites

The evaluation and the planning process of brownfield sites represents a complex operation because it involves formulating several policies and qualified personnel to regenerate them. In addition, certain tools are needed to assess these sites because new strategies emerged that contribute to this process [European Commission, 2013] in order to be submitted

to the same action using similar steps. To achieve this goal, decision support tools, also known as DSS's, were formulated [European Commission, 2013]. These tools point out the European Union's own set of tools that could be considered a useful guideline for EU member states in brownfield regeneration projects. In this context, three indicators were identified by [European Commission, 2013, p. 5] to support the idea of redevelopment of brownfield sites:

- **Socio-economic index**: these indicators are focused on highlighting the contribution of brownfield redevelopment to economic growth [European Commission, 2013], indicators such as *"[...] population density, property values and unemployment [...]."* [European Commission, 2013, p. 5]. This confirms a strong focus on creating more opportunities for social groups through economic policies, which is related to welfare state model strategy;
- **Smart growth index**: indicators that take into consideration housing, accessibility in the area through transport and utilities and offering favourable chances of employment [European Commission, 2013]. The author suggests that an intelligent approach towards a sustainable growth is providing excellent services of all kind and high-quality infrastructure;
- **Environmental index**: indicators focused on the environmental status and issues of a brownfield, such as contamination and other indicators that affect the development process [European Commission, 2013], for example, *"[...] soil permeability, proximity to water bodies and parks and presence of wetland and floodplains."* [European Commission, 2013, p. 5]. The problem identified here represents the main barrier in brownfield development and the fact that pollutants affect every square metre of the site through soil, air or even water represents a major issue and it needed to be handled carefully.

These indicators represents the starting point in planning the remediation of brownfield sites. The first step is represented by the cleaning processes of the sites [Hollander et al., 2010] and *"[These] range from the most intrusive on-site to the least intrusive [...]."* [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 37]. The author highlights here the diversity of these sites and an identification of their issues would conclude the type of cleanup necessary to decontaminate. Five principles of brownfield cleaning were identified by [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 38-40]:

- **Full Cleanup**: it represents the most complex operation, which involves *"[...] soil excavation over the entire site and removal by truck to a licensed landfill. In addition a complete dewatering and removal of on-site water bodies (ponds, pools, lagoons) will be carried out, including cleaning up and removal of any remaining sediment layers."* [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 38]. The author shows that this process requires additional remediation solutions, including the complete cleanup of locations that stocks contaminated water that has to be removed.
- **Partial Cleanup (Off-Site)**: this operation includes the relocation of contaminated soils from one site to another where the remediation process will take place [Hollander et al., 2010], which necessitates several workers and trucks to load the soil in trucks which would move it from the site.
- **Partial Cleanup (In Place)**: the operation is similar with the one in off-site cleanup, but the contaminated soil is remediated inside the site, without being

transported to other sites [Hollander et al., 2010]. This process applies to sites which don't host dangerous pollutants and the soil can be cleaned on site through treatment that would eliminate pollutants.

- **Full Concealment**: this operation *"[...] includes the placement of a cap and engineering cover system to seal the contamination in place in the ground."* [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 39]. This represents a problematic process in relation to the possibility of submitting the site to remediation process because it could exclude the site due to its contamination that would necessitate isolation of the pollutant and it would be impossible to plan the reintegration.

- **Nonintrusive Cleanup**: the last cleanup process *"[...] uses natural or benign remediation technologies that leave the site in its original condition and uses where possible but ensures that soil and groundwater contamination is remediated."* [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 40]. The last category included by the author represents an innovative tool for decontamination, without changing the sites features.

The principles presented above show that the decontamination process involves different operations, depending of the status of the brownfield site. However, the contaminated sites must be submitted to a more thoroughly operation and this involves *"[The] evaluation of contamination on the site and the remedies to reduce or remove [...]."* [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 40-41]. Five phases, identified by [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 41], highlight this operation, representing direct quotes in bold:

- **Initial site investigation** - this task *"[...] include a thorough review of existing site and topography maps, aerial photographs, building plans, engineering drawings, historical surveys, [...], flood insurance documents, leases, and deeds, as well as historic photographs of the site [...]."* [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 41]. The first phase presents the process in which professionals responsible with the site get knowledge on the brownfield through various technical documents that specify the brownfield's features and issues. In addition, it's possible to get some insights on the brownfield site, its location and the proximity area from former industrial workers through interviews [Hollander et al., 2010], which is considered an important aspect by the author because through interviews we can get insights which are not specified in documents.

- **Comprehensive site assessment** - this operation represents the process in which *"[Screening] methods carried out by licensed site professionals or environmental engineers correlate data regarding the existence and concentrations of contaminants derived in the laboratory with data obtained on-site."* [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 43]. The author mentions that qualified personnel focused on contamination of the site is invited to make a thorough analysis of the site through a complex process which allows to confirm the contamination, the nature of the pollutant and the concentration of these pollutants.

- **Identification, evaluation, and selection of comprehensive remedial action alternatives** - in this phase, a team, coordinated by a licensed site professional and a planner, takes part in several activities [Hollander et al., 2010], which are essential for remedial action, such as *"[...]. Initial screening of alternatives [...]. Detailed analysis of alternatives that will include bench-scale or pilot testing [...]. Selection of optimum remedial action alternative to implement on-site [...]. Preparation of a*

remedial action plan [...]." [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 48]. This highlights the next step after the contamination was identified and evaluated by specialists, in which a team is formed to elaborate a long-term strategy optimal to start the remedial action.

- **Implementation of selected remedial action alternatives** - this process relies upon the actors involved in this phase [Hollander et al., 2010], such as *"[The] licensed site professional and the environmental site contractor [...] the rest of the team, including planners and designers, will be involved in the coordination of remedial actions and technologies with other non-remedial construction activities."* [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 49]. The remedial action was not possible without a team of skilled professionals, each having their role in the regeneration process. In this context, two key issues were taken into consideration, such as *"[...] documentation of construction [...]."* [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 49] and *"[...] implementation of remedial action plan and final inspection [...]."* [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 49]. The team was responsible with plans focused on built environment which is one of the important elements that features the remediation, which decides if is necessary to maintain the existing buildings or replace them with other constructions. In addition, in some cases, the industrial buildings are demolished or moved to a different location, depending on their uses and how it affects the remedial process but, in general, these structures are usually converted in libraries, museums or other different uses that could be useful for a community.

- **Operation, maintenance, and/or monitoring of comprehensive remedial actions** - in the final phase *"[Environmental] consultants, licensed site professionals, and often environmental contractors are involved in ongoing operations and maintenance [...]."* [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 50]. The remedial process is pushed forward under the supervision of qualified environmental teams which successfully regenerate the site.

The identification of these five phases represents the breaking point of brownfield redevelopment and it presents the whole decontamination process. After the remedial process is achieved, the implementation of the large-scale urban development project can commence but this represents a time-consuming process which involves the investment of a large amount of funds and the involvement of several stakeholders. Brownfield redevelopment is associated with the remediation of industrial sites through organising mega-events, followed by a post-expo development project, transition determined by levels and dimensions of urban governance, presented in section 3.5

3.5   Levels and Dimensions of Urban Governance

Urban governance is reflected through different levels and dimensions which transformed the nature of its features and our perspective when we think about urban governance. To substantiate this argument, governance institutions have a different status [Healey, 2004], meaning that they are not seen as *"[...] formal organisations and procedures established in law and "followed through" in legally specified practices. Instead, institutions refer to the norms, standards and mores of a society or social group, which shape both formal and informal ways of thinking and ways of acting."* [Healey, 2004, p. 14]. What [Healey, 2004] is trying to say is that formal and informal practices represent the new approach in urban governance and they depend on institutions which formulated several rules based on which these practices function, which are reflected through social groups that are interacting on different scales.

In this context, the new form of urban governance is trying to incorporate *"[...] actors, interactive practices, arenas and networks. They analyse the formation and dissemination of discourses and practices, the relation between deeper cultural values and specific episodes of governance, and the interaction of the activities of specific actors and wider structuring forces."* [Healey, 2004, p. 14]. This connection indicates that urban governance puts an emphasis on interactions through levels but through different dimensions. Each dimension reflects interactions between actors; how, when and why they interact and identifies key elements of governance process, all embedded in episodes of urban governance. Three levels can be identified in this structure: *governance cultures*, *governance processes through which bias is mobilised* and *specific episodes*, each of them incorporating different dimensions [Healey, 2004]. The first level of urban governance will be presented in the following subsection.

3.5.1   Governance Cultures

Governance cultures represent the main level of urban governance and it includes ideals embedded in the implementation of a new urban governance. The structure of governance culture is highly representative for urban governance because *"[These] cultural assumptions (governance culture) provide the implicit norms and values, which legitimate (or not) what individual actors do and the way governance processes operate in any context."* [Healey, 2004, p. 14]. A discussion will be presented about these norms and values in the following subsection, where certain issues will be presented relating welfare state model and neo-liberalism.

Welfare State Model and Neo-liberalism - Controversies of Urban Governance?

The discussion centred around large-scale urban development projects is always associated with certain values and norms that are behind these projects and it is interesting to see what values triggered these projects. The term *welfare state model* emerged in a context of placing countries on a global scale and to attract human resources through this internationalisation process, attracting benefits for the State. The role of globalisation in this case is to expand the network through economic and information trades. Through this process, globalisation stimulates economic growth which in cities determined urban

growth and it changed the demographic structure of cities. Urban growth is the result of rural exodus, which represents a phenomenon that we encounter in every major city in this world. Rural exodus is the main factor that increased the demographic structure of cities and there is a need to accommodate these rural newcomers. The solution is to find urban spaces that could accommodate these people, therefore the politicians focused their attention towards obsolete industrial sites.

However, arguments mentioned above might be in contradiction to what a welfare state model is because there is a broad definition of this welfare state model. It is certain that the welfare state model originally emerged in Scandinavian countries, therefore we can't be certain about the existence of a welfare state model in Portugal since this country was confronting with high poverty in 70s and 80s, which creates this contradiction of the existence of a Southern welfare state model [Ferrera and Rhodes, 2000], as cited in [Gough, 2008], as most of the Portuguese literature tries to highlight:

> "[...] strong primary solidarity networks based on kinship and community ties, that Santos called 'welfare society', a low state capacity to regulate large spheres of social life [...], due to a combination of heterogeneity and fragmentation of social interests with the relative autonomy of communities vis-à-vis the state and the market enabling them to subvert state intervention through particularism [...]." [de Sousa Santos, 1990], as cited in [Ferreira, 2006, p. 4].

What [de Sousa Santos, 1990] suggests here is that community had a major role in creating a unique welfare state model focused on the partnership between the State and the market which gives more power to the State in decision-making policy. However, considering the fact that Portugal was a very undeveloped country in the previous century, it is difficult to assume that it had a welfare programme because one thing is to focus on economic growth to reduce poverty and other is to actually increase the economy of an already developed country, which is the case of Nordic countries. Therefore, it is a concept that can't accurately suggest that Portugal ever had a welfare state model but we can argue that certain policies were focused on stimulating economic growth and to create clusters of development.

In addition to the concept of welfare state model, discussions were also formulated around neo-liberalism as a phenomenon that affected Portugal as well. It represents a concept developed by Nordic countries, similar with the welfare state model. It is argued that the welfare state model is connected to the welfare state model and it represents a transition from these values to a more modern concept:

> "[...] the shift from "managerial" to "entrepreneurial" governance [...], or from a Fordist "welfare" state to a neo-liberal, post-Fordist "workfare" state [...]." [Harvey, 1989], [Jessop, 1995], as cited in [Healey, 2004, p. 15-16].

This is in contradiction with the centralised structure in Portugal which doesn't give power to the market, since the majority of development projects are carried out by the State and, therefore, the market is controlled by the State. However, the literature suggests that large-scale urban development projects represent a product of neo-liberalism but we can't give a

label based on the typology of a project and we again have to highlight that this concept
was formulated in Northern Europe and it is a cultural value corresponding to Scandinavian
Region, which represents a certainty at this point and a contradiction in Southern Europe.
The main argument can be the institutional structure in Portugal which is the main
driver of urban governance and based on how urban governance works. It represents
an important component of urban governance because we can identify the distribution of
power to intuitions and the role of the government in creating these relations. First of
all, it is important to highlight that Portugal is divided into two territorial structures -
insular (which includes two autonomous regions formed of islands - Madeira and Azores,
located in the Atlantic Ocean, west of Mainland Portugal) and mainland (representing
continental Portugal) [Marcolongo and Paja, 2017]. The national level is represented in
both territorial structures by Ministry and Secretariat of State in charge with shaping
a strategic framework for development in all three levels: national, regional and local
[Marcolongo and Paja, 2017]. In the second level, the regional one, in relation with the
national level, we can see major differences in the institutional body. On the one hand,,
Insular Portugal, being an autonomous region, is represented by tow institutions: Regional
Government, followed by Assembleia regional [Marcolongo and Paja, 2017]. On the other
hand, Mainland Portugal is formed of three regional institutions [Marcolongo and Paja,
2017]: *"[...] the Direções, the Delegações and the Administrações Regionais* [Marcolongo
and Paja, 2017, p. 6]. These three regional institutions have an important role in the
regional structure. The last level, the municipal, is represented by municipalities (Câmara
Municipal) and Assembleia Municipal [Marcolongo and Paja, 2017].

To summarise, a framework of institutions in Portugal (see figure 3.1) was elaborated by
[Marcolongo and Paja, 2017], presenting all the levels, institutions and their role.

	Insular Portugal	Mainland Portugal	
National level	Ministry and Secretariat of State	Ministry and Secretariat of State	defines the strategic framework of the national territory and the regional and local development
Regional level	Autonomous Region (Regional Government and Assembleia regional)	Decentralized units of the National Government (the Direcções, the Delegações and the Administrações Regionais)	defines the strategic framework of the regional territory, in close articulation with national policies; lays down the guideline for local planning
Municipal level	Càmara Municipal and Assembleia Municipal	Càmara Municipal and Assembleia Municipal	manages the strategic development of the municipal territory and the land use regime

Figure 3.1. Institutional structure in Portugal
[Marcolongo and Paja, 2017, p. 6]

The controversies of welfare state model and neo-liberalism occurred due to practices
and interactions that emerged when the concept of mega-events started to become more
common in urban development, being associated with this new tool of large-scale urban
development projects. We can argue that these mega-events have become themselves urban
governance cultures, therefore this is the argument why it is important to present this tool

as part of governance cultures in the next subsection.

Urban Governance of Mega-events

Mega-events have become an important component of major cities through their role in transforming these urban areas. They represent the new form of urban governance [Qu and Spaans, 2009] and we can specify that these projects are more presented in urban development through several events held by major cities. To contextualise, Doanld Getz, a researcher from University of Calgary, Canada presented the concept of mega events [Fayos-Solá, 1998], describing them as:

"[...] planned occurrences of limited duration which have an extraordinary impact on the host area in terms of one or more of the following: tourist volumes; visitor expenditures; publicity leading to a heightened awareness and a more positive image; related infrastructural and organizational developments which substantially increase the destination's capacity and attractiveness." [Fayos-Solá, 1998, p. 242]

The author highlights that mega-events have become an important tool to promote urban regeneration and to attract investments for these projects. The decision has led to new formalities in urban planning. This is explained in a statement which describes how *"[The] synergies of these initiatives led to partnerships that, roughly speaking, combine the procedures of partnership and "contracting between public actors, private and associative organizations around strategic projects"[...]."* [Ferrão, 1995], as cited in [Machado, 2017, p. 1]. This is a very important insight since this structure effectively combine the public and private sector, creating a strong connection between actors influencing the decision-making process in urban development.

It is said that this tool which created these structural partnerships is very effective in speeding the development of a project by concentrating significant resources in a temporal and spatial way [Vita and Morandi, 2018]. Therefore, we can identify why this tool has become a preference for major cities around the world. However, we have to take into consideration that these events are more than just an opportunity to mark an historical event or to promote a regeneration project:

"[While] World's Fairs historically were celebrations of science and technology, more recently they have also been driven by local desires to make major investments in infrastructure and to revitalize urban neighborhoods [...]." [Wilson and Huntoon, 2001, p. 2], as quoted in [Vita and Morandi, 2018, p. 2]

These events targeted areas which experienced a decay and there are no longer integrated in the urban system, being avoided by social groups, areas such as ghettos or obsolete industrial areas. The mega-events represents an opportunity to recreate attractive urban spaces in these obsolete sites. For instance, *"[...] the legacies of mega-events can consist of decrease of the urban footprint: for instance, by reclaiming polluted soils and waters as well as experimenting in the fields of green architecture, energy, and mobility [...]."* [Vita, 2010], [Case, 2012], [Valerie Viehoff and Gavin Poynter (eds), 2015], as cited in [Vita

and Morandi, 2018, p. 5]. Mega-events represent an excellent opportunity to reintegrate obsolete areas that require a remediation due to pollution or other elements that affect the environment and due to the fact that the operation requires a large budget unable to be covered by local authorities, these events are an opportunity to acquire investments for the renewal project.

The outcome of mega-events is commonly known for creating a urban space which successfully reintegrates areas in the city and they receive positive feedback from citizens. However, other issues affect these projects and it questions whether these projects are still reliable in urban development:

> *"[...] while mega-event legacies can be potentially positive, their short-term outcomes can be reduced by poor financial and economic performances, leading to increases in public debt."* [Vita and Morandi, 2018, p. 7]

The author suggests that the deficit accumulated by these events represents a risk for a development project and we can assist at a failure of achieving the desired outcome affecting the public budget which could influence the emergence of conflicts between local authorities and citizens, which are the contributors of this public budget. To move forward and to investigate the urban governance of these mega-events and their legacy, governance processes will represent the guide of this action, representing the second component of levels and dimensions of urban governance.

3.5.2   Governance Processes through which Bias is Mobilised

This subsection highlights governance process that presents elements focused on interactions through which mobilisation of bias take place. In this context, *"[The] level of the mobilisation of bias (governance process) is where strategic projects for governance purposes are created and managed, and where power games are played out through coalition building and manipulation in games of power politics."* [Healey, 2004, p. 14]. The author points out an interesting aspect of governance process, describing it as a tool of interaction and transfer of power to support coalitions and their role in urban development projects. These power games [Healey, 2004] are reflected through five components, identified by [Healey, 2004, p. 15] and they represent direct quotations highlighted through bold font:

- **Networks and coalitions** - they represent *"[Connections] made to residents in many situations [...].* [Coaffee and Healey, 2003, p. 1984] and *"[...] to significant 'mainstream' arenas and networks [...]."* [Coaffee and Healey, 2003, p. 1984]. [Coaffee and Healey, 2003] presents the role of *Networks and coalitions* as a mediator between citizens and the State through different channels. In addition, it represents the politicians as a coalition that serves the purpose of decision-making in urban areas.
- **Stakeholder selection process** - this process involves *"[Inclusive] selection of who gets involved in area committees [...]."*; [Coaffee and Healey, 2003, p. 1984]. The stakeholders represent an essential component of governance process due to its role in creating connections between institutions and their close cooperation;

- **Discourses** - they are focused on *"[Strong] daily life [...] experiences of place [...] issues/conflicts over priorities [...]."* [Coaffee and Healey, 2003, p. 1984] and on *[Knowledge] resources enriched in range and type [...]."* [Coaffee and Healey, 2003, p. 1984]. The author is trying to point out a specific element that generates issues in urban governance and disturbs the process over solving personal conflicting situations;
- **Practices** - they are *"[...] accessible; diverse; facilitative; transparent; sincere [...]."* [Coaffee and Healey, 2003, p. 1984]. Through practices we can identify how decisions are carried out by actors and how these practices can influence governance process;
- **Specification of laws, formal competences and resource flow principles** - they *"[...] value local initiative and encourage experiment."* [Healey, 2004, p. 17]. This is associated with certain rules that governance process works with and depends on, since a set of laws coordinates urban governance and there is a need of a set of principles the actors need to follow.

The last subsection will present the final level of urban governance, together with its dimensions.

3.5.3   Specific Episodes

The third layer of analysis will be focused on *specific episodes* that emerged through urban governance. Urban governance through *"[The] level of specific episodes is highly visible and experienced directly in the timescale of daily encounter and action."* [Healey, 2004, p. 14]. The author suggests that these episodes represent chronological events in urban governance through which we can identify key features in a specific case study. Specific episodes can be identified through daily activities, which means that in relation to large-scale urban development projects, actions and events on a specific timeline represent episodes in urban governance. In addition, *"["External"] influences flow into specific episodes through the experience of actors, through the networks, discourses and legal frameworks, which shape governance processes and through the broad social, economic and political forces that shape governance cultures."* [Healey, 2004, p. 15]. To contextualise, this highlights the strong connection between the dimensions of the second layer and third layer, making governance process dependent on specific episodes. The dimensions identified in *specific episodes* are a diversity of actors, arenas and interactive practices [Healey, 2004].

The last section (3.6) of the theoretical approach will present the outcome of urban governance through the presentation of public spaces.

3.6   The Outcome of Urban Governance

Urban governance, as we can see in section 3.5, represents a complex process and it integrates new institutional structures that determined the emergence of new practices in urban planning. In the end, it is interesting to identify the outcome of this process, what features urban governance created in urban areas and what issues in urban space we can identify, based on urban governance. First of all, the attention will be focused on the world expositions and their impact.

The Implications of World Expositions on a Local, National and International Scale

Urban governance had the role to implement several features in a target area and this represents an important outcome and this represented a new practice in mega-events as well. Portugal's urban governance can be associated with the full involvement of the State:

> *"[The] same is held true by Frederickson (1999) that traditional public administration focused on government as an actor amid clashing interests each seeking to "win," norms, rules, and structure refocuses public administration on government actors as embedded in networks of cooperation which often transcend the public sector."* [Sable, 2010, p. 4]

This practice influenced urban planning and it suggests that decisions were influenced by the political parties ruling the government. It can be argued that this represents a positive and negative outcome in the same time. On the one hand, if all governmental institutions are ruled by the same political colour, decision-making process would work properly since there are common political goals and cooperation between State actors would also be successful and conflicts would be nonexistent, shaping an urban governance with a positive outcome. On the other hand, if different political colours rule different institutions, conflicts emerge caused by political rivalry which would affect urban planning and development projects. Overall, this represented a new governance culture, focused on mega-events and it shaped a unique structure with practices that were focused on recreating a good image of world expositions, which have started to become unsustainable in different cities around the world. The State considered that only by creating a structure of public institutions and companies with several subsidiaries, fully controlled by the government, would succeed in reversing the balance in favour of world expositions. This resulted in the creation of a culture of subsidiaries, the local authority in this case representing a gateway for world expositions.

Urban governance - a Cluster of Mega-events

The implications of organising a world exposition give confidence to planners and it shows that it's possible to organise other events that would continue creating a positive image of world expositions and planning practices. However, we have to take into consideration that an external factor influenced this process. In this context, technological progress had a significant impact in mega-events, especially in organising events that have large audiences, like cultural, sports or other types of mega-events:

"[...] the technological development and innovation of the late 20th century through the spread of television in people's life, allowed international sport events to become one of the most effective ways for a city to place itself on the world stage, even for a few days, and demonstrate itself as a successful city." [Whitson and Macintosh, 1996], as cited in [Metaxas et al., 2011, p. 21]

It is known that the media experienced a fast growing technology and gained more power on the mega-events scale, which had a significant impact on events organised around the world. The possibility to broadcast these events on a local, national and international scale represented a new branding strategy that the media took advantage of and it has become an important actor in these events. Nowadays, the media managed to develop a large network focused around events, a lot of people depend on this and of course there are also significant financial gains that the media receives depending on the audience.

Urban Governance and its Role in the Creation of Neighbourhoods

The process of urban governance creating new city districts represents an innovative achievement in urban development and this was possible through the collaboration between the State and private sector, nowadays known as public-private partnerships. The main objective of these public-private partnerships is to create successful projects that would integrate several objectives, but Portugal expected two important elements that would represent the outcome of large-scale projects:

"[...] national and local governments have increasingly sought to build [public/private] partnerships for local development that are focused on, or incorporate, tourism'. [Shaw and Williams, 2004, p. 206], as quoted in [Mordue, 2007, p. 449]

This suggests that urban governance and the creation of public-private partnerships through hosting mega-events for regenerating obsolete areas are also aimed to promoting tourism. Portugal's main economic activity is tourism and automatically its main income is from tourism, which explains the rationale behind organising mega-events in Portugal. In this context, the so called *tourist enclaves* emerged as a result of strong commercial interests [Edensor, 2000], as cited in [Mordue, 2007]. The end of a mega-event marks the development of a new district and several touristic facilities, therefore *"[...] street entertainments, tourist shopping, hotels, restaurants, various cultural attractions and tourist signage focus the urban tourist gaze in particular ways, spontaneous social contact is likely to be minimal in the enclave."* [Mordue, 2007, p. 450]. The author is describing the effect of these facilities, such as social interaction, which becomes an issue mainly because several social groups visit this area, creating a cluster where people from different locations meet in the same place but don't interact on a daily basis because they meet only when they visit this specific area. All these groups interact through public and leisure spaces, which represents the main discourse of the local authorities when they promote these projects:

"[...] the public space/tourist space binary is refuted by the many public officials and private investors, who voice the familiar clarion call that urban tourism development

benefits the local economy and physical environment while providing greater leisure and
'lifestyle' opportunities for the local populace as a whole [...]." [Hall, 1994], [Madrigal,
1995], [Hannigan, 1998], [Urry, 2000], as cited in [Mordue, 2007, p. 450].

The author suggests that mega-events followed by a regeneration project represented an
excellent opportunity to create a multi-functional area that would integrate public spaces,
businesses and other features and this was the right opportunity for authorities to promote
tourism to increase the reputation of this new district and in the same time to make
its residents satisfied with new spaces. However, this multi-functional feature and its
role in attracting both tourists and residents highlights one problematic aspect in urban
development. We ask ourselves if the outcome of these projects focuses on the right
to the city and is obvious that these large-scale projects successfully gives the right to
people to be in these spaces [Lefebvre, 1996], as cited in [Mordue, 2007] but this topic
is still problematic and, in this context, the question is whether all social groups have
the right to these high-quality spaces. However, it is not certain if they give the right to
urban life [Lefebvre, 1996], as cited in [Mordue, 2007]. One last important insight of urban
governance and its practices in a newly formed neighbourhood is the fact that *"[...] as part
of this competition, homogenising global culture is accompanied by simultaneous attempts to
develop a city's local, distinctive culture to attract business investment. Culture itself has
been increasingly commodified in an attempt to attract tourism and inward investment."*
[Kearns and Paddison, 2000, p. 845]. Therefore, we can argue that in relation to tourism
a strong discourse was formulated to attract business investments that would encourage
the development of tourism in a newly created area.

Gaps of Urban Governance

The work of Patsy Healey represents an important framework of urban governance and it
fully explains the processes and structures that occur in urban development. However, this
work contains certain elements that were not fully considered, which means that it leaves
a gap of knowledge to what precisely urban governance shapes in a target area. These
gaps represent parts of urban governance that are uncertain and these created dynamics
that cannot accurately be presented, but it can highlight the fact that urban governance
cannot cover every aspect of a development project or regeneration project.

The gaps of urban governance represent challenges that occur in the urban governance
process and it affects the urban system. The following statement proves that these gaps
represent challenges of urban governance that cannot be solved easily:

*"[The] difficulty for urban governance today is that no one spatial scale is predominant as
the scale at which economic and social problems can be solved [...]."* [Collinge, 1996], as
cited in [Kearns and Paddison, 2000, p. 848].

The authors explain that there are some contrasts on certain scales and this means
that urban governance work on equal scales and depend on each other to support a
positive outcome. This leads to a problematic aspect of urban development through urban
governance, meaning that it could influence the emergence of conflicts through practices

and other means. This aspect influenced the decision-making in urban development and the fact that urban governance is a new concept in this field has led to serious issues:

"[In] the absence of sufficient knowledge, there is a danger that policy-makers assume that one model provides a sufficient solution to the spatial organisation of activity, most recently economic cluster theory [...]." [Bennett et al., 1999], [Gordon and McCann, 2000], [Simmie and Sennett, 1999], as cited in [Kearns and Paddison, 2000, p. 848]

Urban governance and its actors experience a new form of practice in urban planning and the fact that this model started to be used only recently, it was difficult for developers and other actors to continue their profession in a different way, with different practices and actors. One major issue highlighted by the authors in the previous quote is the fact that persons responsible with a development project and part of the urban governance make confusions, usually in the case of large-scale urban development projects, formulating that the success of these projects depends upon creating an economic cluster [Bennett et al., 1999], [Gordon and McCann, 2000], [Simmie and Sennett, 1999], as cited in [Kearns and Paddison, 2000], which is a wrong approach in planning and we can argue that this could be the rationale behind these gaps, which can be associated with further challenges in urban governance. Another issue is highlighted in a statement describing that *"[It] is probably true to say that, in the current circumstances of multilevel governance and overlapping networks, our understanding of how the urban system operates is inadequate for governance to be effective."* [Kearns and Paddison, 2000, p. 848]. This suggests that the complexity of the urban system is the second governance issue that creates gaps in urban development and the fact that urban governance works on an extended number of levels involving several arenas and networks creates breaches in achieving all the objectives of urban planning in the case of urban governance.

Overall, it is clear what gaps of urban governance represent the continuity of urban governance, an ongoing urban governance trying to fill in these gaps through urban management which represents the main practice to adjust issues and to maintain urban governance in a target area. It is stated that *"[The] city is not always the arena in which solutions can be found–although it is most often the arena in which they ought to be implemented."* [Kearns and Paddison, 2000, p. 849]. This suggests that the city represents urban governance's ground and filling the gaps still represents the next step of urban governance after a project, under its rule, is finished. We can understand that there is interest in filling the gaps and that the actors are aware that urban governance cannot achieve a proportion of 100% success in urban development, that's why urban management emerged because through this activity, developers maintain an ongoing urban governance and through this they focus on parts that are disturbing the urban system and creating weak points in the city. Urban management has the role to identify dynamics that creates disturbing elements in the urban system.

To summarise, it is interesting to research urban governance and its features and Patsy Healey's work represents the most interesting research on urban governance. The following section will present an illustration of the theoretical framework that would clarify the research focused on urban governance.

3.7   Illustration of Theoretical Approach

The research will be focused on a theoretical framework inspired by Patsy Healey's levels and dimensions, analysing urban governance through specific episodes which integrate actors, arenas, settings and interactive practices, networks and coalitions, stakeholders, discourses, practices, specification of laws, and which function on certain values named governance cultures [Coaffee and Healey, 2003], [Healey, 2007], as cited in [Healey, 2004]. This idea of presenting specific episodes through dimensions of urban governance is inspired by [Kirilko et al., 2017], as cited in [Radu, 2018]. An illustration of Healey's framework is presented in table 3.2

Level	Dimension
Specific episodes (e.g.)	• Actors – roles, strategies and interests • Arenas – institutional sites • Settings and interactive practices – communicative repertoires
Governance processes through which bias is mobilised (e.g.)	• Networks and coalitions • Stakeholder selection processes • Discourses – framing issues, problems, solutions, etc. • Practices – routines and repertoires for acting • Specification of laws, formal competences and resource flow principles
Governance cultures	• Range of accepted modes of governance • Range of embedded cultural values • Formal and informal structures for policing discourses and practices

Table 3.2. Levels and Dimensions of Urban Governance
[Coaffee and Healey, 2003], [Healey, 2007], as cited in [Healey, 2004, p. 15]

To be more specific, urban governance will be the main research topic in this paper. The first aspect analysed will be factors of development and governance which will highlight the context of development and governance through empirical analysis. The second aspect represents the first level of analysis [Kirilko et al., 2017], as cited in [Radu, 2018]; governance cultures, which describe values and ideals of urban governance. This is followed by specific episodes and their dimensions described at the beginning of this section (see table 3.2), representing the second and third level of analysis [Kirilko et al., 2017], as cited in [Radu, 2018]. The outcome of urban governance will be analysed after describing episodes. Through outcome certain gaps will be identified in urban governance to present the drawbacks of urban governance and how urban governance handles these gaps through an ongoing process. An illustration of theoretical framework was elaborated and it can be observed in figure 3.2
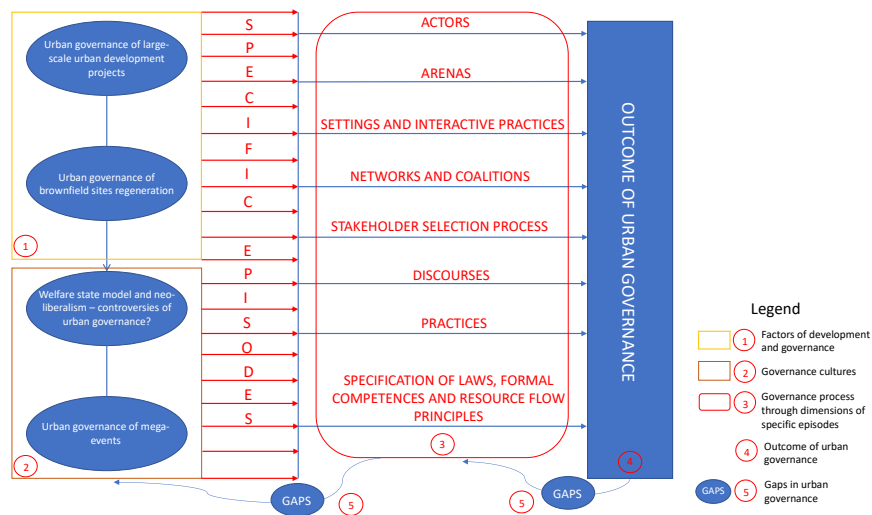
Figure 3.2. Illustration of Theoretical Framework
Inspired by [Kirilko et al., 2017], as cited in [Radu, 2018]

The next step will bring into discussion the case study in chapter 4, representing the large-scale project that presents urban governance and its implications in Portugal, which will be discussed in the empirical analysis.

Case Study Introduction 4

4.1 Parque das Nações (Park of Nations)

Parque das Nações or Park of Nations represents the case study of this research focused on urban governance in the regeneration of a brownfield site through the implementation of a large scale-urban development project. The case study of Parque das Nações represents one of the most successful urban development operation in Portugal. Located in eastern Lisbon, in Lisbon's Metropolitan Area and on the riverbanks of Tagus River, Parque das Nações had a different function in the 80s and 90s [van Miltenburg, 2010]. During this time it was an industrial obsolete area, accommodating oil refineries and other industries that lost interest in time due to its activity, realising a large quantity of pollutants in Lisbon which determined its isolation from Lisbon [van Miltenburg, 2010]. The reason is the fact that it was one of the poorest areas in Lisbon and this determined the practice of antisocial activities, such as drug dealing and prostitution [Neves, 2018].

This determined the local authorities to take action and there was a strong involvement of the State and politicians were seeking an opportunity to internationalise Lisbon. Therefore, the idea of bringing the world exposition events in Lisbon represented the gateway to regenerating eastern Lisbon. After the Expo '98 World's Fair [Torres, no year] hosted in 1998, the regeneration process of the area started, excepting for the expo site which was already regenerated for the event. Figure 4.1 present the location of the World Expo '98 and the development project.
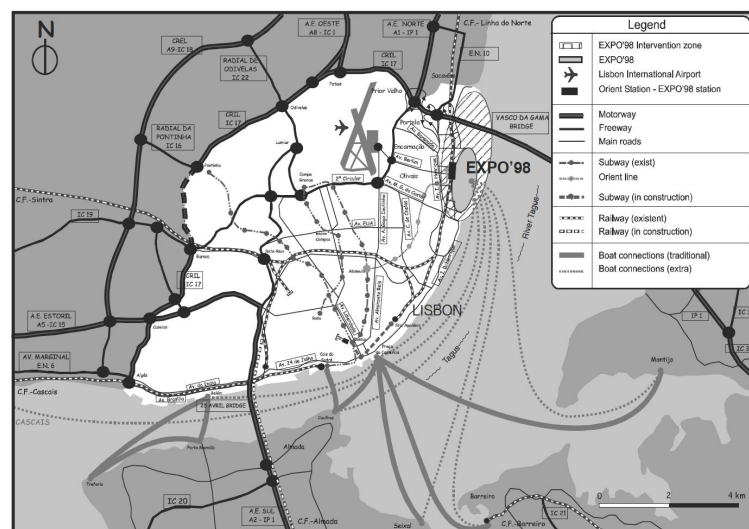
Figure 4.1. Parque das Nações - location and accessibility
[European Conference of Ministers of Transport, 2003, p. 216]

The development process represented one of the most complex and challenging operation for local developers. The complexity of this project was caused by operations that would involve a large number of participants supported by a large budget. These operations were focused on relocating the industrial facilities or demolishing them, the decision being made by experts who took the responsibility of preparing the site for the implementation of a new built environment. In this context, a public-private partnership emerged [Torres, no year] between the State and private sector, the state being the main decision-maker and the private sector depended on this aspect, not having the role of developing the area but participating through investments. Three phases of development where identified by [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007] and they are presented in table 4.1.

Phase	Period	Description (in-text quotations)
1	1993-1995	Land appropriation
2	1995-1998	Preparation and hosting of EXPO '98
3	1998-2010	Full redevelopment to a new city district

Table 4.1. Phases of development in Parque das Nações
[Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007, p. 88]

The World Expo '98 corresponds with the second phase, while the development of Parque das Nações corresponds with the third phase. These two phases are known for being well connected through the Urbanisation Plan, focused on both World Expo '98 and the development of Parque das Nações when and update was made to support the further development [Machado, 2017]. A timeline was developed which highlights key moments in this project dated even before the idea of development emerged, in figure 4.2.

2014 A document focused on mobility was elaborated, the Master Policy.
2013 Along the 11 km waterfront a cycle path was built.
2012 Parque das Nações is incorporated in Lisbon Municipality and a New Master plan is approved.
2011 The government extinguished the Parque EXPO 98, S.A. company.
2010 Until this year, Parque EXPO 98, S.A. carried out the deficits. Therefore, the government will take this responsibility. The year 2010 marks the end of third phase of the project.
2008 The first edition of the Participatory Budget was elaborated by the municipality of Lisbon to include citizen participation. In addition, the Municipality of Lisbon elaborated the Riverfront General Plan.
2007 The last plot was sold right before the economic crisis.
2002 The year 2002 marked the property sale of up to 1113000 m² of gross floor space, being sold to overseas and Portuguese investors.
1999 The development of office and commercial space started near Oriente Station.
1998 The World Expo 1998 takes place. The design competition for the Riverside Arc starts, being promoted by The National Architect Association. This marks the end of the 2nd phase of development.
1996 The sales for plots for Expo 1998 finished and when Expo 1998 opened, approximately 18000 apartments were built. Between 1996-1999 non-permanent buildings from Expo 98 had to be dismantled.
1995 The Municipality of Lisbon and Loures have approved the Municipal Guidance Plans, which is focused on the renewal of eastern part of Riverside Arc.
1994 The Ministry of Planning and Development adopted the "Development Plan for the Action Zone of EXPO 98", requested by Parque EXPO 98, S.A.
1993 The 1st phase of the project is implemented and marks the start of the renewal process. The "Intervention Zone" and the Expo 98 site is developed. In this context, Parque Expo 98, S.A. was formed.
1992 Strategic Plan of Lisbon was elaborated, focused on urban development. In addition, the application for Expo 98 was approved by B.I.E.
1991 The location of Expo 1998 was chosen, therefore eastern part of Lisbon would host the exposition.
1990 The Regional Plan for the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, being focused on formulating a comprehensive urban regeneration.
1989 Portugal submits its candidature to B.I.E. to host Expo 1998.
1988 The competition for the riverfront increased and designs, along numerous urban studies were carried out.
1987 The majority in Parliament was obtained by a single party, which resulted in a political stability in Portugal.
1975 A land policy is being issued to prioritise areas for urban development .
1950 Housing projects were developed in the eastern side of Lisbon, without achieving its objective of changing the status of the area.

Figure 4.2. The timeline of the urban regeneration project
[Lourenço, 2002], [Krajnik et al., 2013], [Edwards et al., 2004], [AIVP, 2015], [Pereira and Nofre, 2011], [Costa, 2010], [Carrière and Demazière, 2002], [Pacheco, 2007], [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007], [Pereira, 2017], as cited in [Radu, 2018, p. 26]; [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007, p. 88]

The outcome was the creation of six detail plans [PORTAL DAS NAÇÕES, 2014e], [van Miltenburg, 2010] and the delimitation of each detail plan can be observed in figure 4.3.

Figure 4.3. Parque das Nações - detail plans
[PORTAL DAS NAÇÕES, 2014e]

The Urbanisation Plan and the detail plans are described in the empirical analysis, section 5.3. In addition, the map of the detail plans in figure 4.3 can also be found in section 5.3, figure 5.9. Each detail plan has different elements, it incorporates several facilities, therefore a short description of these detail plans will be made to give a first insight on this case and what this project has created.

PP-1 - Zona Central

Zona Central, or Central Area, represents the core of Parque das Nações and the main area where access is being made [van Miltenburg, 2010]. This was possible through the metro line and the station Oriente which is a multi-modal station that connects the area with Portugal and it also has the role to connect the area and Lisbon worldwide, representing one of the major transport hubs in Portugal, through every type of transport (train, bus etc.) [van Miltenburg, 2010]. Other characteristics that we can identify is the fact that it's the main commercial area of Parque das Nações, accommodating the a large mall, it integrates business facilities, large pedestrian areas and gardens with high-quality urban furniture [van Miltenburg, 2010].

PP-2 - Zona da EXPO'98

This area represents the former site of the World Expo 98, which incorporates leisure facilities and restaurants [van Miltenburg, 2010]. The most interesting part is the fact that the developers prioritised this area to become a pedestrian area with cycling paths, leaving the car users with small lanes [van Miltenburg, 2010]. It is known that this zone represents the main attraction of Parque das Nações not because it hosted the World Expo'98, but because of its strip which integrates several green areas, mainly gardens [van Miltenburg, 2010] and it has well-equipped public spaces, transforming the area into a perfect place to take a stroll.

PP-3 - Zona Sul

Zona Sul, or Southern Area represents a residential detail plan that integrates large-scale apartment buildings, that offer a view towards the Marina, and it accommodates a private hospital [van Miltenburg, 2010].

PP-4 - Zona Norte

A larger residential area, compared to Zona Sul, is Zona Norte, or Northern Area, which integrates large commercial facilities that benefit from a train station, called Moscavide Train Station [van Miltenburg, 2010]. In addition, it accommodates an university that has an attractive public space filled with green areas, and housing for students [van Miltenburg, 2010].

PP-5 - Zona de Sacavém

Zona de Sacavém, or Sacavém Area, represents the third residential area in Parque das Nações, with large-scale apartments that have commercial facilities at the ground floor [van Miltenburg, 2010]. The area tends to be the most isolated detail plan in Parque das Nações, public transport being almost inaccessible in this area [van Miltenburg, 2010].

PP-6 - Parque Urbano do Tejo e Trancão

Parque Urbano do Tejo e Trancão, or Tagus and Trancão Urban Park represents the largest green space in Parque das Nações, with large spaces and it has several recreational facilities, such as playgrounds, running paths, a soccer pitch and tennis courts [van Miltenburg, 2010].

The final product of urban governance in eastern Lisbon is identified by [Torres, no year, p. 1]: *"[This] redeveloped neighborhood now comprises an urban park, Parque das Nações, or Park of Nations, which was designed to become a tourist attraction, and the area surrounding the park became a new residential, business, and government facilities district. The neighborhood recently earned the status of freguesia, or separate city district, in Lisbon."* [Torres, no year, p. 1].

Finally, since the case was presented, the research will move on with the empirical analysis, presenting urban governance and its outcomes in eastern Lisbon.

Empirical Analysis 5

5.1 Introduction

Chapter 5 will present the empirical analysis, focused on answering the main research question through the analysis of three sub-research questions. Three main issues will be discussed here: the rationale behind developing the brownfield site (in section 5.2), which corresponds with the first sub-research question, followed by urban governance that influenced the development (in section 5.3), and, in the end, the outcome of urban governance through public spaces (in section 5.4).

5.2 East Lisbon - from an Industrial Site to an Integrated Area

The first sub-research question represents the first level of analysis, inspired from [Kirilko et al., 2017], as cited in [Radu, 2018], and it will present the rationale behind developing the brownfield site that became Parque das Nações nowadays. The first level of analysis is focused on historical insights of Portugal in relation to the brownfield, the political change that occurred in Portugal, the idea of regenerating a brownfield through the implementation of a large-scale urban development project and governance cultures, adapted from [Healey, 2007], as cited in [Healey, 2004, p. 15], that will present the role of the ideals behind this development projects and controversies that circled around this project. The first element presented in the first subsection will be a short review of the history of Portugal and its role in the industrialisation process of Lisbon.

Historical Insights and the Industrialisation Process of Lisbon

Portugal is known for having a rich historical heritage and Portuguese people are proud of their history and of the age when Portugal was one of the most powerful empires in the world, the Colonial Age. Therefore, there is a connection between the history of Portugal and how the city of Lisbon was shaped. The case study of Parque das Nações represents Portugal's major achievement in regenerating and reintegrating a brownfield site. To comprehend and before analysing this case, it is important to highlight the history of the site [Carrière and Demazière, 2002] in relation to the heritage of the Portuguese Empire, which was a major power and its capital, Lisbon, always tended to be the major trading centre in Europe starting from 15th century [Carrière and Demazière, 2002], as cited in [Radu, 2018]. To contextualise, this is reflected in the geographical explorations that took place on three continents, that had the purpose to expand trading routes, increase the economy of the Empire and expand the sphere of influence [Radu, 2018].

Later, in the early 20th century, the ambition of becoming Europe's trading centre started to be reflected in the industrialisation of Lisbon [Carrière and Demazière, 2002], and the spotlight was set on developing *"[...] a vast industrialised port zone on the site of the Cabo Ruivo, in the eastern part of the city."* [Carrière and Demazière, 2002, p. 73]. With the new industrial area on the river banks of Tagus, Lisbon opened new economic partnerships and opportunities, increasing the revenue of the city. In addition, this is reflected in providing cheap transportation using the water, which represents an attractive alternative to transport a large amount goods [Radu, 2018]. The area represented the main economic engine of Lisbon but, in time, it became *"[...] strongly affected by the physical presence of the refinery and petrochemical industries developed by the public company SACOR/PETROGAL."* [Carrière and Demazière, 2002, p. 73], as quoted in [Radu, 2018, p. 29]. An overview of the industrial area is presented in figure 5.1

Figure 5.1. An overview of the industrial area on the riverfront of Tagus
[Parque das Nações Centro Interpretativo, 2015], as cited in [Radu, 2018, p. 30]

The integration of heavy industrial facilities influenced the establishment of social housing through large blocks in two neighbourhoods in Lisbon, Chelas and Olivais [Carrière and Demazière, 2002], as cited in [Radu, 2018]. The outcome of this process is described by [Carrière and Demazière, 2002], being associated with *"[...] the largest social housing estate in the country."* [Carrière and Demazière, 2002, p. 73]. This is important to mention because if we can relate the urban planning scene in Portugal through its history, we can observe that Portugal experienced several successful project even before the integration in EU and the organisation of the World Expo, however they are seen as a failure for Lisbon nowadays, which also fed the idea of having something new in Lisbon, according to [Neves, 2018], but this is another discussion that is not entirely relevant to this research. [Neves, 2018] has another important insight regarding this aspect through an interview held in Cascais, a city close to Lisbon. The discussion was about the fact that we should

not necessarily consider the authoritarian period of Portugal as a dark age for Portugal which concerns urban planning. The success of several social housing projects, according to [Neves, 2018], during the authoritarian regime, contradicts the argument that this regime prevented the proper function of urban planning. However, we can argue that authoritarian regimes represent a barrier for implementing large-scale urban development projects, like the one in eastern Lisbon, due to the fact that private investments are, in general, not supported by these regimes and in some cases forbidden to take part in urban planning. [Neves, 2018] presented three examples of successful social housing neighbourhoods during the dictatorship period and these are Chelas and Olivais, already mentioned by [Carrière and Demazière, 2002], as cited in [Radu, 2018] and, finally, Encarnação. The location of these three neighbourhoods can be seen in figure 5.2 and we can identify their location through the three pins located on the map. The map shows the exact location of these neighbourhoods in present times.
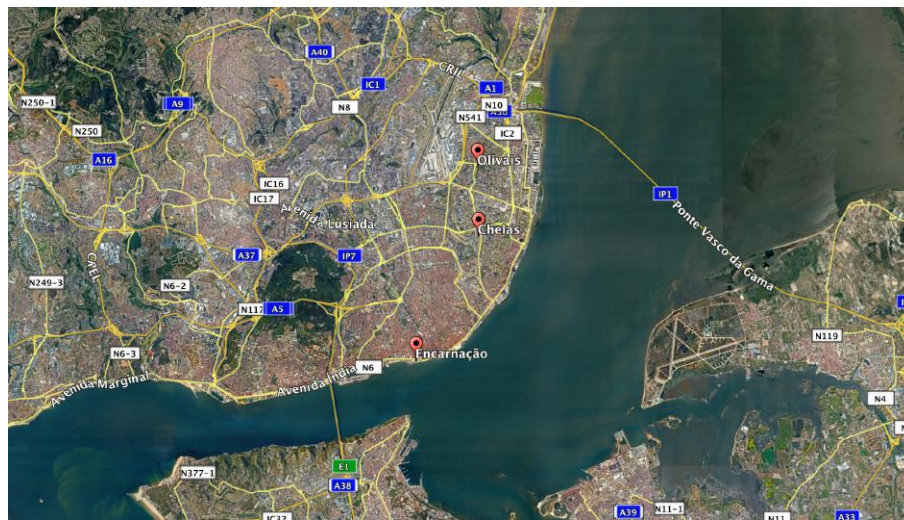
Figure 5.2. Successful social housing projects in Lisbon
[Google Inc., 2018]

As we can observe in the picture above, Olivais and Chelas are located in the proximity of the brownfield site, nowadays Parque das Nações. However, Encarnação is located in the old city centre but it had a significant impact in Lisbon. In time, these neighbourhoods were considered to respond to certain issues but since they were considered social housing neighbourhoods [Neves, 2018], it is known for a fact that:

"[Ranged] in tiers on the slopes surrounding the site, these blocks still remain places where a markedly impoverished population lives [...]." [Gaspar, 1996], as cited in [Carrière and Demazière, 2002, p. 73].

The author highlights the stagnation of these areas in a sense that their status is maintained since their original development and this influenced the status of eastern Lisbon which was labelled as an area with very high poverty and the worst area in Lisbon, as described by [Neves, 2018]. These historical insights are followed by a political change in Portugal which eliminated the authoritarian regime, transitioning Portugal from dictatorship to republic [Silva, 2017]. Following this transition, Pedro Neves has an important insight:

"[...] it was very clear that to fight the negative demographic evolution of Lisbon, Lisbon lost more than 200000 people in the last 20 years and to fight this we needed to have new projects and not traditional social housing development that could not attract anyone, that would be developed in Lisbon to attract people to come back to Lisbon." [Neves, 2018, 16:52].

Through the discussions carried out during the interview, Pedro Neves mentioned that at the end of the authoritarian regime there was still a need for these kind of projects that would respond to urban growth but social housing was out of discussion, proving that they don't represent a sustainable solution for the city because there was a need to integrate more people and to reduce poverty, not to increase it like these three neighbourhoods encouraged in the first place. In this context, it is important to mention that this area started to have a different approach regarding development projects [Neves, 2018]. The reason can be identified in the following statement:

[The] new policy initiatives have focused upon public welfare issues (for example housing and transportation). These policies have also developed significantly with respect to economic development (such as policies encouraging the development of skills, innovation and competitiveness) and the environment." [Marcolongo and Paja, 2017, p. 12].

This suggests that a shift of policies in relation to urban planning occurred in Lisbon Metropolitan Area and, for the first time, the authorities saw an opportunity in eastern Lisbon, not only in the west side. It was a shift of development perspectives regarding locations of development. It was the first time when local authorities realised that the eastern part of Lisbon was neglected way too long. Therefore, this new strategy was transcribed through a series of projects to prepare the transformation of eastern Lisbon into a new cluster of urban development:

"[...] national government programmes such as POLIS, which underline the importance of the environment within urban regeneration, and PER, a program for the improvement of slums, are examples of how the municipalities in the AML have been faced with delivering a new and rapidly developing central government policy agenda." [Marcolongo and Paja, 2017, p. 12].

This suggests that a shift in urban development was decided by the national level and we can deduct that the idea of a large-scale project emerged through these programmes that would support its implementation and it will create new practices in the urban development process of Lisbon. These practices are also related to the fact that Lisbon needed to attract qualified and educated people to increase the economy and the status of the city. Therefore, the idea of Parque das Nações emerged and it was seen as a solution to other major problems Lisbon was unsatisfied with:

"[The] main idea was to promote (. . .) equity within the Lisbon urban area, meaning when you know Lisbon you know you have the backbone of Lisbon that goes from the rail Do Passo do Rosio, (. . .) and west of this line I would say is the rich part of Lisbon, east

of this line was the poor part of Lisbon, the area were Parque Expo took place was the poorest part, not only the poorest, the one with more social pathologies, like prostitution, drugs and at the same time the one that was the worst, environmental. So, [...] the main goal was to correct these pathologies, so it was to fight social inequity and it was to fix the environment." [Neves, 2018, 01:38].

Pedro Neves considers that this was seen as a shift in planning strategies of Lisbon and to even the scales of Lisbon's two important areas, the west side and east side, to create a future perspective for Lisbon and to eliminate the concept of obsolete and degraded areas in Lisbon. In this context, Pedro Neves added that *"[When] you're looking into urban planning, the east part of Lisbon was always the part of the poor until Nations Park was created, OK? So, for the first time, the central government decided to reverse and go from poor to medium and upper-middle class and therefore, to change the social DNA of Lisbon."* [Neves, 2018, 03:51]. Therefore, we identified the strategy of Lisbon in relation to what social groups would be integrated in the industrial area once it will be redeveloped, changing it's practices and it's former model in urban planning which was social housing development. The opportunity to reverse the interactions in the urban space had started to become the main agenda of Lisbon and this was the main concern for Portugal during that time.

It's not difficult to identify how interesting Lisbon's approach in this matter was optimistic and ongoing. Jorge Gaspar argued that this confidence of succeeding in this attempt to balance the scale was determined by the successful experience dated in 1940 when the western part of Lisbon was developed the same way as eastern Lisbon was planned to be developed, but the only difference was that the event was at the national scale, called the Portuguese National Fair which was a success, which boosted the confidence of local authorities [Gaspar, 2018], which he considered was also related *"[...] to get a good example for broker planning and urban planning in Portugal."* [Gaspar, 2018, 07:59]. This implies that urban planning was heading towards a more entrepreneurial planning and the only condition was that the Portuguese authorities won't give too much power to the private sector since they wanted to develop the project through their skills and practices which they considered the best solution and which the project depended on, therefore that's the rationale behind the State's 100% involvement [Neves, 2018]. Jorge Gaspar had another important insight on both west side and east side of Lisbon, considering that these projects were also focused on promoting welfare housing in Lisbon [Gaspar, 2018].

In order to analyse the political change and its effect on brownfield regeneration, it is important to present the characteristics of the brownfield site in eastern Lisbon and its potential in the process of implementing a large-scale urban development project. Therefore, the next section will highlight the characteristics of the brownfield site.

The Characteristics of the Brownfield Site in Eastern Lisbon

The brownfield site in Eastern Lisbon represented one of the major issues that Lisbon was confronting with in the 80's - early 90's. Due to its location and its potential, the local authorities made the redevelopment of this site a crucial objective in changing the status of Lisbon and Portugal. However, the question raised during that time was if the

redevelopment process is reliable and if there are sufficient resources to implement a large-scale urban development project within the brownfield site. The answer to these issues can be observed in identifying the main characteristics of this site. In order to identify them, a review of brownfield sites characteristics was made.

[Hollander et al., 2010, p. 23-24, p. 27-28] identified four characteristics of brownfield sites and several typologies that correspond to each characteristic. Although these characteristics are presented for brownfield sites in general, each site has its own features and a different status. Not every characteristic presented in theory chapter correspond with the site in Lisbon but they were mentioned to have an accurate insight on brownfield typology and to help the reader comprehend this topic. Therefore, based on [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 23-24, p. 27-28], several elements can be identified in the brownfield site in Lisbon:

1) **Site setting**
   - **Isolated landfill sites** - the site is located on the eastern part of the city and due to its location and status, which was an industrial area located close to social housing neighbourhoods, it can be considered an isolated site.
   - **Part of the built urban fabric** - the site is located on the river banks of Tagus River and it *"[...] used to be a completely inaccessible oil refinery site with tens of tanks and extensive areas destined for various petrochemical activities. The site also accommodated a slaughterhouse, explosive depots, and ship repair facilities."* [Špirić, 2015, p. 873], as quoted in [Radu, 2018, p. 26]. In addition of being a heavily industrialised area it also represented an industrial harbour which served for transporting industrial goods.
   - **Isolated brownfield sites** - this site is also associated with isolated brownfield sites due to the fact that this area was subdued to industrialisation at the end of nineteenth century, taking advantage of the railroad located in the proximity of the site [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015].
2) **Common elements**
   - **Abandoned or semi-abandoned, padlocked, rusted and potentially structurally hazardous industrial building structures** - the site was known for becoming obsolete during time [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015] and it integrated *"[Deposit] of shipping containers, open dumps, heavy industries, oil refinery, oil tanks, fuel containers [...]."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 74].
   - **Mounds of toxic and non-toxic industrial waste, lagoons, ponds, pools, and canals** - we can identify toxic industrial waste [Hollander et al., 2010] represented by open dumps that provide storage for surface water [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015].
   - **Underground and surface oil tanks and storage vats** - as mentioned in the first typology, the site accommodated an *[...] oil refinery, oil tanks, fuel containers [...]."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 74].
   - **Above- and below- ground infrastructure** - represents the main feature of the brownfield site due to its heavy industrial facilities [Carrière and Demazière, 2002] that formed a chain of industrial infrastructures through which natural resources were processed, meaning that an oil refinery needed to have a storage space and a complex infrastructure for facilitating this process.
   - **Infrastructure of rail corridors and roads** - a railroad was built [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015] that is still used today and it connected the site with the city and

other towns outside of Lisbon. Regarding road infrastructure, due to the fact that the industry have become obsolete [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015], the whole site was affected and the quality of roads deteriorated.

3) **Location of potential pollutants**

- **In the ground-surface soils of the site** - the oil refineries were functioning unregulated, therefore determining the contamination of the soil [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015]. This process was mostly caused by the construction of the industrial facilities without respecting any form of environmental protection [Špirić, 2015].

- **In the standing and subsurface groundwater** - as mentioned in *common elements*, open dumps [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015] had the role to retain water, which determined the storage of contaminated groundwater.

- **In sediments found in tanks, pools, ponds, rivers, and canals** - the heavy industrial area and its facilities affected the landscape and the contamination of the site scattered around the area, including River Trancão, a tributary of Tagus River that flows through the industrial site, which was considered the "most polluted" river in Europe during that period [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015].

- **In the physical materials of the building construction** - industrial buildings were developed during industrialisation and the common material for developing these structures was asbestos but, nowadays, it's considered to be a health hazard and it was banned in several countries, including Portugal [World Bank Group, 2009].

- **Within site infrastructure, catch basins, ducts, and pipe-work channels** - due to the fact that the whole area integrated heavy industrial facilities, additionally, heavy infrastructures were developed [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015] and the pollutants have spread across the site affecting the infrastructure.

4) **Environmental hazards**

- **Petroleum products (total petroleum hydrocarbons - TPHs)** - the main activity in the brownfield site was focused on oil processing, therefore the contamination was caused by hydrocarbons that contaminated the soil and the groundwater.

The characteristics of the brownfield site highlights the major problems this site encountered, making the redevelopment process complicated. Portugal have put a lot of pressure and a lot of effort to reintegrate the brownfield and it was considered one of the most important projects and, therefore, a number one priority in urban development. The following subsection will present the evaluation and planning process of the brownfield site under the guidance of political change and decentralisation.

Political Change and Brownfield Regeneration in Lisbon

The brownfield regeneration process in Lisbon is related to the historical insights in subsection *Historical insights and the industrialisation process of Lisbon.* Lisbon experienced several changes in the political system in 20th century [Silva, 2017]. Portugal's political transition can be identified after the reign of two authoritarian regimes that represented the authoritarian period from 1926 and 1974, represented by the military dictatorship that ruled from 1926 and 1932 and followed by the Estado Novo regime from 1933 until 1974 [Silva, 2017]. During Estado Novo regime, *[In] the beginning of 1940s, several heavy industries and infrastructures settled in the area [...].* [Cavaco and Afonso,

2015, p. 76]. This was the moment when the area suffered major transformations and the industrial complex *"[...] has continued henceforth, without any spatial planning criteria, taking the main factories and the core activities as a driver for the emergence of a set of other small and medium sized industries."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 76]. The irregular planning of the site represented the main issue and the driving force of the site's major issues. In addition, *"[Illegal] housing and slums have also arisen, propelled by the whole industrial dynamic, in an unlawful process of urbanization that has gone through a significant growth and consolidation until the end of the 70's."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 76].

The political change occurred in 1974 when authoritarian regimes were replaced with a democratic political structure, which marks the introduction of the II Republic [Silva, 2017], influencing the *"[...] modus operandi of sub-national regional and local self-government in Portugal."* [Silva, 2017, p. 10]. During this time, in the end of 1970s, the industrial area in Eastern Lisbon suffered a decline, meaning that *"[...] some of the industries have become obsolete over time and fell down into a process of decline, leading to the deactivation of some factory units that then were being substituted by harbour installations, other industries and a sanitary landfill."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 76]. The site has become problematic and solutions were limited until Portugal was accepted in the European Union on 1st of January 1986 [CVCE. Maria Fernanda Rollo, 2016]. Through the inclusion of Portugal in the European Union, the European Commission introduced new tools, DSS (Decision Support Tools) [European Commission, 2013]. The tools are used to assess these sites [European Commission, 2013] and three indicators were identified by [European Commission, 2013, p. 5] that contribute to brownfield redevelopment:

- **Socio-economic index** - the improvement of socio-economic status of Lisbon was necessary due to Lisbon's decrease and the redevelopment of the brownfield was seen as a solution to respond to urban growth and to consolidate Lisbon's future. During that time, Lisbon's Metropolitan Area experienced *"[Increased] mobility, demand for individual housing quality at lower costs, together with poorly controlled private urbanisation initiatives tied with the residential land market dynamics in the urban–rural interface, and the normative gap regarding its recognition [...]."* [Almeida et al., 2013], [Dawkins and Nelson, 2002], [Gibelli, 2006], as cited in [Abrantes et al., 2016, p. 120].

- **Smart growth index** - the strategy focused on smart growth [European Commission, 2013] was relying on solving the issue of urban growth in Portugal and the approach in this case was to rely on European funds to create a gateway for large investments to increase the budget necessary for this operation [Padeiro, 2014], as cited in [Abrantes et al., 2016]. As a result, *"[These] investments coupled with improved living conditions ended up inducing new patterns of economic and residential development to enlarge Lisbon's peri-urban spaces."* [Abrantes et al., 2016, p. 121]. This had a major role in flowing large funds in Lisbon Metropolitan Area, especially in Eastern Lisbon, represented by a large industrial area.

- **Environmental index** - the identification of environmental issues in a brownfield site represented a priority for the regeneration process to start. These issues will be discussed further on in this chapter, where decontamination procedures will be presented.

The decontamination procedures represents the starting point in the remediation of the brownfield site. Five principles formulated by [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 38-40] will be reflected in brownfield cleaning process of the site in Eastern Lisbon. However, only one principle corresponds with the site in Lisbon since there are five different operations. Therefore, the brownfield site on the river banks of Tagus River was submitted to the most complex cleaning process, *full cleanup*, based on [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 38-40]. This operation was strongly influenced by the deterioration of the industrial site and the process of becoming an obsolete industrial area [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015]. It is known that *"[The] lack of environmental regulation at the time opened the door to all this without regard for the consequences on the environment and the public health."* [Castel-Branco, 1999], as cited in [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 76].

Due to its status and the dangerous pollutant infiltrated in the soil the full cleanup procedure was identified as the best remedial approach in the industrial site. Before the procedure could start, there was a need to make a plan structured on multiple steps to achieve a successful remediation. Five phases of remedial operation was identified by [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 41] and they are used as guidelines in analysing the regeneration of Lisbon's brownfield site. They are represented as direct quotes from [Hollander et al., 2010, p. 41] and can be identified in bold:

- **Initial site investigation** - this area accommodated large industrial factories, which occupied 50 hectares [Lourenço, 2002], such as *"[...] a Petrogal refinery and storage facility [...] Lisbon Industrial Slaughterhouse, the National Depository for Decommissioned Munitions, a waste water treatment plant, a sanitary landfill and the Beirolas solid waste treatment plant [...]."* [Lourenço, 2002, p. 2]. These several facilities were a major issue for Lisbon but the most significant problem can be identified in the vacant land of the area, which was used to illegally dump waste [Lourenço, 2002]. Other characteristics of this brownfield can be identified in the proximity of its limits. For instance, *"[North] to this area stood a planned neighbourhood of the sixties without access to the river and to downtown Lisbon. At the eastern side, the much polluted Trancão river established the border with another Municipality."* [Lourenço, 2002, p. 2]. These specific elements identified in the area represented barrier for decision-making process regarding the industrial site. In addition, *"[West] to this area up to Terreiro do Paço where the Portuguese Government main headquarters stand, small and medium industrial firms have been locating over the last forty years without any urban planning."* [Lourenço, 2002, p. 2].
- **Comprehensive site assessment** - large amounts of hydrocarbons were identified in the groundwater and soil [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015].
- **Identification, evaluation, and selection of comprehensive remedial action alternatives** - certain remedial actions were taken into consideration once the site was assessed [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015]. Therefore, the solution for the site was *"[Excavation], removal of contaminated groundwater (including pumping, separation of water/oil, free product removal and water treatment), construction of a waterproof surface water drainage system."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 74].
- **Implementation of selected remedial action alternatives** - the implementation of the remedial action had the purpose of preparing the land for organising the World

Expo 98 and to create a new neighbourhood in Lisbon Metropolitan Area [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015].

- **Operation, maintenance, and/or monitoring of comprehensive remedial actions** - this process was carried out through the *"[Involvement] of different stakeholders (public, private and research institutions) [...]."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 74].

The remediation and the preparations of the site represent the starting point of implementing a large-scale urban development project. However, this complex operation is difficult to analyse and to describe. Therefore, the tool to analyse the evolution of this project is urban governance. The last subsection will present the first level of urban governance, governance cultures, based on [Kirilko et al., 2017], as cited in [Radu, 2018], to get an insights on values embedded in the development process.

Governance Cultures and Brownfield Regeneration

Urban governance represents the main approach in analysing the process of implementing a urban development project and what we can learn from brownfield regeneration. The foundation of urban governance is represented by the political structure in Portugal which had the major role in decision-making policies. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, Portugal had an authoritarian regime until 1976, which was characterised by centralised control [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996]. After the implementation of a democratic political system, Portugal implemented its constitution [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996], which *"[...] embodied a philosophy of decentralization, strengthening local government autonomy, and going as far as the creation of elected regional authorities which have not yet been implemented."* [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996, p. 25]. This new policy is being reflected in urban planning policies and institutions responsible with planning activity received new roles [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996]. In the 80's there was *"[...] a strengthening of the statutory planning system both through an increase in planning activity at municipality level on development control procedures, and on the development of strategic and environmental concerns on planning issues rather than purely physical land use."* [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996, p. 27]. This emerged in the context of responding to urban issues in Portugal and, especially in Lisbon, such as urban growth, unemployment and demographic increase. This process is usually associated with a welfare state model and literature confirms the existence of a Portuguese welfare state model corresponding with the Southern European welfare state model [Ferrera and Rhodes, 2000], as cited in [Gough, 2008]. This policy doesn't give us a reason to support the fact sustained by most literature, the welfare model as a guide of the brownfield development project. The existence of this welfare state model in Portugal is doubtful since Lisbon, as well as Portugal, had a very high rate of poverty and there's no logic behind the statement that supports the idea of an existent welfare state model in Portugal, since a welfare state model is common in Scandinavian countries where poverty is non-existent and there's no low-income class.

A second controversy emerged around the development of this brownfield site. This controversy presents neo-liberalism as another promoter of urban development in Lisbon Metropolitan Area and the argument to support this statement is the decision to implement

a large-scale urban development project in Eastern Lisbon on a former industrial brownfield site. We can agree that most of large-scale urban development projects are implemented based on neo-liberal ideals but in this case we can argue that the State was involved 100% in urban planning and there is a strong political involvement in projects which contradicts neo-liberal characteristics. The market wasn't entitled to take part in decision-making process and all the investments coming from the private sector depended on the State, therefore we can argue again that this project was too easily labelled as a neo-liberal product but we might say that it was developed on a few ideas of neo-liberalism. Therefore, we might say that we could identify traces of neo-liberalism, for instance, through the existence of public-private partnerships [Øivin Sager, 2013], however we can't label this project a neo-liberal product. As a last insight here, Pedro Neves had one thing to say about htis controversy that has been around large-scale urban development projects:

> *"[I] think it's very important when we say neo-liberal, if everything which is not Marxist is neo-liberal, then yes. So, if you accept that only projects that have in mind the socialist revolution are not neo-liberal then Parque Expo never had in mind to promote the socialistic revolution."* [Neves, 2018, 07:24]

This argument presents the fact that the project never had in mind to use neo-liberal practices, it was supposed to promote sustainability and the construction of a new neighbourhood through the regeneration of a highly polluted area to integrate people, not to develop something that would be in the interest of only the private sector.

To summarise this section, the political evolution of Portugal determined the emergence of urban governance and certain controversies emerged in this context. As presented in this section, the argument of a welfare state model and neo-liberalism embedded in this brownfield regeneration is too broad. The development of a large-scale urban development project on a brownfield site represented the solution and urban governance was the main tool to submit the site to development. Therefore, this marks the transition to the next section, representing the analysis of the second sub-research question, focused on episodes of urban governance in the redevelopment project.

5.3   Episodes of Urban Governance in Parque das Nações

The analysis of the second sub-research question will be focused on the second and third level of urban governance, based on [Coaffee and Healey, 2003], [Healey, 2007], as cited in [Healey, 2004, p. 15]. The analysis in the second and third level is based on the idea inspired from [Kirilko et al., 2017], as cited in [Radu, 2018]. A number of four episodes, inspired from [Radu, 2018], will be presented here to highlight the shift of urban governance and to identify what caused these changes. To present governance process, the episodes will be described through several dimensions, such as actors, arenas, interactive practices [Coaffee and Healey, 2003], [Healey, 2007], as cited in [Healey, 2004, p. 15]. In addition, governance processes will be presented in these episodes through five dimensions, such as networks and coalitions, stakeholders, discourses, practices [Coaffee and Healey, 2003], [Healey, 2007], as cited in [Healey, 2004] and *"[Specification] of laws, formal competences and resource flow principles."* [Coaffee and Healey, 2003], [Healey, 2007], as cited in [Healey, 2004, p. 15]. The episodes analysed here are:

- The Preparations for World Expo 98 and the Creation of Parque Expo 98, S.A.
- The World Expo 98 in Lisbon.
- The Development of Parque das Nações, a New City District.
- The Dismantlement of Parque Expo 98, S.A.

Episode no. 1 - The Preparations for World Expo 98 and the Creation of Parque Expo 98, S.A.

The first episode of urban governance is *The Preparations for World Expo 98 and the Creation of Parque Expo 98, S.A.*, inspired from [Radu, 2018]. This episode corresponds with phase one and two of the redevelopment project [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007], mentioned in section 4, table 4.1. This episode will present the early stages of the development of Parque das Nações and the creation of the company responsible with urban development, Parque Expo 98, S.A. [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007]. Levels and dimensions of this episode will be presented in the following paragraphs.

- **Actors - Roles, Strategies and Interests**

The first phase of development was centred around planning the land for World Expo 98. The initiative of organising this event *"[...] was originally voiced by the National Committee for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries, a body which studied a number of activities to highlight the importance of the Portuguese discoveries of the 15th century."* [Lourenço, 2002, p. 2]. It is interesting to observe how Portugal highlights its history and legacy as a powerful colonial empire and the writer is trying to present the ambition of Lisbon to physically mark this historical event though an urban regeneration project. This committee represented a public organisation, being formed by the government with the purpose [Pinto, 2018] *"[...] of celebrating the 500 years of the maritime trip of Vasco da Gama to India and other events of the discoveries."* [Portuguese Government, 1986], [Martins, 2016], [Parque Expo '98, 1999], as cited in [Pinto, 2018, p. 3]. The discoveries represents Portugal's legacy, since Lisbon has a large population of minorities that emigrated from former colonies. Followed by this phase, the strategy for regenerating the area had to commence and in order to achieve this goal an organisation was formed

in 1992, AMBELIS, responsible with promoting the Portuguese capital city and strategic development, which also included the brownfield site [Metaxas et al., 2011]. The aim, through the foundation of this organisation [Metaxas et al., 2011], was to *"[...] promote the renewal of the urban and economic structure through ideas, projects and resources which are used as a means for the modernization of Lisbon's economy [...] "* [L. Van den Berg and Otgaar, 2000], as cited in [Metaxas et al., 2011, p. 15]. Therefore, there was a need to brainstorm objectives, strategies and to formulate phases based on which the regeneration project will function. This idea to promote the regeneration project was embraced by the Portuguese Government which saw an opportunity through the integration of the European Union. Therefore, an application was made to organise World Expo 98 in Lisbon and it was forwarded to BIE (Bureau International des Expositions) [Edwards et al., 2004], [Bureau International des Expositions, 2018]. The implication of the EU was a significant win for the project. In this context, *"[The] Expo project enhanced the opportunities created by projects already programmed under the national and regional investment plans, financed by the EU Regional Development Fund (ERDF) [...]."* [Cabral and Rato, 2003], as cited in [Marcolongo and Paja, 2017, p. 16]. It is known that European Union contributes with a significant budget for urban development projects within its boundaries, which makes it an important actor, nowadays, due to the fact that large-scale urban development projects require a large budget, making it a costly operation and problematic. However, from a personal point of view, the existence of other projects funded by this program managed to push the project forward due to the simple formalities existent at that time, the funding program having already active projects in Portugal. The location was decided by the Ministry of Planning, who approved the conclusions that would set the project in the eastern part of Lisbon [Gaspar, 2018].

To contextualise, we can argue that the main actors in this episode are institutions from international, national and local level. The next step was the expansion of actors that will have a major role in the development project. Therefore, *"[1993] can be described, in general terms, as the year in which the legal and administrative structure needed by the global project was created, including, inter alia, the creation of the Commissariat and the company charged with the implementation of the global project, Parque EXPO 98, SA."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 31]. This is an important insight on how excellent people in charge of this project pushed the project forward in a short period of time, creating vital institutional structures immediately after the final decision was made to start the remedial process. According to Pedro Neves, Parque Expo was at that time a *"[...] a 99% State-owned company, 1% municipal-owned company and I was in charge of developing public-private partnerships, so of creating companies with the private sector to develop the city according to the Master Plan that the city had decided, the city, Parque Expo had decided."* [Neves, 2018, 00:42]. Therefore, the decision to develop this project under fully influence of the Portuguese Government was decided through a Master Plan in order to extend the number of stakeholders that would create successful partnerships between the State and private sector. However, the municipalities were in charge of the project on a local scale but every decisions taken depended on the State and the municipalities had to consult the government for every decision relating the exposition and project. The Council of Ministers, for instance, formulated several objectives [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998], such as to guarantee that the redevelopment

area will benefit from exceptional urban and environmental planning [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998] and to guarantee *"[...] the rapid development of urban activity within the area in order to minimise the transition period [...]."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 31]. This council took several decision, mostly focused on having a suitable starting point in the remedial process without delays or other issues that could put the project at risk.

In 1993, the legal structure was created with the aid of the Council of Ministers [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998], by creating *"[...] the "Commissariat of the Lisbon International Exposition - EXPO'98", which is directly responsible to the Prime Minister."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 33]. The Commissariat was responsible with assuring that the Exposition will be a successful event [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998], which means that the tasks were to *"[...] prepare, organise and co-ordinate the operations necessary, internal and external, for the holding thereof (the Exposition), i.e. in relation to international organisations, participating countries and other entities."* [Portuguese Government, 1993a], as cited in [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 33]. These responsibilities highlighted by the author were focused on developing a framework for how World Expo'98 will be organised and to create a plan for accommodating participants that will attend the event. Finally, through Decree-Law no. 88/93, the administrative structure was created, being represented by Parque Expo 98, S.A., a company owned by the Portuguese Government and Lisbon Municipality [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998], [Parque EXPO 98, S.A. on Linkedin, no year], responsible with *"[...] the design, execution, construction, operation [...] of the 1998 Lisbon International Exposition [...], as well as involvement in the urban restructuring of the Exposition redevelopment area."* [Portuguese Government, 1993b], as cited in [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 35]. Probably the main feature and an important insight of urban governance was the creation of this company through which the State controls the whole development process. The final actor was invited by Parque Expo 98, S.A. in the project, called LEMA-ULg [Dupagne and de Oliveira Fernandes, 1994], known as Local Environment Management & Analysis, representing a group of researchers from University of Liège, which belongs to Argenco Department [LEMA - Local Environment Management & Analysis, 2018]. The role of the research group was to *"[...] take part as environmental expert in the team and it was directly associated to the development of the very first urban scheme. The most significant purpose of the LEMA-ULg intervention in the urban design process was to provide the managers and decision makers with objective and efficient evaluation methods and communication tools."* [Dupagne and de Oliveira Fernandes, 1994, p. 70]. This presents the vital role for providing guidance during the decontamination phase of the project, to develop new ideas and to bring innovative tools in this project, as the author thoroughly described in the previous quote. To summarise this dimension, a scheme presenting the actors in the preparations made for World Expo 98 was elaborated (see figure 5.3 below).
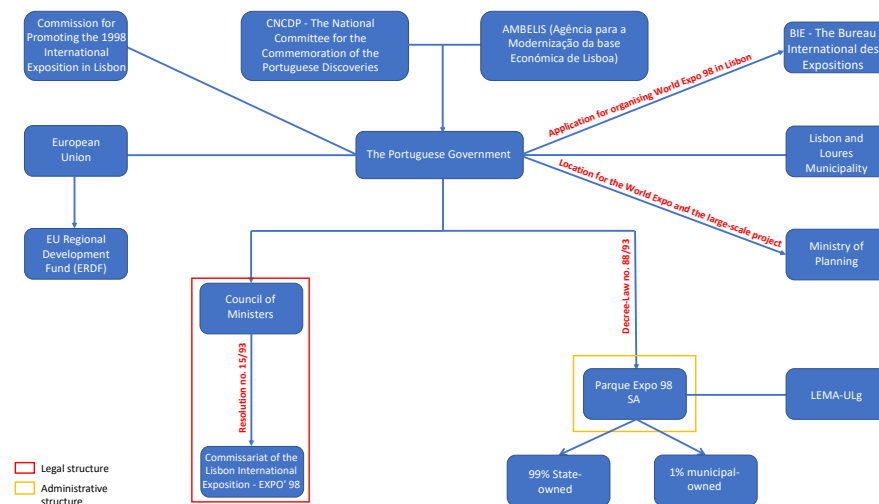
Figure 5.3. Actors in planning the World Expo 98 event
[Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007], [Neves, 2018], [Gaspar, 2018], [Bureau International des
Expositions, 2018], [Lourenço, 2002], [Edwards et al., 2004], [Metaxas et al., 2011],
[Dupagne and de Oliveira Fernandes, 1994]; [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE),
1998], as cited in [Radu, 2018, p. 38]; [Cabral and Rato, 2003], as cited in [Marcolongo
and Paja, 2017]

- **Arenas - Institutional Sites**

The planning of Expo 98 was set on all institutional arenas, important institutions in the
planning scene of Portugal being part of this project. Firstly, the idea was formulated
by the National Committee for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries,
which represent an institution that formulated the idea of organising a World Expo 98
[Lourenço, 2002]. Based on this initiative, the Portuguese Government, representing
the national institution, started the implementation of this project with the help of the
most representative European formation, European Union, together with local institutions
representing Lisbon and Loures, the two municipalities being in charge of these two cities
[Radu, 2018]. Secondly, the national level played an important role in creating the legal
and administrative structure of the project, which influenced the decisions-making in the
intervention zone [Radu, 2018]. To concertise, the Portuguese Government had a powerful
influence in this project, being the institution which had the major role in the development
process.

The strong involvement of the Portuguese Government was possible due to the political
change in Portugal back in the 70's, as described in chapter 5. The European Union had a
major role in institutional decentralisation, which means that *"[From] the organizational
point of view, the process of bidding for the EU funds has led to changes in the state admin-
istration: by expanding the role for the Planning and Regional Development Commission
(CCDRs); and by the quantitate growth of the inter-municipal activities and institutional
arrangements."* [Marcolongo and Paja, 2017, p. 4]. This describes how EU managed to
influence the institutional structure in Portugal and improved the cooperation between
institutions representing the local level.

- **Settings and Interactive Practices - Communicative Repertories**

Actors and their interactions had a major role in setting the preparations for World Expo 98. The Portuguese Government, together with the National Committee for the Commemoration of the Portuguese Discoveries, created a Working Group to prepare the Expo [Edwards et al., 2004]. Other interactions that influenced the decision of organising the Exposition are presented in table 5.1:

Date	Event
October 1989	The Working Group gives to the government a memorandum in which the candidature of Lisbon is suggested.
November 1989	The candidature of Lisbon is presented to BIE.
1990	Studies were conducted in order to find the best place to locate the Exposition and to identify infrastructure requirements. The working group suggests two locations, one in the West of Lisbon and the other in East Lisbon, both on the riverside.
February 1991	The government selects the eastern location, and creates the Commission for Promoting the 1998 International Exposition in Lisbon.
October 1991	The Commission finishes the plan for promoting the Lisbon candidature and the government hands it over to BIE.
December 1991	BIE General Assembly accepts Lisbon candidature.
June 1992	BIE General Assembly chooses Lisbon to host the 1998 World Exposition.

Table 5.1. Interactions that influenced the granting of the Exposition [Parque EXPO'98, 1994], as cited in [Edwards et al., 2004, p. 201]

Followed by these events was the creation of two structures to set the World Expo, the legal and administrative structure [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998], process which can be seen in the first dimension, *Actors - Roles, Strategies and Interests.*

The State established Parque Expo 98, S.A. to carry out the preparations for World Expo 98 and to handle all the formalities necessary to move forward the activities for organising this major event [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998]. This means that *"[The] company was granted State powers and prerogatives in respect of the protection, repossession, demolition and administrative defence of possession of the land and premises within the redevelopment area."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 35]. This presents an interesting insights of how institutions were given full power to develop this project and that the State was always the last actor to decide whether a decision made by other stakeholders could be taken into consideration or not. In addition, Parque Expo 98, S.A. had the full support of the State on other issues as well. For instance, *"[It] should also be noted that Parque EXPO 98, SA was to benefit from tax incentives granted pursuant to Decree-Law no. 234/94, of the 15th of September."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 35]. The full power given to the company, highlighted by the author, also means that certain laws were elaborated to create a safe passage for the company in relation to Portuguese legislation. There is a certain rationality behind the creation of Parque Expo 98, S.A. and it corresponds with shorting the development length [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007].

Governance Processes through which Bias is Mobilised

- **Networks and Coalitions**

The political and institutional situation in Portugal is reflected in the urban planning strategy of Lisbon through the *"[...] history of a centralized political and administrative power that did not create conditions for regional economic and social development [...]."* [Cabral and Rato, 2005, p. 211]. This was in contradiction with the new ambitions the politicians had during this time and solutions had to be identified to create a framework that would support development. In this context, the solutions were found based on the current situation in eastern Lisbon and this is related to industrial growth [Cabral and Rato, 2005] which was associated with *"[...] a continuation of the process of capital concentration and the urbanization of society. In the absence of spatial policies promoting decentralization, capital was allowed to take full advantage of economies of agglomeration without having to relocate production."* [Cabral and Rato, 2005, p. 211]. The author has an interesting point of view here and we can clearly see that deindustrialisation was impossible without changing this centralised structure. Therefore, the politicians saw that there is a need for creating a corridor to support development and this corridor was created through changes in the institutional structure in order to adapt to new forms of urban governance and contemporary times in which this model has been frequently implemented in Europe. The brownfield redevelopment project saw an advantage in this context and, being located in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, it had a suitable chance in attracting a large budget for development [Cabral and Rato, 2005].

The development of Eastern Lisbon was pushed forward by certain coalitions in the governmental institutions. Therefore, *"[In] the 1980s, Lisbon City Hall was ruled by a Conservative coalition that used the Meyer-Heine plan in a discretionary way. With the election of the new executive in 1990, the preparation of a new plan started [...]"* [Oliveira and Pinho, 2008, p. 91]. This highlights the role of political coalitions that were strongly promoting planning documents in Lisbon and how urban development projects depended on these political factions. The developed plan is called Plano Director Municipal, developed by Bruno Soares between 1990-1994, and it introduces Lisbon, for the first time, to communicative planning [Oliveira and Pinho, 2008].

The Conservative coalition ruling Lisbon had an ambition of developing the city, therefore development documents were pushed forward for implementation [Oliveira and Pinho, 2008]. If we analyse the coalition representing the national level, we will observe a different structure. In a interval of nine years, between *"[...] 1986-1995, [...] the PSD, ruled the government with absolute majority in the Parliament. The stability of this government together with the integration of Portugal in the EU, and the economic restructuring it prompted, where the two major political factors conditioning the social policies in this decade."* [de Sousa Santos, 1999, p. 24]. Another insight highlighted by this paper is how important political stability is in Portugal and how political instability might affect urban planning since the institutional framework has a strong political influence. The strategy of developing the third sector suffered a decline starting with the 90's [de Sousa Santos, 1999]. This means that *"[In] 1995, the idea that the social security was not sustainable and would collapse in one decade or two was widespread."* [de Sousa Santos, 1999, p. 28]. This was a major issue in Portugal and, as a personal insight, the risk of a economic

collapse was inevitable and Portugal would be pushed back in the 80's again. The solution towards this problem was the implementation of reforms based on the European social model [de Sousa Santos, 1999]. The model has several basic features [de Sousa Santos, 1999]:

> *"[...] a strong commitment by the state to guarantee high levels of social security to all citizens; an encompassing social protection provided as a matter of right; social solidarity as a precondition of a generalized social citizenship; marginal participation of the market in the provision of welfare."* [de Sousa Santos, 1999, p. 31].

The insight, presented by the author in the previous paragraph, highlights the State's preoccupation of supporting all social groups by providing strong social support, looking for solutions together with the market. After 1995, another insight of promoting a social state was identified in the creation of another opportunity for the politicians to develop a discourse of framing solutions [de Sousa Santos, 1999]. Therefore, *"[At] the end of this period, the idea of the financial crisis of the social security became a major topic in political discourse. In the Fall of 1995, the Socialist Party won the elections and a new phase in the Portuguese welfare state was started."* [de Sousa Santos, 1999, p. 25]. The author highlights that the promotion of this social state is a value that proves that this is a feature of the Portuguese welfare state but, as mentioned before, this can't determine the project of incorporating welfare ideals because the welfare state model is a broad concept and difficult to label.

- **Stakeholder Selection Process**

This process is not a broad and extended one, since there is a limited number of stakeholders involved, due to the fact that the only actors involved are public ones in this early phase of development. However, *"[...] in order to create a better institutional response to the various aspects of the global EXPO'98 project, Parque EXPO 98, SA was, in the exercise of its powers and duties, increasing its large and small scale holdings in the share capital of other companies."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 37]. Due to increasing numbers of responsibilities which made the mission of the company to develop the area very difficult and nearly impossible, there was a need to expand the structure of this company which would automatically increase the number of employees. Figure 5.4 illustrates the subsidiaries of Parque Expo 98, S.A.
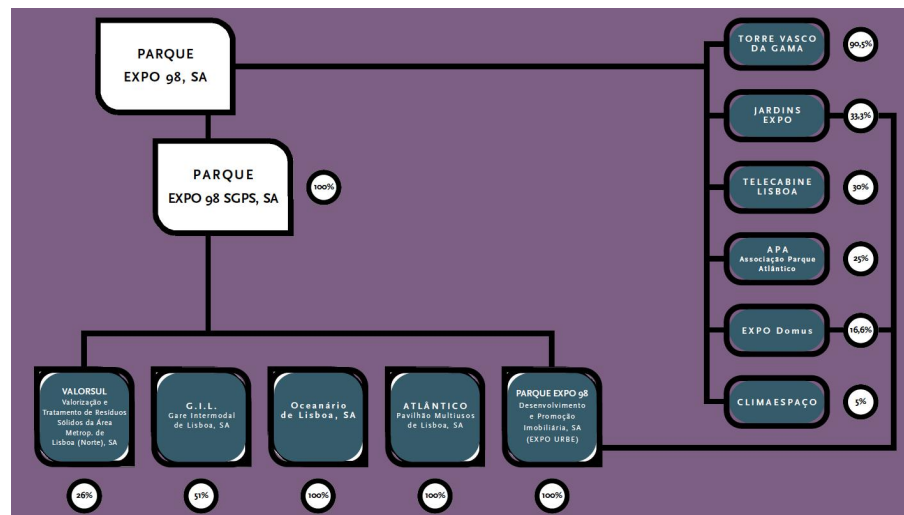
Figure 5.4. Subsidiaries of Parque Expo 98, S.A.
[Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 38]

- **Discourses - Farming Issues, Problems, Solutions, etc.**

The project was seen as an opportunity to regenerate an obsolete industrial area through organising an exposition to celebrate Portuguese discoveries [Cabral and Rato, 2005]. It is important to highlight that *"[The] marketing of the project was built around an attractive attractive scenario - the creation of 18000 jobs and housing for 25000 people, in an exclusive riverfront development."* [Cabral and Rato, 2005, p. 209]. Through this statement the author highlights the great ambitions of Lisbon and through this statement we can identify what major issues determined the emergence of this new district, unemployment and housing issues.

The location of the project, known as the intervention zone, was decided [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015] *"[...] based on several urban development studies, carried out by the municipality of Lisbon, which has considered the place as a potential area for the city to grow, without an increase of soil sealing."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 76]. The reliability of this area and through an intense activity carried out by the municipality determined the location of the project on this industrial site. The highly contaminated area represented a major problem, especially the contaminated soils [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015]. This was mainly caused by *"[...] unregulated functioning of oil refineries, the sanitary landfill and the poor labouring conditions of many of the industries in the area."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 76]. The author describes the poor conditions in this area and how this was not only caused by pollution but also other factors that transformed this area into a degraded industrial neighbourhood. The notion of *Intervention Zone* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015] emerged *"[With] the purpose of qualifying the entire eastern Lisbon [...]."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 76]. This term represented the delimitation of the industrial site from the rest of eastern part of Lisbon, where a remedial action was planned to take place. The Intervention Zone (IZ) was planned to cover 330 hectares in total in Eastern Lisbon [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015].

Another element that corresponds with the discourse of developing the brownfield site is reflected in certain activities carried out by the Portuguese Government [Alden and

da Rosa Pires, 1996]. Therefore, *"[In] 1990 the central government established the Regional Plan for the Territorial Planning of the Lisboa Metropolitan Area (PROTAML), and developed regional projects which would have a considerable impact on the capital (such as the new bridge over the River Tagus, building a railway line on the existing bridge, and regional ring roads)."* [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996, p. 31]. The purpose of this document, as a personal opinion, was to consolidate Lisbon Metropolitan Area and to facilitate the improvement of infrastructure that would represent the foundation of the project. The Lisbon Metropolitan Area, also known as AML, was created through a decree released on August 1991, named Law Decreee 44/91 [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996].

In the early 1990's, Lisbon, along with the majority of cities in Europe, was experiencing an economic and demographic renaissance [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996]. This is the result of cities taking action to solve a *"[...] range of economic, social and environmental issues [...]."* [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996, p. 29], which *"[...] include economic competitiveness, urban unemployment, spatial segregation, housing, transport, the environment and fiscal stress [...]."* [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996, p. 29]. This is also related to Portugal's main objective of consolidating the work started in the 80's, focused on economic growth through decisions focused on social structure.

The discussion was also focused around the opportunity of the Expo in relation to other areas in Lisbon. In this context, *"[Jorge] Gaspar [...] talks of Expo'98 as an opportunity to "restore the east-west symmetry".* [Figueira, 2011, p. 157]. This is an important insight and an important decision for Lisbon, by shifting the development on the opposite side of the city. [Portas, 1999] suggests that in fact the more developed area in Lisbon which was the western part represented a discourse for developing the eastern part of Lisbon:

> *"[The] Portuguese World Exposition of 1940 had in fact allowed the creation of a new drive westward in the Belém zone, next to the Mosteiro de Jerónimos. The idea was that Expo'98 could have a symmetrical effect, in democratic times, over a run-down area [...]."*
> [Portas, 1999, p. 193], as quoted in [Figueira, 2011, p. 157].

From here we can deduct that Portugal have experienced expositions before and based on the success of these events, they expected the same outcome from the World Expo'98 and its outstanding how they manage to promote urban development through events, while other cities in Europe failed this initiative and their expositions was a failure. For example, the World Expo '92 Seville was a failure in implementing a urban development project [Figueira, 2011], as cited in [Vita and Morandi, 2018].

Similarities can be identified in both areas, meaning that each area was developed through an event which was held with the occasion to promote development. As we already know that the eastern part was developed through the World Expo 98, the development of the western part was promoted through the Portuguese World Exposition of 1940 [Portas, 1999], as cited in [Figueira, 2011].

- **Practices - Routines and Repertoires for Acting**

The practices focused on preparing the land for the Expo 98 was centred around the

Urbanization Plan (UP), being elaborated in 1993 [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015]. The plan was developed under the guidance of architect Vassalo Rosa [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015] and it was focused on *"[...] the urban renovation and reconversion of the Redevelopment Area and the priority development of Expo'98."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 77]. Four strategic objectives were formulated [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015] and they are presented in table 5.2:

No.	Strategic objectives (in-text quotations)
1	To promote the enhancement of the area along the Tagus river
2	To reinforce its central role in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area
3	To implement a multifunctional urban structure of high environmental and urban quality
4	To take maximum advantage of the holding of Expo98 and to incorporate existing municipal and regional plans*

Table 5.2. Strategic Objectives of the Urbanisation Plan
[Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 77], *[Rosa, 2005], as cited in [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 77]

The Urbanisation Plan, as mentioned in table 5.2, was focused on several objectives but the most important one was the conversion of the brownfield into a environmental-friendly area. Therefore, *"[...] the existing industrial structures were demolished; some of them were deactivated, dismantled and moved to other places in the metropolitan area."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 77]. This process was a difficult operation due to these industrial buildings and a innovative solution was taken into consideration to respect environmental measures. Following this decision, *"[An] innovative recycling took place with the demolishing process. Recycled building materials were reused in the new constructions as a way to minimize both the consumption of non-renewable resources and the accumulation of rubbish dumps."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 77]. This practice represented something new for Lisbon during that time, which means that the actors experienced a new tool of sustainable planning [Radu, 2018]. However, to achieve this sustainability, other issues had to be taken into consideration.

Before new constructions were developed, the authorities had to take into consideration that soil contamination was a delicate issue due to the fact the pollutant identified in soils is hydrocarbon at a concerning level, exceeding the limit [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015]. Therefore, this made the impossibility to develop residential buildings within the site [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015]. The decontamination process was easier than expected because *"[...] the contamination of the soils was not as deep as was expected at first. The clayey alluvial geologic composition of the soil, characterized by a low degree of permeability, might be one of the reasons that explains why contamination did not go beyond 2 meters of depth."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 77]. We can argue that even though a dangerous pollutant was infiltrated in soil, geology had an important role here and it created the opportunity for authorities to successfully clean the soil. Since the problem was accurately identified and presented, the decontamination process could commence. In this context, *"[...] about 5,200 cubic meters of contaminated groundwater were treated and 400 cubic meters of free product (i.e. the way the contaminant can be present in the soil, namely as a liquid free and pure product."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 77]. This suggests that the decontamination of the site was carried out at a large scale, giving the fact that there was pressure coming from authorities to ensure that the strategy can be implemented

[Cavaco and Afonso, 2015]. Other activities that involve decontamination was centred on completely cleaning the site. Therefore, *"[...] the installation of a waste-water treatment moving plant was provided. At the end of the process, an environmental reconversion of the landfill was promoted, using the contaminated soils [...]."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 78]. The author provides an important insight about the remedial process, where certain innovative tools were used which allowed the possibility to decontaminate the industrial area without relocating affected material. The last tasks carried out by the authorities were environmental activities that would *"[...] ensure the best agricultural and environmental conditions for vegetation cover development."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 78]. This was very important since the creation of public spaces depended upon this decision and this was one of the main goals of the project. To achieve this objective, *"[...] materials coming from different parts of the intervention zone were used such as surface water sediments, sludge of waste-water treatment plants and compost."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 78]. Last but not least, the authorities focused their attention towards River Trancão and they considered that its vital to decontaminate the river to achieve 100% decontamination, which resulted in creation of a green urban park [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015].

Simultaneously with the decontamination and cleanup process, 1993 represents *"[...] the year in which the design of the Exposition and the development of the redevelopment area and the international promotion strategy commenced."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 31]. To contextualise, planning documents were elaborated to configure the strategy of organising the Expo. In addition, *"[...] massive investments were made in the road system, in a new Metro line and in the construction of a modern inter-modal station."* [Cabral and Rato, 2005, p. 209]. These represented major physical changes in the area which, of course, are essential when a development project starts from scratch and major changes were needed in the built environment. In the following year, in 1994, several activities were carried out to advance the preparations of Expo: *"[...] the Site contents plan was approved, the grounds were cleared of activity and possession thereof were delivered, progress was made in the urban development plans, the most relevant architectural and engineering projects were launched and the Oceanarium and access road works commenced."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 31]. Two years after the preparations commenced we can observe how Parque Expo 98, S.A.'s work pushed the project forward, achieving several objectives which normally would take longer than this length. Finally, last preparations for the Expo commenced a year later [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998]. To contextualise, *"[In] 1995, the planning work was concluded, the project was consolidated, the first promotion campaigns were launched and the construction works, which were to continue for the following two years and were concluded on time prior to the opening of the Exposition, commenced."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 31]. The preparations were advancing very fast and this could suggest that the event will be successful and it will improve the reputation of world expositions after the failure in Seville, which brought disappointment in urban planning scene.

- **Specification of Laws, Formal Competences and Resource Flow Principles**

As mentioned in *Practices - Routines and Repertoires for Acting* of this episode, the decontamination process was a difficult operation due to soil contamination [Cavaco and

Afonso, 2015]. What is interesting to mention is that *"[At] the time, Portuguese law did not provide regulation to deal with the situation. An important constraint was the deadline of Expo'98 that required an extremely tight time-frame."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 77]. The lack of legislation focused on decontamination represented a major problem and highlights that the authorities were caught by surprise, not being fully prepared for this project and certain decisions had to be made to find a solution. Therefore, the solution was identified and the idea was to implement legislation from two countries, Canada and Holland, based on which the decontamination objectives were formulated [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015]. The objectives are visible in table 5.3:

No.	Decontamination objectives (in-text quotations)
1	The removal of contaminated soils (including free product removal, transportation to a landfill and collection of samples for analysis in a Dutch laboratory)
2	The removal of contaminated groundwater (including pumping, separation of water/oil, free product removal and water treatment)
3	The deposition of contaminated soils into confined cells in an existing landfill
4	The construction of a waterproof surface water drainage system
5	The recovering of the landfill, by creating a green area with good quality topsoil, using the soil contained in the cells for the modelling of the land

Table 5.3. Decontamination Objectives
[Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 77]

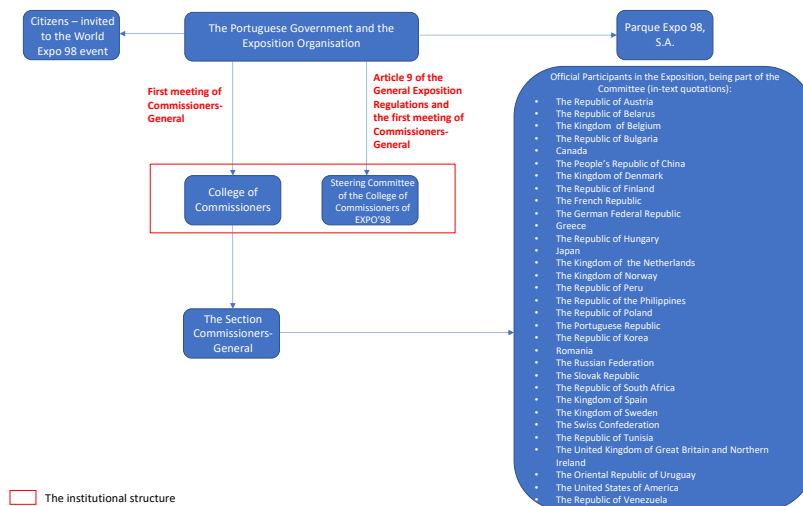### Episode no. 2 - The World Expo 98 in Lisbon

This episode will be present the World Expo 98, inspired from [Radu, 2018], which was an event held for four months, precisely *"[...] from May 22 until September 30 1998 [...]."* [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007, p. 87]. The event will be presented based on the same structure as episode one and it will be focused on the interactions and on outcomes of the World Expo 98.

- **Actors - Roles, Strategies and Interests**

This episode highlights the creation of the institutional structure of World Expo'98 which had the role to grant powers [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998] to the *"[...] Official Participants of the Exposition."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 139]. The institutional structure is formed by *"[...] "College of Commissioners" and the "Steering Committee of the College of Commissioners of EXPO'98"."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 139]. These institutions represented the most important actors, having an important role during the event. The first institution, *"[The] College of Commissioners of EXPO'98 was formally established during the First Meeting of Commissioners-General, which took place in Lisbon on the 28th and 29th of November 1996."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 139]. The emergence of this institution depended upon meetings between commissioners, as the author mention in the previous quote. The college also included *"[...] all the Section Commissioners-General of the Exposition."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 139] and if we can identify the role of this section, we can argue that *"[...] according to the provisions of the Exposition General Regulations, persons appointed by the governments of the Participating Countries or by the Leaders of the Participating International Organisations, to be responsible for each of the Official Participations."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 139]. This signifies that the Official

Participants had a representative in this section and they had the role to represent their country at the Expo. The second actor that formed the institutional structure *"[...] was elected, pursuant to the provisions of article 9 of the General Exposition Regulations, also at the First Meeting of the College of Commissioners, on the 29th of November 1996."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 141]. This significant insight presents several regulations and legislation to complete the institutional structure of the event.

In addition, Parque Expo 98, S.A. is already known for its 100% dedication and responsibility, being involved in hosting the World Expo 98. The company was responsible during the event with *"[...] dismantling of the 1998 Lisbon International Exposition [...], as well as involvement in the urban restructuring of the Exposition redevelopment area."* [Portuguese Government, 1993b], as cited in [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 35]. The company, as the author highlights, was responsible for transitioning the intervention zone from World Expo '98 to post-expo period, when everything had to be prepared for the next phase of the project. In addition to this, for the first time, the citizens became part of the project but not as decision-makers, which occurred in the next episode of urban governance, but as participants in the event [Neves, 2018]. To contextualise, *"[...] the citizens became actors, very active actors when they were, and they visited the Expo 98. They had the chance of realising in Portugal, engineers, architects could create something as good as we would have in any of the best cities in the world."* [Neves, 2018, 21:09]. It was important for the developers to present to the citizens this new practice and product of Lisbon, changing the perspective of what people have in relation to urban planning, since this activity directly involves the citizens. To summarise all these aspects, a scheme was elaborated to illustrate the actors and their expansion during the event (figure 5.5).

Figure 5.5. Actors during the World Expo 98, Lisbon
[Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 139, p. 141], [Neves, 2018]

- **Arenas - Institutional Sites**

The arenas can be identified based on the actors that emerged in this episode. The institutional structure created by the government suggests that certain commissions were created to assure a good function of the event [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998]. This means that the interactions occurred on the local arena and especially in the

Intervention Zone, where the event was organised. In addition, the foundation of the institutional structure was possible through the involvement of the national arena, the government, which formed these commissions [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998]. Parque Expo 98, S.A. was the third arena, which had an important role during the post-expo period, being part of the transition from the World Expo to the development of Parque das Nações.

- **Settings and Interactive Practices - Communicative Repertoires**

It is important to mention that the actors involved in the World Expo 98 were using certain tools to interact and to communicate with other stakeholders. For instance, *"[Lisbon] Municipality has used the Strategic Plan as a mechanism for meshing together the statutory plans within a strategic framework, and for bringing together all the city's main public and private sector organizations, operators and institutions at both municipal and metropolitan levels."* [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996, p. 35]. It is an interesting aspect, giving the fact that Lisbon was not totally ready to work with developing a large-scale urban development project and trying to attract other stakeholders through a plan was a smart decision from the Municipality of Lisbon. It is worth to mention that *"[The] Strategic Plan itself proposed the setting up of a Strategic Plan Council, made up of about 140 individuals who represent the main organizations and institutions who are decision makers within the city [...]."* [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996, p. 35]. This means that in fact it achieved its objective to bring a large number of actors that would make a difference in this project.

Parque Expo 98, S.A. continues its activities and its responsibilities during the World Expo 98. The strong influence of the company is reflected in the ambition of having a good outcome of the Exposition. Parque Expo'98 was given an additional responsibility, besides organising the event, which was promoting the event for international tourism [Edwards et al., 2004]. The decision didn't receive a positive reaction [Edwards et al., 2004], being *"[...] highly controversial and the tourism industry frequently pointed out that the promotion of EXPO'98 was inappropriate."* [Edwards et al., 2004, p. 202]. The explanation on the writer's criticism towards Parque Expo 98, S.A. is in fact understandable, giving the fact that the company was specialised in urban planning, not tourism, and its doubtful that the employees were specialised in tourism. Furthermore, *"[...] not only the lack of experience and preparation of the agency to work on tourism promotion, but also the irrelevance of this task in comparison with other more important priorities of the company, such as having the site ready for the Exposition."* [Edwards et al., 2004, p. 202]. Taking responsibility of tourism could have a double-edged effect, since other more important tasks might be ignored giving the fact that local authorities were planning to finish this project in a short period of time and this company was their solution in achieving this goal.

Governance Processes through which Bias is Mobilised

- **Networks and Coalitions**

This level clearly represents the strong coalition formed as a result of a member of the EU organising the World Expo 98 [Commission of the European Communities, 1996]. In addition, *"[The] theme of the exhibition, which focuses on the oceans, is of major importance for the European Union because in the geopolitical development of Europe in the past centuries the sea has played a major formative role and because of the link of*

a number of EU policies with this theme." [Commission of the European Communities, 1996, p. 2]. The theme of the expo was an opportunity to raise awareness and to present the importance of the sea [Commission of the European Communities, 1996], which still represents a strategic component on the World Map and an important route for commercial trade. However, networks created during the Expo created some problems during the event [Figueira, 2011], and *"[One] of the issues to create considerable controversy at Expo '98 was the announcement of zero cost – or zero sum – by which the real-estate operation would pay the costs of the venture, in a balance of income and expenses. This objective – which was not fulfilled – created considerable building pressure on the Intervention Zone."* [Figueira, 2011, p. 158]. This fact is usually described as a neo-liberal practice in literature there is no exception in this case study. However, neo-liberalism is a concept that doesn't belong in Parque das Nações since the market had limited powers in this project and labelling a project that accumulated public debt is not enough to prove this statement.

It is interesting to highlight that the success of the Expo echoed at a national level and it built the foundation of a different planning form in Portugal, *"[...] according to Mega Ferreira, one of the Expo's mentors [...]."* [Aelbrecht, 2014, p. 495], which mentions that *"[...] it established a new pattern of urban quality for Lisbon and Portugal in general."* [Aelbrecht, 2014, p. 495]. The author presents the exposition as a learning example of how to create a modern urban space in Portugal, meaning that the expo brought new practices in Portugal's planning scene. We can identify a new planning strategy focused on modernity that was embraced by other municipalities [Aelbrecht, 2014]:

> *"[Many] cities, in particular middlesized ones, now wish to have public spaces, urban furniture, and parks like those of Expo '98. This sudden interest in public space has led to the creation of an urban regeneration program 'Polis' in twenty-eight cities in Portugal, ten of which were assigned to Parque Expo."* [Aelbrecht, 2014, p. 495].

This statement suggests that Parque Expo extended its boundaries from the Expo site to other cities in Portugal and to continue its work, using the same tools and practices as in the expo project.

- **Stakeholder Selection Process**

During the Expo we can identify that new practices embraced by the government determined power transfer to the developing company and extending the stakeholders that could take part in this project, as we can deduct from the following statement:

> *"[Parque] EXPO 98 SA [...] has extensive development powers and is underwritten by the Portuguese government; the social capital is entirely public; the main shareholders are the state and the municipalities of Lisbon and Loures. Parque Expo is the main shareholder of six other companies constituted to run the real-estate operation (Expo Urbe), Exposition 1998, and some of the facilities remaining after the exposition [...]."* [Swyngedouw et al., 2002, p. 559].

Parque Expo 98, S.A. has an impressive presentation in the previous paragraph and we can observe a total support from the government through legislation elaborated exclusively for

this company and it incorporates several responsibilities in this project. Probably the most significant aspect in this process could be identified in the role of the State, suggesting that *"[Apart] from being the main shareholder, the state guaranteed and provided the conditions for releasing the land at no cost to Parque Expo and for allocating EU funding of the project."* [Swyngedouw et al., 2002, p. 559]. This represents a guarantee from the State that it will fully support the company in the development project.

- **Discourses - Farming Issues, Problems, Solutions, etc.**

The rationale behind the World Expo 98 is reflected in the discourse formulated by the stakeholders involved in hosing the event. The main discourse for organising the Expo can be identified in the following statement:

"[While] economic regeneration is a primary focus of the exhibition, the project will create a five-kilometre-long river frontage, devoted largely to leisure and recreational activities and environmental improvements. It will provide improved access to, and enjoyment of, the river and it is hoped achieve the main objective of the regeneration scheme, namely reuniting the city centre with its waterfront." [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996, p. 34].

The goal was to create sustainability and to reconnect the city to the river, which was the priority for the municipality. This regeneration would create an area used for recreational purposes, according to the author describing the objectives in the previous quote. The Strategic Plan is also a part of the discourse in the regeneration of the brownfield site. It reflects the ambition of the government to organise World Expo '98 [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996]. Therefore *"[Expo] '98, with its theme 'The Oceans, a Heritage for the Future', will act as the catalyst for the largest urban regeneration programme ever implemented in Portugal."* [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996, p. 33]. In addition, it is also representative through the idea that the Expo will promote a regeneration project that would solve several urban issues. To contextualise, *"[The] discourse on regeneration is connected with the need to attract inhabitants back to the city—Lisbon has lost around one-third of its inhabitants between the 1980s and 2000s because of suburbanization—and (re)creating a "vibrant" urban environment."* [Tulumello, 2016, p. 122]. The solution in this case was seen in an opportunity to create a new neighbourhood in Lisbon Metropolitan Area to solve this demographic issue.

There are several insights on the Expo event that are interesting to follow and to discuss about, one of them being formulated by the director of BIE [Aelbrecht, 2014] which:

"[...] considered Expo '98 the most beautiful event ever, praising the high quality of its public spaces and pavilions. Since then, the acknowledgments of its urban plan have continued. Many of its pavilions and public spaces won architecture prizes both nationally and internationally." [Aelbrecht, 2014, p. 495].

These strong words that were used to describe the event could reflect the satisfaction BIE has due to the fact that expositions from the past were a failure and we can say that they were sceptical about World Expo'98 event and its outcome. However, there is a contrast in opinions related to the outcome of the event. On the one hand, architects, geographers and

planners that worked in this project view this event as a success in relation to regenerating a brownfield site and to promote sustainability. On the other hand, some people criticise the way expo was organised, suggesting that it's not a model that should be taken into consideration [Aelbrecht, 2014]. The first controversy regarding this model is presented in the following paragraph:

"[The] first is that Expo '98 was never a financial success. Although it paid off most of the event, a 1997 audit found that the Expo had a loss of 0.09 million euros. This was known only two years after the event, which was the only moment at which the accounting was made public." [Aelbrecht, 2014, p. 494].

The World Expo '98 was the starting point of the deficit which determined the emergence of criticism from several planners and geographers, since this issue was totally unexpected, especially when the event ended and it was labelled as a successful exposition.

The second controversy is related to planning approach and its values which is denied by planners and geographers that worked in this project and where interviewed during a data collection trip to Lisbon:

"[The] second explanation is related to Expo '98's neoliberal planning approach, namely its search for growth, competitiveness and a regime of exception outside the statutory planning policies, which caused intended and unintended socio-spatial outcomes. One very visible spatial outcome is the separation of the new neighborhood from the surrounding urban fabric." [Aelbrecht, 2014, p. 495]

There is a strong disagreement coming from former Parque Expo 98 S.A.'s former employees, interviewed in Lisbon during a data collection trip but also during my period at the University of Lisbon where I spent a semester as an intern, in relation to the suggestion that this project had a neo-liberal approach. The explanation can be identified not in practices of this project but in the structure of actors and their power and as we can see more power was given to the State which contradicts neo-liberalism. However, the idea of neo-liberalism project can be found in another paper:

"[Swyngedouw] et al. (2002) include the case of the Expo 1998 district in examples of neoliberal urban planning because of the role of the state in covering deficits with advantages for real estate promoters, the creation of a discretionary planning agency, and the failed connection with other planning tools." [Erik Swyngedouw and Frank Moulaert and Arantxa Rodriguez, 2002], as cited in [Tulumello, 2016, p. 120]

This deficit, as a personal opinion, didn't advantage the real estate agents since their decisions depended upon the State, which again excludes neo-liberalism . We can identify a contradiction between planners, architects and geographers that were working in the project, mainly during Expo 1998 and the literature, in which the majority of the papers include the project in neo-liberal category, which makes the research of this case study interesting and it determines the researcher to look into this issue and the cause of this conflict of opinions between professionals working in this field.

- **Practices - Routines and Repertoires for Acting**

The exposition was pushed forward in 1990 [Cabral and Rato, 2005] when *"[...] the governing socialist/communist coalition in the Lisbon municipality proposed the launch of a set of planning instruments to replace the outdated urban plans."* [Cabral and Rato, 2005, p. 212]. The ambition to organise World Expo 98 was reflected in the Strategic Plan [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996], therefore it is important to go back to the period of planning the Expo 98, which is episode no. 1, because it is connected with the Expo event. The Municipality of Lisbon was involved in elaborating two planning documents, Director Plan (PDM), being approved in 1994, and the Strategic Plan in 1992 [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996], both directly connected with the organisation of World Expo 98. These documents were developed based on several decisions made in the municipality. In this context, *"[...] the municipality established in 1990 the Strategic Planning Directorate at City Hall, which had the responsibility of preparing both the Municipal Master Plan (PDM) and the Lisboa Strategic Plan (PEL)."* [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996, p. 31]. In addition, a more detailed document was elaborated by the municipality, Priority Plans and Projects (PPPs) [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996]. All these documents represented the municipal council's perspective towards strategic planning [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996]. First of all, *"[The] 1992 Strategic Plan for Lisbon contains a strong, visionary statement or global objective, which is to make it the Atlantic capital of Europe."* [Alden and da Rosa Pires, 1996, p. 32]. The organisation of this event is reflected in the ambition of transforming Lisbon into a competitive city that will have an important role in creating opportunities that would compete with other cities from the Atlantic area. These strategies are summarised in table 5.4.

STRATEGIES OF THE EXPO '98 PROJECT		
(1) Planning Level	(2) Design Level	(3) Development, Management and Financial level
2 in 1 plan: Expo and Post-Expo. **1st objective:** plan Integrated in the 1992 strategic plan of Lisbon **2nd objective:** first: the creation of a center; second: an expo. **Planning principles:** -inclusion of Mixed-use (housing, services and commerce) -provision of economic anchors -improvement of strategic infrastructure.	**Architecture:** with re-use in mind; provision of both temporary and permanent structures. **Urban design:** with permanence and functionality in mind; designing public spaces with double function: for event and post-event.	**Developing/ managing model:** creation of an private company 'Parque Expo' with access to public capital which was given the duty of designing, developing, constructing and dismantling the World Exhibition, but also of buying, developing and selling land in the whole zone! **Financial model:** pay the development with the selling of land and pavilions to private investors and developers after the closure of the event.

Table 5.4. Strategies for Expo 98
[Aelbrecht, 2014, p. 490]

The event required a large budget to be developed, therefore financial strategies were elaborated and a certain model was chosen to finance the Expo [Swyngedouw et al., 2002]. In this context, *"[The] financial model was designed to implement the exposition at zero cost, not including the external operations supported by EU funds. The main revenues for implementing the Expo and the urban project came from the exposition and the sale of the land. However, the expected returns were not achieved."* [Swyngedouw et al., 2002, p. 559]. This was problematic since the debt was an unexpected turnover in this project and a failure of authorities to have a more accurate plan regarding financial profit of the project

used for the remedial action. The budget obtained from different activities involving the organisation of World Expo 98 and corresponding to the budget of Parque Expo can be observed in table 5.5:

Origin (in-text quotations)	Amount (in-text quotations)
Exposition (ticket sales, publicity, sponsors)	309 million Euro
Sale of land and property	653 million Euro
Other companies (sale of company shares)	77 million Euro
European Funding (ERDF and Cohesion Fund)	304 million Euro (includes funding for primary infrastructure works inside the Expo site and for external operations: transport infrastructure, metro and train station, multipurpose pavilion, and environmental works)
State-direct funding (social capital)	87 million Euro
Other (renting of spaces)	51 million Euro

Table 5.5. The budget of Parque Expo 1997
[Swyngedouw et al., 2002, p. 559-560]

With the practices already presented, in the appendix, section A.1, figure A.1 presents the map of the expo site together with its structures. In addition, two maps in section A.2 presents the access of the exposition (figure A.2) and the access of visitors (figure A.3).

- **Specification of Laws, Formal Competences and Resource Flow Principles**

It is known that the World Expo 98, along with other expositions that took place around the world, *"[...] is subject to the legal framework governing international expositions, in the Paris Convention of the 22nd of November 1928, as amended by subsequent Protocols and Amendments."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 125].

The framework of expositions was not enough to assure that the exposition is organised in a professional manner. Several legal formalities were introduced to improve the functioning of the event, the responsibility being taken by the Portuguese Government [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998]. Therefore, *"[...] an exceptionally favourable tax regime was created, in the 1998 National Budget, for Official Participants in the Exposition. An EXPO'98/Security Co - ordination Authority was created (Decree-Law no. 353/97, of the 13th of December), a "temporary and exceptional legal framework for public transport for EXPO'98" was introduced (Decree-Law no. 161/98, of the 24th of June) and a Customs Office was opened within the EXPO'98 Site (Statutory Instrument of the 31st of December 1997)."* [Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 137].

All this legislation was elaborated to support the event and to promote a more informal collaboration during the exposition. Starting with the World Expo 1998, several changes occurred in the legislation focused on urban development [Abrantes et al., 2016]. For instance, *"[In] Portugal, since 1998, specific guidelines have been introduced in the Portuguese Framework Law for the Policy on Territorial Management and Urbanism (LBPOTU: Law No. 48/98 of 11 August, revised by Law No. 31/2014 of 30 May) directly addressing urban sprawl control."* [Abrantes et al., 2016, p. 121]. Therefore, the World Expo 98 was also an event to promote the control of urban sprawl in Lisbon [Abrantes et al., 2016] and the solution was seen in the development of Eastern Lisbon. This was seen as an opportunity to expand Lisbon's limits to avoid this problem. These ambitions are reflected in objectives formulated through this framework [Abrantes et al., 2016]. Therefore, *"[Among] these objectives, we can find 'properly fitted built-up areas' (. .*

.) 'appropriate levels of urban densification' (. . .) 'containing scattered built-up areas' (.
. .) 'avoiding unnecessary extension of both networks and urban perimeters and promoting
rational urban interstices infill' [...]." [Almeida et al., 2013], as cited in [Abrantes et al.,
2016, p. 121]. Therefore, we can deduct that Lisbon was experiencing a shift from old
planning regulations to a more smart approach focused on built environment.

Following the World Expo 98, the objectives were pinned as long-term objectives as part
of a long-term strategy [Edwards et al., 2004]. As a result, "[...] after Expo ended in
September 1998 the site was closed to be adapted to the new use and opened one month
after as The Nations Park." [Edwards et al., 2004, p. 202]. This transition introduces the
next episode of governance process, presented in the next section, where the transformation
of the Expo site into a city district will be described.

## Episode no. 3 - The development of Parque das Nações, a new city district

Episode no. 3, inspired from [Radu, 2018], introduce the expansion of the project and, to
be more precise, based on the outcome of the expo through policies and built environment,
a new neighbourhood in Lisbon will be created, named Parque das Nações, integrating the
former Expo 98 site as well, an already developed portion of the brownfield site.

- **Actors - Roles, Strategies and Interests**

This episode introduce us to a new set of actors as the World Exposition represented
a success and the objective of promoting the development of the brownfield site was
fulfilled. First of all, it is important to highlight the public actors and it is interesting
to observe that the State, through the work of the government, gives power to Parque
Expo 98 S.A. through three shareholders, two ministries and one municipality represented
by Ministry of Finance, Environment (strong involvement, both sharing 97%) and Lisbon
Municipality (limited power, sharing only 3%) [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007], as cited in
[Radu, 2018]. In addition, Parque Expo 98, S.A. created another subsidiary company in
2010, PARQUE EXPO – Gestão Urbana do Parque das Nações, SA [Gescontact empresas,
no year], as cited in [Radu, 2018], being responsible with urban management in Parque
das Nações [Barbosa, 2017], as cited in [Radu, 2018]. This reflects how important it was
for the administrative body to maintain the position of the project as 100% developed
by the State, expanding its influence with other shareholders created by the government
to be able to finish the work until the deadline. However, it is important to mention
that the market an citizens had a major role as well starting with the development of
the new city district due to the fact that several NGO's and companies moved here in
time, giving the area a entrepreneurial shape [Radu, 2018]. According to Pedro Neves,
this happened from "[...] from 2000 onwards [...] the whole project was developed and
opened for private sector investment according to public design definition and public design
management models from 1999 onwards, for example, the private sector to build anything in
Nations Park today they have to follow project management specifications that do not exist
anywhere else in Portugal." [Neves, 2018, 16:52]. This means that the State prepared a
special and unique framework to accommodate the companies that only exists in Portugal,
giving to companies the opportunity to move here but still dependent on the Portuguese
Government regarding their ambitions in this area. The investors contributed to services,

such as private schools, hotels, commercial facilities and other essential services, while NGO's contributed with associations that manages the housing through services provided for the residents in Parque das Nações [Barbosa, 2017], as cited in [Radu, 2018]. It is known that citizens, as mentioned in episode two, were included, initially, as observers in this project as a reward for their attitude towards a major issue in eastern Lisbon: *"[The] citizens became participants when they first had to stop negotiating drugs and prostitution on this place."* [Neves, 2018, 20:52]. However, in this phase the citizens have become for the first time actors, playing a part in the development of the new district. Local authorities have found the right solution to inform and to collect insights from citizens in relation to the development project: *"[...] the phase after the exposition we created an audit body for the citizens in Parque Expo that I believe does not exist in any city today in Portugal where, basically all citizens could inform about what was going on and what should be redressed and what weren't happy with."* [Neves, 2018, 21:09]. This is very important for this large-scale urban development project and I believe the success of this project was also dependent on the feedback given by the citizens and we can observe, nowadays, why there are no critics towards this area coming from citizens.

The creation of Parque Expo'98 still represented one of the best decisions made by the Portuguese Government because it *"[...] showed benefits both on the technical side (better and more sustainable solutions) and the economical side (private companies found dialogue easier than with conventional public administration; the good results achieved with EXPO'98 made Parque EXPO a trusted partner for private companies and gave Parque das Nações a very positive social image)."* [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007, p. 90]. The author tries to point out that the success of this project is related to the creation of this company and it influenced how the process and interactions worked during this time, making the project an excellent model of state-driven development project. It is important to notice the drawbacks as well because the State fully transferred power to the company [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007], being considered *"[...] sensitive, requiring good-will and political leadership to secure that smooth and fruitful institutional cooperation is achieved across the range of public administration departments involved, and public control."* [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007, p. 90]. To present the contrast of creating this company, without a strong political involvement, which is a known practice in Portugal, the company couldn't fulfil its duties and it would be eventually considered a failure. Therefore, the institutional structure represented the foundation of this company and the project, which in other countries this practice would not work due to less political involvement, an argument which highlights the authenticity of this project. Figure 5.6 presents all the actors and their contribution to the development of the new neighbourhood.
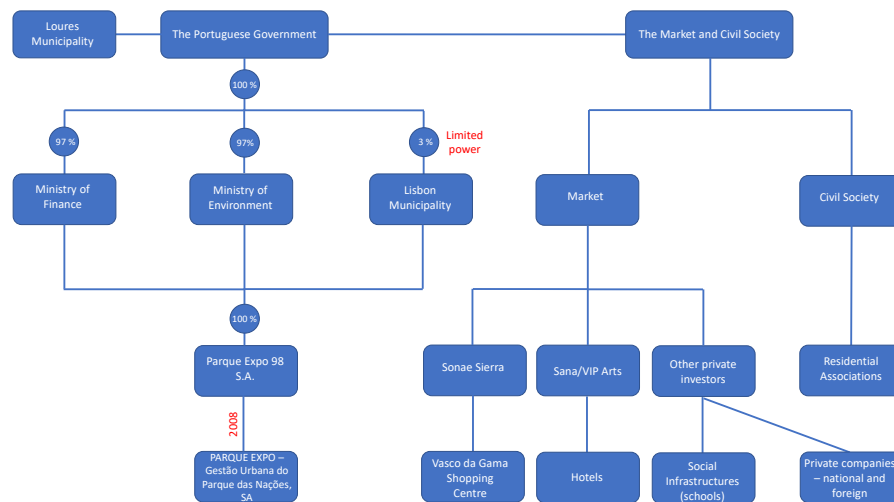
Figure 5.6. Actors involved in the development of the new district
[Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007], [Barbosa, 2017, 02:50], [Gescontact empresas, no year], as
cited in [Radu, 2018, p. 43]

- **Arenas - Institutional Sites**

Different institutional sites emerged in this episode of urban governance once the market
and civil society have become stakeholders in this project. This process influenced the
emergence of a public-private partnership between the State, market and civil society
[Radu, 2018], taking the institutional structure of Lisbon Metropolitan Area to a new
level which determined major changes in the development of the new district. We can
notice that public-private partnerships had a major influence in the public administration
structure (figure 5.7) and new interactions occurred between the public administration
and private sector. However, it is important to mention that this partnership is a special
one since it's not officially a public-private one, since the funding is a public one [van
Miltenburg, 2010]:

*"[The] project is in principal self sustainable and is guaranteed by the Portuguese State,
but without the private sector the project could not be developed. The finance of the urban
area comes fora part from the European Union and the national government. During the
project the financing is moreover in cooperation with the banks of Portugal."* [van
Miltenburg, 2010, p. 22].

This practice represented the ambition of creating a sustainable area with public funding
which also allowed the State to control the market and private investments. In this context,
the selling of plots represented the main strategy of the State to finish the project in a
short period of time and to generate an income to support the continuity of the project.
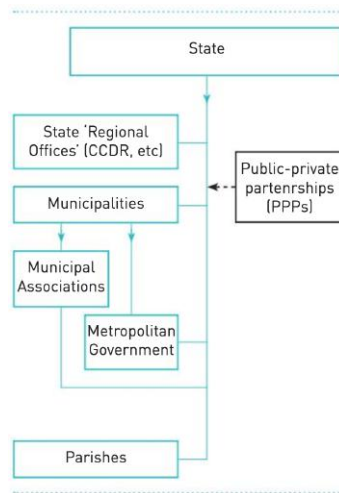
Figure 5.7. Public administration structure in Lisbon Metropolitan Area
[Marcolongo and Paja, 2017, p. 7]

- **Settings and Interactive Practices - Communicative Repertoires**

The company Parque Expo 98, S.A. had the role to attract the private sector in the area through investors, through its role in buying, cleaning and selling land [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007]. Pedro Neves considers that *"[...] the whole thing started with very small private companies, Portuguese private companies, that could only develop plots with 1000-2000 square meters. This was at the beginning, at the end the last plots had already investors, large investors coming from abroad, real estate investment funds. Why? Because they knew the city, in the future, would be what the plan (...) was being developed according to plan."* [Neves, 2018, 19:21]. Therefore, we can identify that the strategy of attracting investors was to bring companies here through the acquisition of plots and, in this context, from a personal perspective, the authorities prioritised the right of the Portuguese companies to move here, which determines the State's ambition to strengthen its relationship with these national companies that belongs to private Portuguese investors.

Parque Expo still represents the most important actor due to its existing financial obligations towards the investors from the private sector [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007]. It is known that *"[The] most important current income of the company consists of sale of a limited number of land plots [...]."* [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007, p. 89]. During the development process the company planned to sell the last plot in 2007 [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007] to avoid the economic crisis, which might have put the company into a difficult situation regarding the sale of plots. The company had several expenses to cover, the first one being mentioned earlier in this paragraph, such as *"[...] current financial obligations to investors, staff cost (180 highly qualified people) and maintenance and management of the EXPO-area."* [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007, p. 89]. The company was looking for solutions to solve all these issues, therefore, the solution was found in the private market where Parque Expo 98, S.A. took the initiative in working on projects in different locations, such as Zaragoza and in other continents: in Nigeria; in major cities, such as Shanghai and Sao Paulo [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007].

Parque Expo 98, S.A. is known for its several responsibilities in this project and the

company was also in charge of urban management [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007] and, in this context, the company *"[...] face the problem that the revenues and expenditures of the urban management are not related."* [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007, p. 89]. To contextualise, Parque Expo 98, S.A. was put into difficulty, trying to find solutions for maintaining the public spaces which were created during that time, being affected by financial issues [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007]:

"[The] revenues from taxes of occupants and entrepreneurs are paid to the municipality of Lisbon. The users of the area pay much tax as a result of the costs of the ground and the high-quality buildings. However, these taxes do not find their way back to investments in the improvement of their direct environment, because the contribution from the municipality to urban maintenance and management exists from a fixed amount for Parque EXPO SA." [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007, p. 89].

This could be one of the reasons why Parque Expo 98, S.A. accumulated debts and couldn't find solutions in covering the costs of maintaining these public spaces and other financial alternatives were impossible, due to the fact that private investors owned the land [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007].

Governance Processes through which Bias is Mobilised

- **Networks and Coalitions**

The period after World Expo, the expansion of the Intervention Zone has begun and several issues had to be taken into consideration due to external pressures that affected not only Portugal, being also a global issue. First of all, the emergence of a new neighbourhood, Parque das Nações, determined the authorities to decide who will administer the area and the decision was made to divide the neighbourhood's responsibilities to two municipalities and three of their civil parishes (see table 5.8), which determined a difficult task for pushing the development forward due to administrative layers that represented a barrier in this context [van Miltenburg, 2010]. These administrative layers were dealt with through Parque Expo 98, S.A., which was created not only to develop but also to solve other issues, like crossing this barrier of administrative layers [Barbosa, 2009], as cited in [van Miltenburg, 2010].
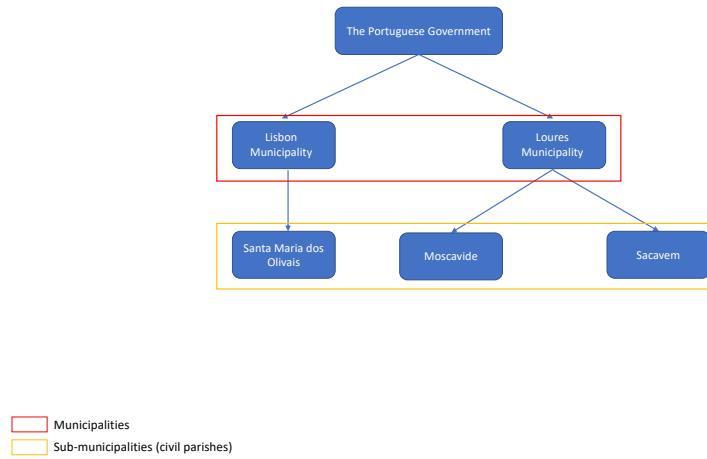
Figure 5.8. The administration of Parque das Nações
[van Miltenburg, 2010]

The second issue discussed here is the political status in Lisbon. The following statement highlights the main issue of Lisbon that affected the development of Parque das Nações and coalitions that emerged as a result of this problematic factor:

"[Within] this context, the center-left government (Partido Socialista) in charge of Lisbon city since 2007 has been active in reshaping municipal policymaking amidst the economic crisis—and the curtailing of national transferences." [Tulumello, 2016, p. 121].

The emergence of a strong political coalition represented the response towards the economic crisis and the party saw the solution through changes in the political structure. It is interesting to see how important the political structure is in Portugal and how it acts in different ways to develop institutional frameworks, in this case an urban development project. In addition, it has the role to assign professionals to carry out this task and we can identify this practice in Parque das Nações:

"[Political] authority for urban planning and policy has been in the hands of town councilor Manuel Salgado since 2007. Under his guidance, urban regeneration has been at the core of the efforts for, and discourses about, planning policy." [Tulumello, 2016, p. 122].

Manuel Salgado, one of the most successful Portuguese architects, is known for his skills working with several projects around Portugal. Salgado was one of the most important figures for the Municipality of Lisbon as well, having a significant importance in decision-making process of Lisbon Municipality, being *"[...] Lisbon's Councillor for Urban and Strategic Planning [...]."* [AIVP, 2015, p. 1]. Under his guidance, Lisbon continued its strategies to continue the development and to consolidate the area.

- **Stakeholder Selection Process**

The selection of a variety of stakeholders that represent both public and private was based on actions and strategies carried out by the State. The expansion of the State-owned company in another subsidiary that would handle urban management was the first change implemented by the government. Followed by this action, stakeholders representing the market were invited through the sell of land plots. Finally, the last category included the citizens through an initiative carried out by the Lisbon Municipality:

> *"[...] the first participatory budgeting (2007) launched at the municipal scale in a European capital city."* [Tulumello, 2016, p. 122].

The citizens were included in a late stage of the project and it again highlights the State's intention to maintain its position as the only body to develop the project but in the same time it was in the State's interest to mediate between stakeholders since the area started to evolve and residents were moving in the area.

- **Discourses - Farming issues, Problems, Solutions, etc.**

The World Expo represented a successful event due to the fact that *"[In] particular, after the negative example of the post-Expo abandonment of the exhibition area of the 1992 World's Fair in Seville, Lisbon chose to organize a less spectacular event and to plan a better post-Expo by merging the extraordinary event city with the ordinary post-event one [...]."* [Figueira, 2011], as cited in [Vita and Morandi, 2018, p. 84]. The Expo event had a significant impact not only on the local scale but also on the international scale [Vita and Morandi, 2018], which suggests that its success is known on a global scale and might be used an example of an excellent practice. To highlight this outcome we can identify several changes directly influenced by the Expo:

> *"[...] at the local scale, it hosts new residential buildings and services for citizens, and it is connected to the city center by the metro red line; [...] at the international scale, it hosts offices and facilities for firms, as well as accommodations and services for tourism and leisure activities, and it is connected to both the airport (by the new metro red line); and the European railway network (by the Estação do Oriente)."* [Vita and Morandi, 2018, p. 84].

The multi-functionality of the area is highlighted in the quote presented above and we can argue that the district was planned to integrate features on both local and international scale [Vita and Morandi, 2018]. In addition, the discourse was centred around the fact that architect Manuel Salgado *"[...] designed the Expo site as a potential city, rather than as a thematic park. For instance, he emphasized the axiality of its regular grid, as well as the quality of its public spaces [...]."* [Vita and Morandi, 2018, p. 84]. This was very important for Park of Nations due to the fact that very qualified architects have put a lot of work and passion in designing the best space Lisbon could have and this was seen as a new identity for Portuguese people:

"[...] the most important (. . .) was the self-esteem of Portuguese people. The Portuguese
people feel different after Expo 98, the Portuguese people feel that they have created
something that is world class." [Neves, 2018, 15:26].

This pride in succeeding a complex operation which was never done before in Portugal
change the mentalities in this small country and people received the idea that it's possible
to create areas like any other more developed countries. In addition, the success of this
project introduced Portugal in international literature focused on large-scale projects and a
case study that it's being researched by several researchers and scholars from the academic
environment.

- **Practices - Routines and Repertoires for Acting**

The ending of the World Expo 1998 has brought in discussion the expansion of the
Intervention Zone. It is obvious that these major changes required the update of the
Urbanisation Plan, update which was made on December 1999 [Machado, 2017] to include
the expansion of the built environment and other regulations. The regulation included
"[The] elaboration of the Plans of Detail (PP) and Projects of the Public Space of the Zone
of Intervention [...]." [Machado, 2017, p. 8]. The delimitation of detail plans elaborated
through zoning can be observed in figure 5.9.

Figure 5.9. The map of Detail Plans
[PORTAL DAS NAÇÕES, 2014e]

The six detail zones have different functions and we can identify several features that
makes this area very attractive. Each detail plan was named based on their location and
their components, presented by [PORTAL DAS NAÇÕES, 2014e]; [van Miltenburg, 2010,
p. 28], as cited in [Radu, 2018, p. 71]:

- **PP-1** - Zona Central;
- **PP-2** - Zona da EXPO'98;
- **PP-3** - Zona Sul;
- **PP-4** - Zona Norte;
- **PP-5** - Zona de Sacavém;
- **PP-6** - Parque Urbano do Tejo e Trancão.

The Urbanisation Plan was focused on integrating several elements within the limit of the
Intervention Zone. A map showing both versions of the Urbanisation Plan can be found
in the appendix, section A.3, figure A.4.

In relation to the post-expo period [Figueira, 2011], as cited in [Vita and Morandi, 2018],
several decisions were taken to start the redevelopment project, such as which structures

would be included in future plans of the developers or which ones would be dismantled to be replaced by other more significant structures [Edwards et al., 2004]. Table 5.6 presents the status of these structures and the decisions taken after the event.

Thematic inside offer	
During Expo	*After Expo*
Portuguese Pavilion	Retained with a non tourism/leisure function.
Knowledge of the Seas Pavilion	Retained as 'Knowledge pavilion – living science centre'.
Oceans Pavilion	Retained as Oceanarium.
Pavilion of the Future	Retained.
Utopia Pavilion	Retained as 'Atlantic Pavilion'.
Territory Pavilion	BIL – Lisbon International Bowling Centre.
Virtual Reality Pavilion	Retained.
Thematic outside offer	
During Expo	*After Expo*
Nautical Exhibition	Ended.
Water Gardens	Retained.
Garcia de Orta Garden	Retained.

Table 5.6. The status of Expo structures
[Edwards et al., 2004, p. 204]

Most of the structures were retained [Edwards et al., 2004], being reused after the exposition and converted to serve different purposes that would contribute to the good function of the new city district. This was not the only practice carried out by the developers to prepare for the next step of the project. Services were also affected in the same way as the structures mentioned in the previous table [Edwards et al., 2004]. The services provided during the Expo and after the Expo [Edwards et al., 2004] are presented in table 5.7.

Services	
During Expo	*After Expo*
Wide range of restaurants, from luxury to fast-food	Most of them retained
2 police stations	1 retained
Information Centres	1 retained
Child care centre	Ended
Sanitation facilities	Retained
Banks	Retained
Mail and communication	Retained
Press Centre	Ended
Health Centre	Replaced by new hospital

Table 5.7. The status of Expo services
[Edwards et al., 2004, p. 205]

These services contributed to the success of the World Expo and the authorities decided that they could have a major role in this district, retaining most of them, excepting the *Child care centre, Press Centre* [Edwards et al., 2004]. The Health Centre's activity was ended but, comparing to the other two services, the developers decided to continue its

function, therefore, a new hospital was built on the old *Health Centre* which was replaced. [Edwards et al., 2004].

Followed by the dismantlement and retention of the expo structures, the next step was focused around planning documents necessary for the expansion of the project and the first one to be discussed was the Plano Director Municipal (Director Plan). In this context, *"[In] 2001 the city council announced the intention to review the PDM of Bruno Soares, eight years into its implementation. The announcement was made in an urban context characterized by recent and significant transformations in the composition of the general urban layout of the city."* [Oliveira and Pinho, 2008, p. 94]. This update was brought in discussion and approved in a context of several changes in the area. In addition, infrastructure was updated and improved to strengthen the connection of the area [Oliveira and Pinho, 2008]. To contextualise, *"[A] second Lisbon bridge across the Tagus River was built and the first bridge enlarged to accommodate more road traffic and railway. New modal interfaces had also been built to serve the network of heavy transport. Slums and shanty housing had been almost totally eradicated from central urban areas. The World Exhibition, in 1998, brought about a tremendous opportunity to requalify a large site on the eastern part of the city and along the riverside."* [Oliveira and Pinho, 2008, p. 94]. The update in infrastructure was a necessity since the neighbourhood was growing and traffic started to become very congested.

The State continued its focus on planning documents to support the further expansion of the built environment. In 2002 the Regional Plan was finally ratified after a long period when discussions and preparations were made, which began in 1989, being elaborated for Lisbon Metropolitan Area [Oliveira and Pinho, 2008]. The Regional Plan, a document focused on *"[...] a new strategic vision for the city based on strengthening four catching ideas – local neighbourhoods, entrepreneurship, culture and innovation – [...] presented a number of main strategic objectives: urban rehabilitation, environmental improvement, the integration of uses and functions, the selective occupation of gap and vacant sites, the strengthening of the city's identity and cosmopolitanism."* [Oliveira and Pinho, 2008, p. 94]. This document contributed to the evolution of Lisbon and it supported the project in eastern Lisbon to move forward.

Six years later, after the Regional Plan was implemented, a town master plan was discussed to continue the process of urban regeneration [Tulumello, 2016]. The following statement highlights the role of the town master plan:

"[Urban] regeneration shapes the strategy of the town master plan, launched in 2008 and approved in 2012, called the "3 Rs plan": reuse, refurbish, regenerate (reutilizar, reabilitar, regenerar [1])." [Tulumello, 2016, p. 122].

This is one of the main planning document that included the consolidation of the new urban area but also to further encourage the regeneration process not only in this area but also in other parts of the riverfront. Overall, these operation were carried out to continue the development in this area and through this activity several financial contributions were

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[1]Reuse, refurbish and regenerate in Portuguese [Tulumello, 2016]

made and the table attached in the appendix supports this fact (see section A.4, figure A.1).

The practices helped the redevelopment project and the built environment to move forward. Back then there was already an urban life, as presented by Jorge Gaspar:

> "[New] housing and, besides, you have some infrastructure (. . .) housing built for the different countries, people working there and so on that have become empty and it has been sold very quickly [...]." [Gaspar, 2018, 34:48].

We can deduct that the planning documents were also relying on speeding the process of plot sale to investors and real estate developers, which represented a major priority in relation to the built environment and there was a strong pressure coming from the State to arrange and settle everything on time. In this context, Jorge Gaspar had another idea to add during our discussion in Lisbon: *"[So], you had investments there and you have [...] economic activity and you had from the fair also a couple of three hotels there and those hotels, with the metro going there, [...] they centralised there some tourist activity on people living there [...] we have to connect everything, the public infrastructures, (. . .), the gardens, walking pass, they were active all the time for the Lisbon population and they correspond, you see, so it was never empty [...]"* [Gaspar, 2018, 35:45]. From a personal perspective, the development of the built environment and the plan to create a mix-use area have put the authorities in a difficult position since all these elements had to be connected with a single urban system and the functionality of these areas was vital if this neighbourhood was planned to be a sanitised and environmental-friendly one. However, the fact that most of the structures were retained after the expo represented a good decision for developers who saw the opportunity to focus on other more prioritised operations, spending less time on shaping the former World Expo Intervention Zone, which means that only a few structures still necessitated some work which was done in a very short period of time.

- **Specification of Laws, Formal Competences and Resource Flow Principles**

The main issue we could identify here is the financial problems faced by Parque Expo 98, S.A. and the idea of transferring the responsibility to the municipality was stated during this period [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007]:

> "[The] future of the new district partly depends on the transfer of urban management responsibilities to the municipalities. Delay and uncertainty over the transfer of responsibilities on urban management to the municipalities concerned forms a major threat. The integrated and coordinated approach to planning, building and urban management not fitting into the traditional local public administration organization is also a risk." [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007, p. 90].

The author highlights that it was inevitable to make the decision of transferring responsibilities from Parque Expo 98, S.A to Lisbon Municipality and at this point the decision was taken into consideration but a final answer was not given yet. It was known

that if this decision was not taken in time, the project might have suffered a financial collapse and it would not be able to survive if this debt would dramaticaly be increased.

Parque Expo was involved in promoting its successful project, so that it could present its practices to others who show interest:

> "[In] 2008, together with the Portuguese Order of Architects, Parque Expo organized a conference in 2008 on the ten-year anniversary of Expo '98's city/ imaginedcity, inviting the architects involved and Portuguese scholars to discuss the project." [Aelbrecht, 2014, p. 496]

The company's final activities and events were about to end shorty and one of them was promoting its work to other professionals, through its activity and practices that occurred in these several years of experience in urban development and urban management.

Episode no. 4 - The Dismantlement of Parque Expo 98, S.A.

This episode is also presented in the paper I wrote during my internship (in [Radu, 2018]) in Lisbon, however, it will be presented in a more detailed manner since the line of sight of the research was increased and other research insights were discovered.

- **Actors - Roles, Strategies and Interests**

Major changes occurred in urban governance in this phase of the project. The structure of actors was changed by several decisions to consolidate the project. The Portuguese Government dismantled Parque Expo 98, S.A. in 2011, together with its subsidiary in charge of urban management, transferring responsibility to Lisbon Municipality [Pereira, 2017], [Notícias do Parque, 2012], as cited in [Radu, 2018]. The reason was the debt accumulated by the company who took the responsibility to cover it shortly after the project was finished in 2010 but it didn't manage to handle the deficit [Blokhuis and Schaefer, 2007], as cited in [Radu, 2018]. Followed by this decision, the neighbourhood received a new status in Lisbon which created a new conception about this district:

> "[The] creation of the Park of Nations borough (freguesia), on November 13, 2012, constituted an important act of democratic valorization and proximity with the citizens who live there, work or simply use it." [Machado, 2017, p. 17].

This was obviously followed by the exclusion of the three civil parishes that had within their boundaries parts of Park of Nations. Loures Municipality had two civil parishes in its administrative structure [van Miltenburg, 2010], therefore Loures Municipality is no longer a shareholder in the project, which makes Park of Nations an area under the administration of one municipality, Lisbon [Radu, 2018]. Park of Nations has become one of Lisbon's civil parishes, directly responsible with administrating this area under the command of Lisbon Municipality. However, this decision affected management in the newly developed area:

> "[With] new administrative limits, defined by Law 56/2012, the borough (freguesia) has been confronted with numerous problems in the maintenance-repair of the public spaces

since the charges appear unsustainable for the budget of that district." [Machado, 2017, p. 17].

The public spaces represented a challenge for the board of the civil parish, having the difficulty of managing this area which required a large budget to cover the costs of this operation. It represented a problematic situation because it is a unique area in Lisbon and even the developers stated that they didn't work with a project of a scale like Park of Nations. A scheme which presents the interactions of actors and other issues mentioned above can be seen in figure 5.10.
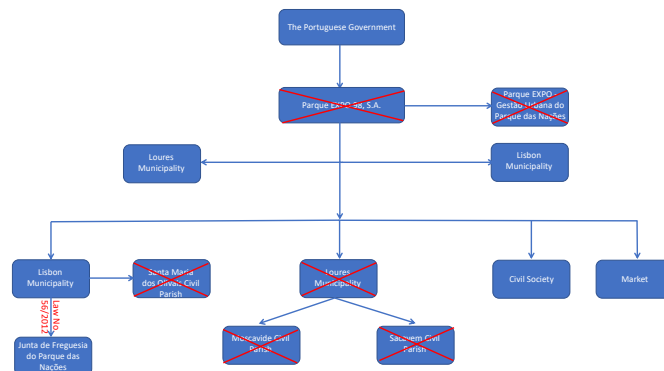
Figure 5.10. Actors involved in episode four of urban governance
[Pereira, 2017], [Notícias do Parque, 2012], [Carvalho, 2016], as cited in [Radu, 2018, p. 49]; [van Miltenburg, 2010]

- **Arenas - Institutional Sites**

At this phase the project was already completed, however, there were still issues to discuss focused on how to maintain and consolidate this area. The Portuguese Government was the main decision-maker representing national arena [Radu, 2018], while Lisbon Municipality was the second most important decision-maker in Parque das Nações. The municipality was in charge of the new area together with the newly created civil parish, representing the local arena [Radu, 2018].

- **Settings and Interactive Practices - Communicative Repertoires**

In this current phase, the actors were discussing the debt accumulated by Parque Expo 98, S.A. and what solutions can be identified in this context. The following statement confirms that expenses were very high and it created a financial gap:

"[The] final balance between costs and revenues is still unknown. It was estimated that accumulated expenses until the year 2009 would make a total of 1850 million Euro, of which 375 million Euro were financial costs [...]." [Parque EXPO 98, 1999], as cited in [Swyngedouw et al., 2002, p. 559].

The large amount can be explained since a large-scale project was implemented in this area and the cost were very high, which increase the pressure of the company to sell the plots to increase the profit to cover the losses. At this point, the project was nearly completed

and there were unclear aspects related to the financial balance of the project, how much Parque Expo 98, S.A. obtained from selling plots, but one thing is for certain, that the deficit was increasing every year and the company was looking for solutions:

"[In] order to make up for the increasing deficit, Parque Expo raised land prices and changed previous costs and agreements. [...]. These trends pushed property values up at the Expo site: Expo flats are now, on average, the most expensive in Lisbon. Thus, the state, through a public developer, is competing with the local market for raising house prices." [Swyngedouw et al., 2002, p. 560].

These changes that occurred in the neighbourhood caused a real estate boom which increased the price of apartments, creating a cluster for elites and affecting the spatial and social rights in the area.

- **Networks and Coalitions**

We can identify a coalition that was focused on consolidating the area, attracting more people and investments, solving issues related to urban management and to create an administrative body that will maintain the high-quality status of this district. It is important to focus on this aspect due to the fact that residents expect to benefit from several services in return to acquiring very expensive apartments and moving here.

- **Stakeholder Selection Process**

This aspect is described in figure 5.10, where we can identify new stakeholders that emerge in this project. The process was shaped by the Portuguese Government who decided to change the administrative structure of Parque das Nações and created a body to focus on urban management and consolidation of the new neighbourhood.

- **Discourses - Framing Issues, Problems, Solutions, etc.**

At this point, the project was finished and certain aspects were still discussed by Lisbon Municipality. In this context, the achievement in Parque das Nações and what the State created in Lisbon Metropolitan Area through this project inspired Lisbon to move on with this approach. Therefore, the municipality elaborated the Lisbon Strategy for the next 14 years after the project was completed (2010-2014), focusing on sustainability through regeneration, climate change adaptation and the development of green spaces [Santos et al., 2015]. This suggests the need to further expand this policy in cities using Parque das Nações as a discourse to highlight that the municipality is capable to continue what it achieved in Parque das Nações. Therefore, the main tool used here is the update of the Lisbon's Master Development Plan [Santos et al., 2015], known as *"[...] Plano Director Municipal de Lisboa (PDML) (Revisão) [...]."* [Santos et al., 2015, p. 9], focused on mobility and sustainability in Lisbon [Santos et al., 2015].

- **Practices - Routines and Repertoires for Acting**

The interesting aspect here is the future of Parque das Nações, which was discussed before the project was finished. Therefore, *"[In] 2008, Lisbon Municipality develops the Riverfront General Plan that would guide the public projects in the 19 km Tagus riverfront for the*

next decade." [AIVP, 2015, p. 2]. This represents the ambition of Lisbon to expand the development and to achieve a similar outcome in the whole riverfront area of Tagus. Following this decision, the Intervention Zone experienced a few minor adjustments that would create a more pedestrian-friendly area. Therefore, cycling paths were constructed in 2013, with a length of 11 km on the waterfront of Tagus to further connect the river with the city life [AIVP, 2015].

Another important aspect here is related to the World Expo 98 and the discussion is about one of the pavilions that hosted the exposition. Therefore, *"[...] Pavilhão de Portugal (designed by Alvaro Siza), which according to the original plan, should have hosted the Portuguese Council of Ministers, but remained unused until 2015 when it was bought by the Universidade de Lisboa to host university initiatives and events relating to higher education and scientific research."* [Vita and Morandi, 2018, p. 85]. The last unused pavilion dated from the exposition was finally sold to University of Lisbon to organise conferences and other university events, as the author mentioned in the previous statement.

- **Specification of Laws, Formal Competences and Resource Flow Principles**

It is known that the project was affected by economic crisis [Tulumello, 2016] and there was a need to prevent the collapse of the market that would affect the deadline of the project. Therefore, decisions were taken to reject the crisis and this influenced the emergence of an activism focused on preventing the possibility of witnessing a failure in successfully developing Parque das Nações [Tulumello, 2016]:

"[Examples] of this activism are the municipal reform (2012), which reduced the number of parishes and decentralized several competences [...]." [Tulumello, 2016, p. 121-122].

This can be seen in Parque das Nações as well when the neighbourhood was no longer under the administration of three civil parishes, two belonging to Loures Municipality and one to Lisbon Municipality. Therefore, it created a structure which could manage the area easily without creating political conflicts, meaning that the political collaboration would be easily carried out between Lisbon Municipality and the civil parish.

The last section of the empirical analysis will present the outcome of urban governance and what several issues will be presented in 5.4. This means that we will present the product of urban governance and we also go back to the process and present the gaps that determined several issues in eastern Lisbon.

5.4   The Outcome of Urban Governance in Parque das Nações

The outcome of urban governance will be presented through a chronology of elements that emerged due to the World Expo 98 event and the development of Parque das Nações. In addition, certain gaps of urban governance that occurred and create issues in the urban space of Parque das Nações that persist even nowadays will be presented in this section. But, first of all, considering the major impact of the World Expo 98 event, the first approach will highlight this event and how it impacted the capital city, Portugal in general and its residents.

The World Expo 98 Event - Implications and its Role in Lisbon and Portugal

The World Expo event was a major operation and the success of the large-scale urban development project depended on this event. However, when Lisbon experienced this new form of urban development, this experience determined the emergence of a new form of urban governance and this was caused by the new form of governance culture, world expositions. In Lisbon, the World Expo event held in 1998 had a strong cultural and social impact, as it shaped a new for of urban planning and strategies:

> "[...] it was said that it was successful, most in terms, in economic terms, if you would call all the gains, like environmental gains and so on [...] all this but also in terms of urban planning but [...] in terms of cultural satisfaction, more than social. Cultural, the sense that Portuguese could do something well then. And it was a message that social environments try to expand, that Portuguese, not only soccer and so on, but even in planning Portuguese can do very good things if everything is planned, so planning is important and so on, there's not a disease for Portuguese to make things in a wrong sense with infrastructures and so on." [Gaspar, 2018, 26:04].

Jorge Gaspar describes a cultural change after the exposition took place, mentalities were changed and the Portuguese realised that a new way of doing planning was the right decision and it gave them confidence that this can be done by a small country but in the end they also got knowledge on how to environmentally expand in cities but also to learn how important is to take care of the environment and to experience different strategies and tools in relation to urban planning and everything related to urban development and they realised that they can surpass different barriers and the identified themselves as not only a culture of football, which is the most popular and professional sport in Portugal, but also in something that they didn't realise they could excel.

Another insight related to the outcome of the exposition is how the edition held in Portugal boosted the confidence of BIE and their events, which are organised in other major cities in the world. It is known that the exposition held before Lisbon represented a failure and the reputation of BIE and their activity was affectedby this aspect.

> "[...] Sevilla it was before, and it was after, what happen its nation, its state builds its own pavilion (...), frequently they have nothing to do with it afterwards, the evolution

and so on [...]. Here it happened because there was, they made some models and these models could be adopted to other activities afterwards or there are models so, how to say, with the potential of transformation that could be rebuilt in another thing, or even demolished." [Gaspar, 2018, 30:52].

The failure of developing the new project immediately after the exposition raised awareness regarding the risk of these mega-events used as a tool for large-scale urban development. The failure convinced several professionals working in this fields whether should we consider an alternative, since this issue generated a series of discussions centred on mega-events. This is the moment when Lisbon came in, with a strong discourse that suggested that it's Portugal's job to open a gateway and to put aside the exposition in Seville (see figure 5.11). Therefore, Portugal developed its own governance culture of mega-events and introducing the mega-event financed by 100% public funds. The creation of a public company with several subsidiaries represents one of the elements in this new planning agenda and it shows that Lisbon has a culture of subsidiaries, being dependent upon the local authority, considered to be a gateway for urban development, which contributed to both World Expo 98 events and the development of Park of Nations.

Figure 5.11. Former World Expo 92 site in Seville
[Morrison, 2015, p. 1]

This subsidiarity culture was a strong coalition which have put a lot of effort in urban development and a lot of work was done on public spaces [Figueira, 2011], which means *"[Careful] treatment of the public space was one of the key features of the enterprise, raising the awareness of policy makers and users."* [Figueira, 2011, p. 157]. This new planing agenda suggested that the most important component of a development project are the public spaces, which have a strong influence in generating attractiveness for social groups. The success of this mega-event in Lisbon and the creation of attractive public spaces generated a positive attitude within local authorities and citizens. Therefore, Portugal, through the good feedback received after World Expo, was encouraged to organise other events that would have great impact to the economy of Portugal, such as sports, IT or cultural events. All these events were held in the former World Expo 98 site, other locations

in Lisbon or in other cities around Portugal. Therefore, the next subsection will presents these events that occurred in Portugal.

Portugal - a Cluster of Events

The success of World Expo and other events successfully organised before the World Expo 98 highlights the preference of Portugal for these events and that urban development in Portugal has a potential through these events. Therefore, the events emerged in a context of improving the image of Lisbon and Portugal, in order to compete with other major capitals in Europe [Metaxas et al., 2011]. All this competitiveness and branding through events was formulated through several strategic plans [Metaxas et al., 2011] elaborated by the Portuguese government and Lisbon Municipality. All these events successfully developed a culture of urban governance in Lisbon through the implementation of public-private partnerships and urban plans. The following table presents a few important events that had a significant impact in Lisbon in the past 28 years.

Event	Location	Year	Description
European Capital of Culture	Lisbon	1994	- It represented a program introduced in 1985 - the event had the purpose to bring people together from all EU states*
UEFA Euro 2004	Portugal, including Lisbon	2004	- the football championship, which is held every 4 years in different European countries, was set to take place in a number of eight Portuguese cities using ten stadiums located in the urban areas mentioned above.
Websummit	Parque das Nações, Lisbon	Annual (during fall)	- started in 2010 and it is organised until present times; - the largest tech conference held at Altice Arena in the former expo site, with a length of 4 days; - it brings together major IT companies from all around the world.
Eurovision Song Contest	Parque das Nações, Lisbon	2018	- the venue used to organise this contest was the former expo area and two iconic buildings were used, Altice Arena and Pavilhão de Portugal

***Table 5.8.** Events in Portugal*
*[Official Journal of the European Communities, 1985], as cited in [Metaxas et al., 2011]; [Metaxas et al., 2011], [Websummit, 2018], [Eurovision Song Contest, 2018]

Lisbon as a European Capital of Culture had a rationality and it was related to promoting Lisbon and its cultural heritage to Europe. In this context, it *"[...] provided an opportunity to create and consolidate the city's cultural programs, improve facilities, promote the city abroad and attract both visitors and investors."* [Metaxas, 2006, p. 409], as quoted in [Metaxas et al., 2011, p. 16]. For the first time, Lisbon had an opportunity to promote its culture to Europe and to sell business opportunities to investors by promoting the city and its economy. Through this event, Lisbon generated a new image of the city and we can identify this feature through several actions taken by the municipality:

"[New] habits in cultural consumption, larges audiences for culture, renovated spaces for culture and most generally improved cultural marketing constituted basic elements of the transformation of Lisbon's international image." [Metaxas et al., 2011, p. 17].

This represented the first step in improving the status of Lisbon. In addition, the event perfectly synchronised with the preparations for the World Expo 98, which created a

symmetrical effect between these two events, Lisbon promoting the upcoming World Expo 98 event through its status of being the European Capital of Culture.

The UEFA Euro event organised in Portugal represented an event that Portuguese people were proud of, since Portugal has a long history of being one of the best countries that practice football and it is one of its cultural feature. In this case, there was an opportunity for the media to promote Portugal and its long football history through this sport event and, in this context, [Metaxas et al., 2011] has important data to present:

> "[...] the UEFA EURO 2004 was broadcasted to a television audience of an estimated 1 billion, whereas the average number of spectators at the stadiums for the finals and the semi-finals of the championship was 47111 and the event was covered by 3.500 journalists." [Metaxas et al., 2011, p. 21].

We can observe that this event had a major impact in Europe but also on other continents, European football being consider the most high-quality one on the planet. The event brought not only attention from the international scale but also it brought urban renewal projects. It is known that UEFA has very strict rules when it comes to football infrastructure and this was available for Portugal as well. We can specify that the UEFA is an important driver of urban renewal through their regulations when an event of this scale is organised under their influence:

> "[A] very important procedure in a UEFA EURO CUP event is the construction of the new stadiums. First of all it is a significant matter from the planning point of view, regarding the location of the construction of the new stadiums and the other facilities." [Metaxas et al., 2011, p. 21].

The interesting part, in relation to the World Expo 98 held in Lisbon, is that this time the urban renewal will be focused on a larger scale. The World Expo 98 redeveloped one area, while the renewal for organising the UEFA Euro was carried out in eight Portuguese cities, as mentioned by [Metaxas et al., 2011]. The result suggests that the renewal process in these cities has the same outcome as the renewal of the former industrial site in eastern Lisbon: *"[...] due to the urban characteristics that involve the construction of the new stadiums, the real estate speculation seems to be gaining the principal role of the Euro 2004 even from the European Football Championship itself. More specifically, it is mentioned that the Championship is used as a pretext for great economic profits for the football clubs and the private agents directly involved in the construction of the stadiums."* [Metaxas et al., 2011, p. 21]. However, in contrast of the World Expo 98 which was developed 100% public, the renewal for the Euro 2004 was dependent on the private sector and this determined the emergence of speculation and these renewal operations are in the interest of the market, private investors and club teams that will use the stadiums after the championship ends.

Two major events held in Portugal presents how Portuguese people developed a culture of events based on the World Expo and the success of the expo can be related to a long experience in events which were also connected to urban renewal, such as the Euro 2004. However, these were not the only events held in Portugal. Eastern Lisbon experienced

other events and the former Expo site hosts or hosted other events that has very important contribution to the image of the city. A well known event that is held annually in Parque das Nações is the Websummit, the largest tech summit incorporating 23 conferences that brings the IT industry from all around the world in Lisbon [Websummit, 2018]. The summit annually brings together over 70000 attendees, over 1200 speakers from over 170 countries [Websummit, 2018]. Well known companies from all over the world exhibit at this summit and these are the following: Google, Mercedes-Benz, IBM, Booking.com, Microsoft, Huawei, Siemens etc [Websummit, 2018]. The last event which was recently held in Parque das Nações is Eurovision, an annual music competition where European countries send their music artists to compete. The access to the venue, which includes Pavilhão de Portugal and Altice Arena [Eurovision Song Contest, 2018] has determined the authorities to limit the access of pedestrians and cars around these two buildings (see figure 5.12). The event was held between 29th of April and 12th of May 2018 [Eurovision Song Contest, 2018]. This recent event continued to create a very positive image of this area even eight years after its completion.

Figure 5.12. Eurovision Song Contest in Parque das Nações

Overall, this suggests that Park of Nations still remains an iconic neighbourhood and the pride of Lisbon. We can conclude in this case that the World Expo 98 event clearly have created a cluster of events and its structures used for this purpose. Therefore, we can argue that the exposition brought positive elements and it still has a role in Park of Nations. Urban governance had created a successful network of events that occurred through the success of World Expo 98. Next step will analyse what urban governance has produced in eastern Lisbon, which is a new district in Lisbon Metropolitan Area and it is interesting to present elements of this area which is know today as Parque das Nações or Park of Nations.

Parque das Nações - the New Product of Urban Governance

If we go through the levels and dimensions of urban governance in Parque das Nações, presented in section 5.3, we can conclude that urban governance was integrating a series of elements that made this project very interesting and complex. In this subsection conclusive elements related to urban governance will be presented to sum up key elements that shaped the urban governance, which created Parque das Nações.

Urban governance in Parque das Nações can be described as a tool that followed a pattern

of strategic development that would reverse the development in Lisbon. Jorge Gaspar presented an interesting opinion on Lisbon in relation to the newly developed project:

"[...] what is implied a trend of deconcentrating from Lisbon to the west side, the corridor Lisbon- Cascais, along the motorway A5, there are some business centres along the water way." [Gaspar, 2018, 11:04].

Jorge Gaspar wanted to describe that the project, besides regenerating an obsolete industrial area, it also had a strategy to deconcentrate the highly developed western part of Lisbon which have put a lot of pressure on the urban system, creating traffic congestion and transforming A5 Motorway (see figure 5.13) one of the most busy roads in Lisbon and it increased the density of built environment over the past few years.
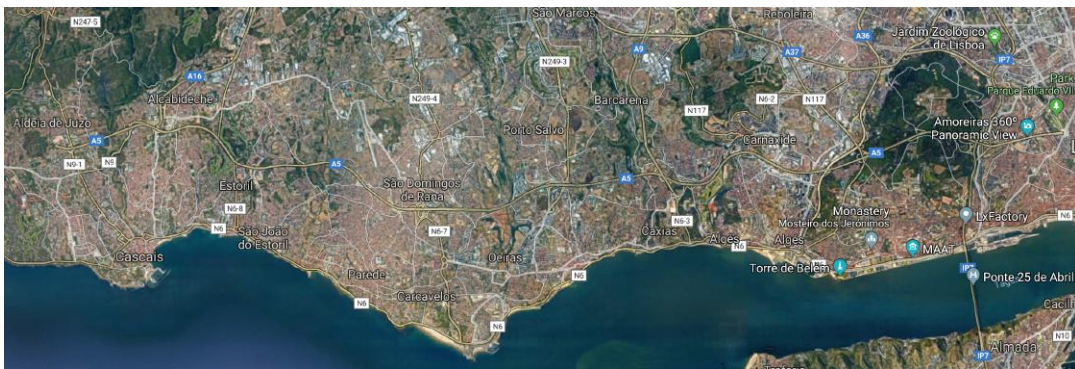
Figure 5.13. The A5 Motorway Lisbon-Cascais
[Google, 2018]

Joge Gaspar continues his insight on this aspect through the argument that *"[On] the entrance of the motorway, this influx stopped because some big companies they didn't move there but they moved to the east side, this is a success in the way of the reverse [...] the concentration that was avoiding disruption for the west side, maybe it's positive because the reason to do with east side it was only supported the car, transportation, individual car."* [Gaspar, 2018, 12:26]. Once the project in eastern Lisbon commenced and the built environment together with the infrastructure was developed, a reverse of the concentration of economic activities occurred, private companies didn't move in the west side, preferring the eastern part that offered more opportunities and an attractive landscape. This helped Lisbon solving its traffic issues and it created an alternative for people and the difference, according to Jorge Gaspar, was the metro [Gaspar, 2018]. The western part of Lisbon didn't have an underground infrastructure and it still doesn't have and this convinced the entrepreneurs that the metro presents a very important infrastructure and the fact that the western part still doesn't have a metro line creates a high concentration of car users on the motorway, mainly people working in Lisbon but living at the outskirts of the city [Gaspar, 2018]. This represented one of the insights of urban governance, the result of a strong discourse to develop the eastern part of Lisbon and the rationale behind the series of strategic plans to develop this project.

The neighbourhood in eastern Lisbon represents a successful project and the urban governance model that was implemented in this large-scale urban development project

shaped a new district in Lisbon:

> *"[Park] of Nations is today a residential neighbourhood and an office centre [...]. Well known for the innovative urban design, the mixed-use urban fabric and the ability to generate a new cultural, recreational and economic city centre, Park of Nations is considered a good example and a successful model of urban and environmental regeneration."* [Cavaco and Afonso, 2015, p. 75].

This statement clearly presents the neighbourhood as one of the most successful regeneration projects in Lisbon. However, there is more than that and urban governance presents certain elements that the statement doesn't clearly explain. The area was moving towards of becoming a competitive area for the city centre through the type of services and people that were attracted here. Therefore, it *"[...] has gradually become a new large centrality for both the city and its urban region [...]. Previously, similarly to the greatest part of the city's waterfront, it was an inaccessible place to citizens and visitors. On the contrary, according to its functions and connections, this new centrality is now a polifunctional and transcalar location frequented not only by citizens, but also by other urban populations through a mixture of different uses."* [Vita and Morandi, 2018, p. 85]. This is an important insight and it demonstrates how effective this area has become and the fact that it attracts other people, excepting the residents, could benefit the city, influencing the deconcentration of the old city centre which represents a tourism cluster.

Jorge Gaspar explains how the development process evolved from the beginning until the end and what kind of features we can identify thorugh this insight:

> *"[At] the beginning, especially upper-middle class. Later on, in the cycle of development [...] they start to build more dense buildings, (. . .) smaller to attract the mid class and from even lower class from northern and western suburbs. It is important to see this, what in a sense was for people living there was negative, because it increased the density and the demand for services and so on but [...], on the other side, it make a neighbourhood more balanced in social terms because, otherwise, Parque das Nações could become a neighbourhood of only rich people [...]."* [Gaspar, 2018, 19:29].

This contradicts the initial idea that the developers create a neighbourhood to integrate different social groups which represents a very important insight and a positive urban governance outcome, reversing form the upper-middle class to lower class groups through housing development. Jorge Gaspar considers this a positive shift, however this caused a higher demand of services which created issues, which will be presented in the last subsection, where gaps of urban governance will be presented.

The urban governance in eastern Lisbon was focused on creating a culture of subsidiaries owned by the State and on a top-down approach in urban development, local arena being totally controlled by the national arena. In this context, it is considered that the development project was *"[...] always a public intervention and the formation of prices for the soil to develop it was totally dependent on the public sector [...] who decided the value of the land. [...] it was because what public sector invested there, namely one finishing with*

poison and so on, cleaning the environment. Second, building expensive infrastructures, roads, water, electricity, telecommunication and so on and (. . .) one, deciding the density." [Gaspar, 2018, 20:54]. The capability of the public sector to carry out all these activities is a remarkable achievement in terms of urban governance and it shows the capability of Lisbon in creating essential infrastructures for the project and in the same time decontaminating the site which was the most important operation in this project. These infrastructures are presented in figure 5.14, representing iconic structures of Parque das Nações.

Figure 5.14. Iconic infrastructures in Parque das Nações (on the left Vasco da Gama bridge and on the right Moscavide Train Station)

Through urban governance other issues were solved and the environmental outcome, excepting the decontamination process, there was a strong focus on Tagus River and, in this context, the *"[...] water front has been worked in terms of landscaping very well because all this belongs to preserved areas, namely with the birds' directive from the European Union."* [Gaspar, 2018, 42:30]. The developers realised that it is important to fully take into consideration the environmental regulations and there was also taken into consideration the directives formulated by EU, which was mandatory to respect them, due to the fact that Portugal is a member state. This influenced the reintegration of the protected area in the urban system and it regenerated the natural habitat of a large population of flamingos [Gaspar, 2018].

Parque das Nações is a neighbourhood with a different function and industrial activity is no longer existent here. However, giving the fact that the project integrated historical heritage related to Portuguese Discoveries there was also a focus on the industrial heritage. Therefore, *"[All] these sculptures and existing buildings as the "Petrogal Tower", a gate particularly popular with visitors arriving in tourist buses parking in the southern lots, are still in place nowadays."* [Lourenço, 2002, p. 4]. This means that the developers wanted to create a monument to label this area as a former industrial area and it represented the pride of Lisbon six decades ago. In addition, there was also a tendency to have these heritage structures for tourists to get knowledge on the history of this area. The industrial tower, located in Parque das Nações, is presented in figure 5.15.

Figure 5.15. Petrogal Tower

It is highly important to mention that urban governance created other important elements and one of the most important one, of which the developers are proud of, are the public spaces created in this area. First of all, this include the high-quality greens spaces that Jorge Gaspar mentioned during the interview:

"[Green] areas that are in average they are very good and very successful, namely those green areas connected to Tagus River, with different scales, you have those small gardens, but it was also connected by a [...] walking pass [...] it works very well and it's very nice. Also [...] the central ribbon, one was the base for the Expo, although it cost to maintain it, work in a reduced water and so on, but it's still in good conditions." [Gaspar, 2018, 50:05].

The green areas developed in this area represented an essential component in the cleaning process of this area and to achieve sustainability and the most important outcome in this context is that the practices and strategies in developing these areas created a chain of green spaces that presents an outstanding functionality and they attract large number of people. The most important green space, covering a large area of 100 ha [Krajnik et al., 2013], is Tagus and Trancão Urban Park [van Miltenburg, 2010], located in the northern part of Parque das Nações, is know for its role in sanitising the area and to contribute to water remediation [Krajnik et al., 2013] and this large urban park can be seen in figure 5.16.

Figure 5.16. Tagus and Trancão Urban Park

It is important to mention that this park integrates several facilities, such as walking paths, including a pass located underneath the Vasco da Gama Bridge that transits this area [van Miltenburg, 2010], football fields and several playgrounds. In addition, a walking path on water is available, which was built on Tagus River (see figure 5.16), transiting a nearby swamp next to Trancão River. To the south of this area, in the former Expo area, several small parks concentrated on a small surface and they provide an opportunity for people to spend more time in the expo area [Krajnik et al., 2013]. The following table (5.9) presents these gardens and a few features integrated through these spaces.

Garden	Description (in-text quotations) *
1. Jardins Garcia d'Orta	A linear stroke of six rectangular parks
2. Jardins Suspensos	With characteristic vertical gardens
3. Jardins da Água	With interconnected water-themed features
4. Jardim das Ondas	Which simulates ocean movements
5. Esplanada D. Carlos I	With varied flora
6. Passeio Ribeirinho	Along the River Tagus
7. Jardim Sul	
8. Cabeço das Rolas	With cascades of grass and water surfaces and designed by Gonçalo Ribeiro Telles connects the neighbouring residential and business structures and acts as a landmark.

Table 5.9. Gardens in Parque das Nações
, [Krajnik et al., 2013], *[Krajnik et al., 2013, p. 139]

These gardens improved the reputation of large-scale urban development projects which are specifically working more with the built environment rather that green areas. The quality of these spaces can be seen in several pictures that present these gardens, such as Jardins Garcia d'Ora in figure 5.17

Figure 5.17. Jardins Garcia d'Ora

As we can observe, this amazing garden integrates different exotic species, creating a vegetation diversity which is transited by paths and benches. In addition, we can also identify some small ponds that increase the aesthetics of this area. Jardins Suspensos represents another iconic garden in Parque das Nações [PORTAL DAS NAÇÕES, 2014d], located next to the railway, on a small alley behind the Hotel Art's Executive. These suspended gardens, as the name in Portuguese suggests, are represented by vegetation that expanded on different structures, as we can observe in figure 5.18.


Figure 5.18. Jardins Suspensos

Jardins da Água, located next to the Oceanarium, represents a symbolic garden, which highlight the importance of the water and the heritage of water, presenting exotic species brought from former Portuguese colonies [Radu, 2018]. It represents an excellent space used by tourists visiting the Oceanarium and an opportunity to rest after a long tour at the Oceanarium, as we can observe in figure 5.19.

Figure 5.19. Jardins da Água

Next to Jardins da Água we can find Jardim das Ondas, which simulates ocean movements [Krajnik et al., 2013], [Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2018]. Images of this garden can be seen in figure 5.20.
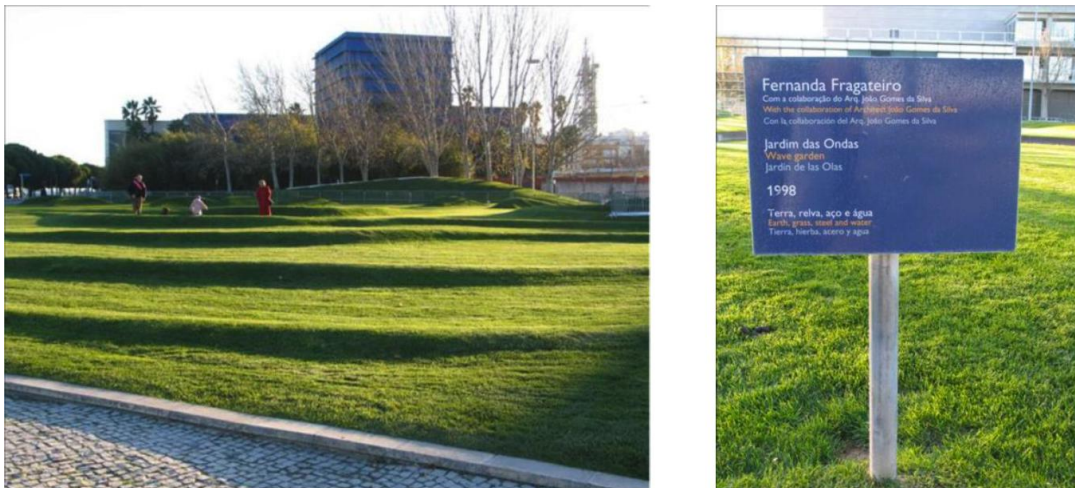
Figure 5.20. Jardim das Ondas
[Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 2018]

The next green space analysed is not exactly a garden, but it could be identified as a small alley of varied flora [Krajnik et al., 2013], located in front of the Oceanarium entrance, representing an area of transition and it is also used by joggers in their daily exercise routine. This area is called Esplanada D. Carlos I [Krajnik et al., 2013] and it can be observed in figure 5.21.

Figure 5.21. Esplanada D. Carlos I

Another important space that contributed to the creation of an environmental-friendly area is Passeio Riberinho, a path along Tagus River [Krajnik et al., 2013], with a huge variety of urban furniture, like benches, trees or paved spaces for people to spent a few moments of rest after long strolls in this area with a view towards the river. Figure 5.22 presents the alley and its components.

Figure 5.22. Passeio Ribeirinho
[PORTAL DAS NAÇÕES, 2014a]

Jardim Sul is located on the southern side of Parque das Nações, as the name of the park clearly presents the location of this green area, close to the boundaries of the neighbourhood and according to [PORTAL DAS NAÇÕES, 2014c], through a map identified on their website. This small green area located in the southern part represents a quiet space, not very crowded due to the fact that tourists prefer the more attractive central area, such as the former expo site, and this park serves the residents due to the fact that it's located in an area that has only residential function. An overview of the park can be seen in 5.23.

Figure 5.23. Jardim Sul

The last green space developed in Parque das Nações is Cabeço das Rolas, a park with an interesting structure, located in the proximity of the former expo site, according to [PORTAL DAS NAÇÕES, 2014b]. This urban park represents a unique green area, different from other green spaces in Parque das Nações and it could easily be associated with a fortress due to the fact that it represents a park that was built with bricks, vegetation being concentrated on top of this construction and it can be reached through a series of stairs. Two pictures taken in 2017 during my internship presents these characteristics (see figure 5.24).

Figure 5.24. Cabeço das Rolas

As we can observe in these pictures, the park incorporates smaller gardens developed through small paved structures. In addition, it includes an urban furniture formed of benches and the park also has a paved playground but the access is prohibited.

Overall, these green spaces still has a very good reputation within people and we can see that the high-quality of these spaces is maintained due to the interest of the authorities who put a lot of work in creating the most successful urban management body. Daily activities can be seen in the area, where employees are maintaining these spaces, such as cleaning pools of falling leaves or gardening activities that involve the green spaces. Figure 5.25 presents these activities in Parque das Nações.

Figure 5.25. Urban management in Parque das Nações

All these green areas are linked through Alameda dos Oceanos, representing a longitudinal axis with a length of 3.5 km [Krajnik et al., 2013]. This represents the most important area in Parque das Nações and where large groups of people spend a lot of time, mainly in the former expo area. In addition, *"[While] the north and the south part of Alameda dos Oceanos, are characterised by its traffic function, the representative central part comprises a system of water game fountains, [...]"* [Krajnik et al., 2013, p. 139]. This represented the ambition of integrating a high-quality urban furniture to increase the attractiveness of the former expo area. Two pictures presented in figure 5.26 presents Alameda dos Oceanos and its main features.

Figure 5.26. Alameda dos Oceanos

Overall, we can argue that *"[Seven] different types of landscape architecture (urban park, park, linear park, plaza, promenade, alley, and vertical gardens) resonate with the intent of both functional and visual combining of surrounding suprastructure and infrastructure of the area."* [Krajnik et al., 2013, p. 139]. This highlights the multi-functionality of this area and how strategic every elements has been integrated to create a mixed-use area, combining different types of parks, urban furniture and pedestrian areas with a high-quality

infrastructure.

Green areas were not the only successful public spaces provided by the developers who carefully integrated a mixed built environment. It is known that other public spaces were created but an interesting aspect, we can say even unique, is that even the business sector, which was integrated in this area, provides public spaces [Neves, 2018]. This aspect was described by Pedro Neves and he identified several major companies that decided to take part in this initiative:

"[Vodafone] [...] because that's the first time a new building had a corporate image was Vodafone that understood what Parque das Nações would be [...] the Oceanarium because, again, it's another landmark and, obviously, the headquarters of the railway network, the Portuguese network. This would be some of the very important and it's very funny because all of these provide public service, even if Vodafone is private, it's providing public service, basically, what happened is everybody likes to go there." [Neves, 2018, 28:53].

This is another argument that supports the statement that the case is an inspiration and what Parque das Nações created here is not very common in other regeneration projects. The fact that a company can provide an open space for people represents another outcome of the Portuguese planning practice in Parque das Nações. Located on the main boulevard, in Parque das Nações, called *Avenida Dom João II*, Vodafone could be considered one of the major landmarks in Parque das Nações, representing the business sector in this area. The building has a courtyard with walking passes located above several ponds which leads to a small suspended open garden. Figure 5.27 presents the structure of Vodafone's headquarters.
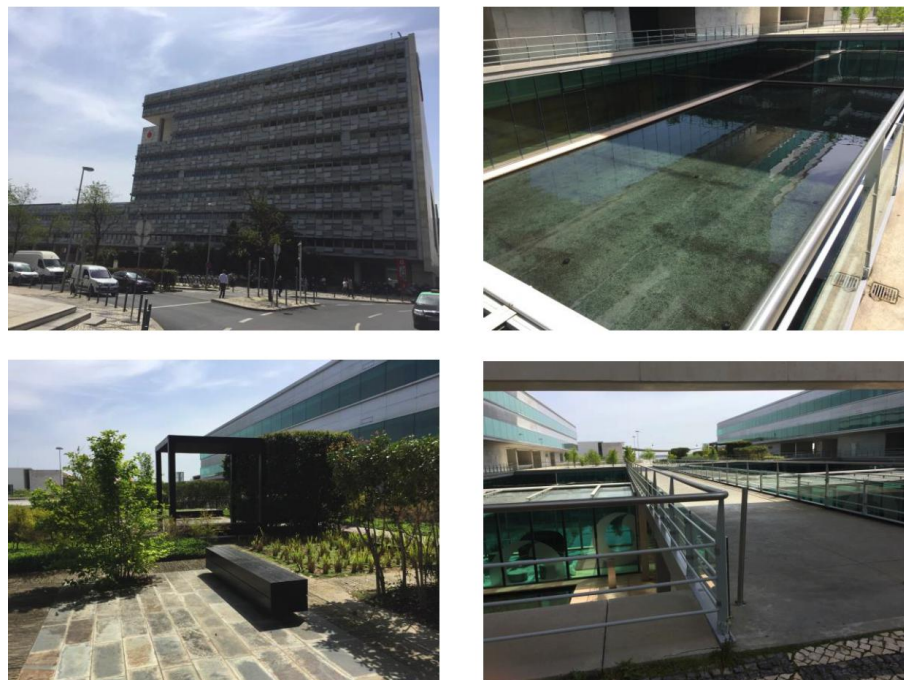
Figure 5.27. Vodafone Headquarters

Probably the most important public landmark here, as [Neves, 2018] mentioned, is the

Oceanarium, a large aquarium home of several species from every Ocean across the globe and one of the most important touristic objective in Lisbon. Located in the Doca dos Olivais, surrounded by pathways, the Oceanarium building is one of the most representative structures in Parque das Nações through its modern architecture, as we can see in figure 5.28.
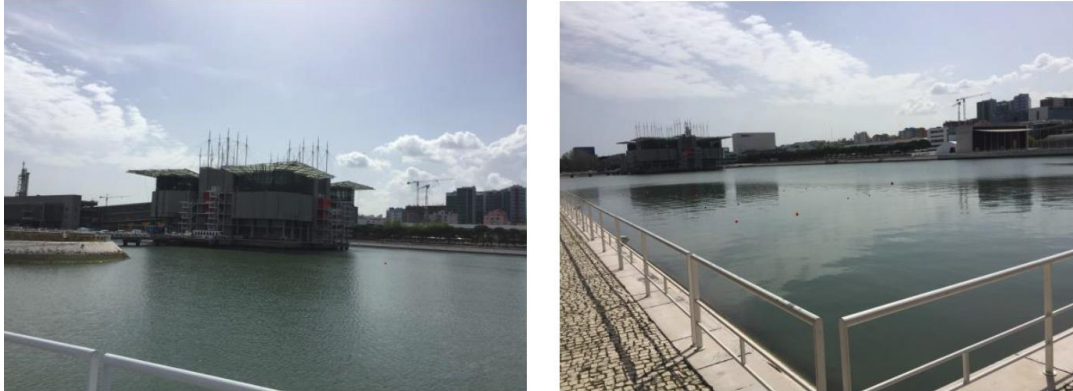
Figure 5.28. Oceanarium (to the left) and Doca dos Olivais (to the right)

These spaces described by [Neves, 2018] are frequently visited by people and they improve the image of Parque das Nações, area which takes advantage of these elements integrated here. The explanation stands in the knowledge Pedro Neves has on this area:

"[Why]? Because it works. Why? Because you have nice people. Why? Because you have tremendous good public space. Why? Because it's easy to park. Why? Because it's self-sustainable, you know! Probably the most important thing of Parque das Nações is self-sustainable and so, it's so important today when we talk about development, sustainable development goals, that we understand that we can create cities, designed by the government, designed by the public sector, DNA defined by the public sector that have private sector participation." [Neves, 2018, 28:53].

Pedro Neves presents an interesting perspective on how urban planning should work and, as an example, Portugal offered Parque das Nações, a neighbourhood that was self-developing, automatically creating self-sustainability and carrying out its duties without the influence of the private sector but participating in this area and collaborating with the public sector who is the only decision-maker here, being associated by [Neves, 2018] as a DNA in Parque das Nações' planning practices.

The private sector had several participants in this area, well-known companies from all around the globe opened headquarters here, representing their main branch in Portugal. Their presence contribute to Lisbon's economy and it is clear that Parque das Nações changed the face of Lisbon and an opportunity for private investors to expand. The majority of private companies are concentrated on the main boulevard, *Avenida Dom João II*, however some companies are scattered in different parts of Lisbon. On the main boulevard we can identify several businesses that belong to the tourism industry, such as Tivoli Hotel and Hotel Art's Executive (see figure 5.29), presenting an large-scale modern architecture.

Figure 5.29. Hotel Tivoli (to the left) and Hotel Art's Executive (to the right)

Another hotel, considered to be integrated in a iconic building, is Torre de Vasco Di Gamma, considered to be, among other structures in Lisbon, the highest one in Lisbon [van Miltenburg, 2010]. This tower is used as a hotel, named Myriad, being considered one of the most luxurious hotels in Lisbon. This hotel was developed by an important actor representing the private sector, Sana Hotels. Two pictures showing the structure can be observed in figure 5.30.

Figure 5.30. Torre de Vasco Di Gamma

As mentioned in a previous section, other headquarters of major companies are scattered around Parque das Nações. Several major Portuguese companies that provide telecommunication and media services moved their headquarters here but it is important to mention that private international companies also had the opportunity to move here, such

as the most important player in the IT industry, Microsoft. It's headquarters is located in the proximity of the Oceanarium and it represents an important achievement for Parque das Nações, managing to attract Microsoft Headquarters in Portugal in this area. Figure 5.31 presents Microsoft Headquarters from Parque das Nações.

Figure 5.31. Microsoft Headquarters in Parque das Nações

The last insight that will be presented in this subsection is the capability of Parque das Nações to convince public institutions to move here [Gaspar, 2018]. Under the guidance of the developer, the main justice department from Lisbon moved in this area [Gaspar, 2018] and it is located on Alameda dos Oceanos but the access can be made from two entrances, firstly from the street mentioned above and from the main boulevard, Avenida Dom João II. It was transformed into a campus which integrates several justice buildings [Gaspar, 2018], such as the Central Criminal Court, Juvenile Court, Commercial Criminal Court or Financial Criminal Court, identified based on the field work carried out here. An interesting fact about this area is that, the same as Vodafone, the developers also took into consideration the provision of public space, the campus having integrated a varied urban furniture and green areas that people use even if they don't have any interest in justice institutions. Figure 5.32 presents the new justice campus in Lisbon.
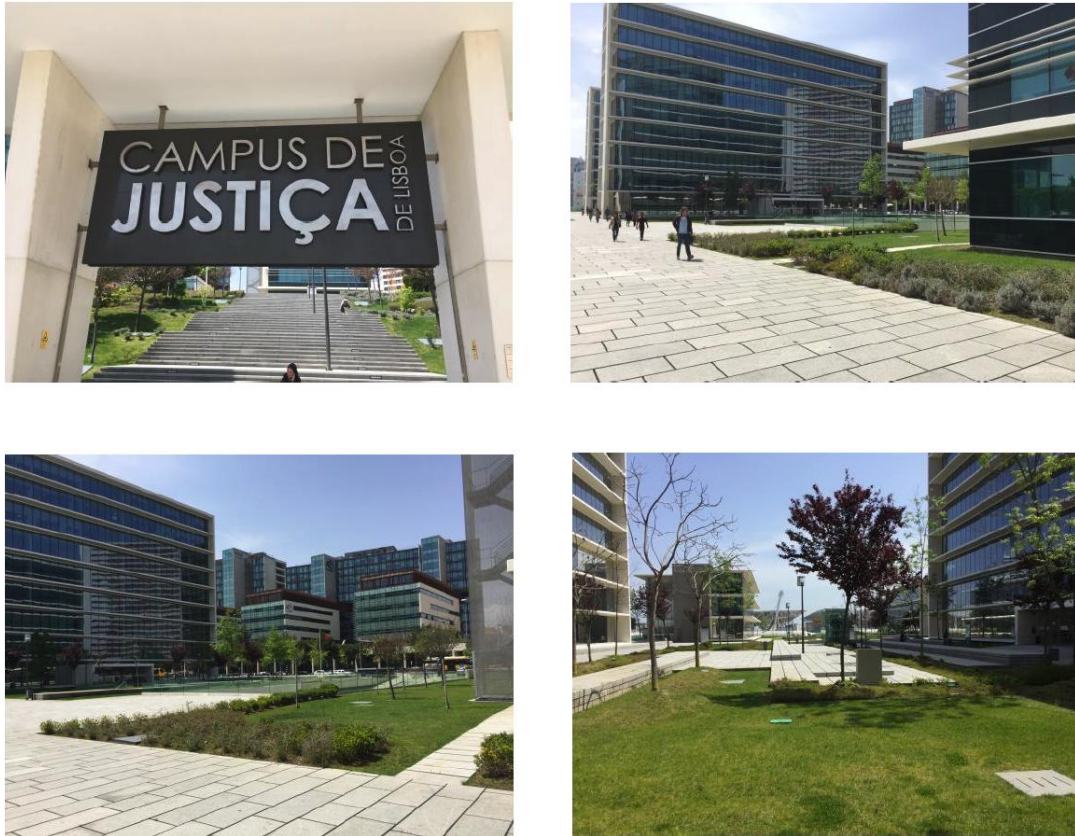
Figure 5.32. Justice Campus in Parque das Nações

To summarise this subsection, urban governance generated a variety of uses in this area that together formed an excellent urban system. These uses are presented in table 5.10, which describes uses of this new neighbourhood:

No.	Uses (in-text quotations)	Characteristics (in-text quotations)
1	High-quality houses (devoted to the middle–high classes)	Concentrated in two different areas, to the northern and the southern ends of the site.
2	Retail activities (beginning with the *Vasco de Gama* shopping center) and several offices (of both public institutions and private companies)	Concentrated along the main roads
3	Accommodation facilities (such as hotels, bars, and restaurants)	
4	Local services, such as educational facilities (i.e., nurseries, primary and high schools, and houses for students), sports venues (i.e., the Marina do Parque das Nações), and hospitals (i.e., the Clínica Expo Saúde and the Hospital CUF Descobertas)	
5	Other facilities mainly devoted to tourists, city users, or metropolitan businessmen (i.e., the Aquarium and the Feria international de Lisboa)	
6	Large public spaces, divided into parks (i.e., the Parque do Tejo, the Parque do Cabeço das Rolas , and the Jardins Garcia de Orta 1, and a series of other smaller public green areas, totaling 110 hectares) and pedestrian areas along the Tagus River*	

Table 5.10. Uses created by the development project
[Vita and Morandi, 2018, p. 86]; *[Vita, 2010], as cited in [Vita and Morandi, 2018, p. 86]

The last subsection will present gaps of urban governance, representing issues that emerged in Parque das Nações, determined by certain failures of urban governance.

Gaps of Urban Governance in Parque das Nações

This subsection will present gaps of urban governance, which means that failures in Parque das Nações are represented by urban governance and its practices that didn't cover certain aspect in the development process. In relation to theoretical approach, urban governance in Parque das Nações created a successful neighbourhood, however certain elements were, if we could speculate, voluntary or maybe involuntarily not taken care of or there were neglected. One thing is for certain that, as mentioned before, urban governance didn't cover every aspect necessary in a large-scale urban development project and the effects can be seen in present times. At this point, the project was done in Parque das Nações and these gaps were identified through levels and dimensions of urban governance, applied in Parque das Nações large-scale urban development project. The solutions to solving these issues is the ongoing process of urban governance and in Parque das Nações the tool to support this process is urban management, which creates the opportunity to solve problems that disturbs the urban system. Several subsections will present these problems and how they affect Parque das Nações.

- **The Concentration of Lisbon's Public Institutions**

The first major issue was identified by [Gaspar, 2018] and it strictly relates to the fact that public institutions moved into this area, creating a disadvantage for the city centre where they were located before. In this context, *"[...] what does it criticise is [...] the draining, attraction of some service from Lisbon city, both private but special public, namely the different corps I told you that were dispersed in the city, [...] for instance, the family court. The family court moved there, they closed the centre where they worked (...) and this was a local impact in the neighbourhood, coffee houses, small restaurants, you see, all this small commerce, this (...) had a significant negative impact. Only now the city, especially the central city, is recovering with tourism and new activities are recovering from this drainage [...]."* [Gaspar, 2018, 14:07]. The problem highlighted by Jorge Gaspar is that this justice campus is used by a lot of people and the decision to move this campus drained the city centre where it was located due to the fact that the commercial area was frequently used by the users of the campus and the decision to move affected the functionality of these spaces, risking bankruptcy due to lack of clients, however, this never happened and the city centre redressed this issue through the increase amount of tourists spending a lot of time in city centre and, obviously, in these spaces. Overall, we might say that it's not an issue nowadays but this kind of practice represents a risk for the urban system, disturbing certain activities in different areas.

- **Planning for the Private Sector - the Emergence of Private Services**

Another insight on gaps of urban governance is again related by Jorge Gaspar during the interview. He states that:

"[The] public money created infrastructure for the environmental air quality and so on, paid by public money and who benefits from it? Speculation! I think this is the extent of the discussion [...]." [Gaspar, 2018, 38:38].

Jorge Gaspar suggests that the private sector benefited from this through the possibility

to invest and gain profit in this area due to the business-friendly policies carried by the State, which explains the success of the real estate investors and corporatism investors that moved here, having the support of the State even through plots being sold to these investors [Gaspar, 2018]. There was a need to carry out this practice due to the fact that the investment was a public one and the State was spending a lot of money to continue the development, therefore the policies were focused on increasing the budget that would be obtained from investors buying the land.

Several other problems were identified in this area and it still represents a unpleasant situation for some people. In this context, Jorge Gaspar argues that:

> "[In] terms of planning [...] is still a very pleasant area that has been, I think, a success [...]. What I think is wrong there is some public provision of those or education and health. (. . .) the hospital, there was expected to be there a large public hospital, a public hospital of Lisbon has not yet been built. (. . .) to respond to enterprises hospital, that is very successful in terms of economic terms, that is a private hospital, of course, that's always, you know, CUF Descobertas, but there is not yet, there is no private hospital with already this new public hospital, because there is a need for it." [Gaspar, 2018, 45:04].

We can identify a contradiction in relation to the statement that Parque das Nações represents an area that offers excellent public services and no issues can be identified in this context. However, minor issues can be identified here and Parque das Nações failed to create high-quality and affordable public services that are essential in every city or town, education and health. Obviously, these facilities are present in Parque das Nações but there are issues in terms of who has the right to these services and due to the fact that it integrated these facilities owned by private investors, not everyone can afford these facilities. [Gaspar, 2018] considers that these private facilties, both educational and medical, affects the functionality of this area due to the fact that not all the residents from Parque das Nações can afford essential public services and solutions must be found because it questions the capability of this area to keep its residents and we have to take in consideration that, from a personal point a view, some residents might leave this area due to the lack of affordable medical and educational facilities. In addition, according to Jorge Gaspar, the schools, event thought they're private, they don't have enough space to integrate all children in Parque das Nações and we also have to take into consideration that some residents still work in city centre and that's the reason why they prefer to take their children to schools located in city centre [Gaspar, 2018]. Finally, Jorge Gaspar had a last opinion regarding educational facilities, mentioning that *[...] the private school we talked about, the private school that is built in an area that it's not (. . .) previewed for building [...]. It was part of the old (. . .) garbage station and this in the primary urban plan, all that area should be transformed in a [...] golf course (. . .)."* [Gaspar, 2018, 55:28, 56:04]. Therefore, certain changes in the update of the Urbanisation Plan determined the integration of these schools into a former polluted land, which it could be considered a negative planning practice in Parque das Nações.

- **Public Transport - Connectivity Issues with other Areas in Lisbon**

The interview with Jorge Gaspar was an opportunity to identify other issues that the

literature didn't specify, at least the one used in this paper. This time the issue exists not only in Parque das Nações but also in Lisbon, in general, because it is know that the city is struggling with this aspect for a long period of time already, and this was identified in public transport, as stated by Jorge Gaspar:

"[...] also in public transportation there is a need for more local irrigation public transportation: bus and maybe, as I suggested many times, the tramway. You should have the possibility to connect from Santa Apolónia, you see it was before, from Santa Apolónia that is the end of a metro line and is the beginning of an end, the beginning of an (. . .) still our main railway station, you could have a kind of a ribbon with the tramway [...]." [Gaspar, 2018, 45:04].

Public transport still represents a major issue in Lisbon, due to the fact that it's not connected in every section of the city. For instance, western part of Lisbon, close to A5, is not connected with the metro line. Parque das Nações has a bus line and metro line, however it's not connected with the tramline located in the city centre. Jorge Gaspar suggests that it could be an advantage for the area if the last stop of the blue line, which is Santa Apolónia located on the Tagus riverfront, south from Parque das Nações, would benefit of a tramline that would go to Parque das Nações, bringing another type of public transport that would reduce traffic congestion.

- **The Expansion of the Riverfront Regeneration Project and other Derelict Areas in the Proximity of Parque das Nações - an Issue for Lisbon**

In relation to other areas, Parque das Nações is very different in terms of several elements, such as built environment, services and public spaces and Jorge Gaspar noticed this issue:

"[...] we're expecting to recover all this derelict area (...) between Parque das Nações and Central Lisbon and this is happening very slowly and it's happening with a typical activity of marginal areas, active space, [...] but not integrated, rebuild, more renewal area and I think one of the reason is because there is no [...] urban concept connecting Parque das Nações that it's like a gift in terms of exclusive area and central city that it's a very interesting area when you start from where is now and the new terminal for cruise and this kind of things you should like to see a continuity in this." [Gaspar, 2018, 45:04].

This truly created a contrast in Lisbon and, of course, the authorities identified the problem and they are planning to solve it. However, we have to take into consideration that is difficult to connect other derelict areas located between Parque das Nações and City Centre due to the fact that it requires a large budget, probably even more than Parque das Nações had. We already know that this created a lot of controversies due to the debt accumulated by developers and this could happen again if the expansion would take place. For now, the developers are planning to expand the regeneration project towards the southern part, that goes to Santa Apolónia metro station, planning to continue a riverfront regeneration process, which was formulated in 2008 when the Riverfront General Plan was elaborated [AIVP and Denis Davoult, 2015], as cited in [Radu, 2018]. The plan states that the development will include several projects that will be carried out on a length of 19

km along the riverfront, using the same strategy as Parque das Nações, all of them public financed [AIVP and Denis Davoult, 2015], as cited in [Radu, 2018].

- **Ineffective Public Spaces in Parque das Nações**

Gaps in urban governance can still be found in this subsection and this time it's related to green spaces, the most successful integrated element in Parque das Nações, and we can see that most of these spaces created an essential role in Parque das Nações. However, Jorge Gaspar refers to one specific green space in Parque das Nações that didn't receive attention:

"[...] this small (. . .), called (. . .), you know, that is a good piece of landscaping and people forget it, [...]. Maybe because people and others go to the waterfront, left this and so on. But at very local environment neighbourhoods, very local, you have very interesting solutions, but they are not so much used by the resident people. Why? I don't know, I could speculate but I don't want to speculate on that. The fact is that there's a potential for residents, in the very local residential areas, a potential public space that is not used by the residents." [Gaspar, 2018, 50:05].

Jorge Gaspar talks about an green space that's not used by residents or tourists but he couldn't specify exactly the name of the green space. However, from a personal perspective, Jorge Gaspar might referred to the park located next to the hospital, in the southern part of the neighbourhood, called Cabeço das Rolas (see figure 5.24), because during field work it was possible to observe that the park was empty, it gives the visitor a feeling that it's an abandoned space and every person that goes there would not be able to see more than two or three persons taking a stroll and it is strange that this neighbourhood experience a lack of functionality in one of it's urban parks located in a residential area.

- **Parque das Nações - Controversy of neo-liebralism**

The development of Parque das Nações brought the attention of the world and its practices determined several scholars and planners to research this case and to get knowledge on what key features can be identified in this project. This influenced the emergence of different opinions which created a controversy on the ideals of this project. In this context, a label was set on Parque das Nações and the developer, together with other people that took part in this project, totally disagree:

[...] this article was presented 2 years before the expo [...] was open. It's very hard for me to imagine how can someone present and write an article knowing a project that at time was 100% public neo-liberalism. So, my point is if everything which is not marxism is neo-liberalism then yes, Nations Park is neo-liberalism. [...] it's very hard for me to imagine this and I'm challenging, through your paper, these people to come to me and to discuss urban development and brownfield development (. . .)." [Neves, 2018, 10:50].

This controversy of neo-liberalism that circled around Parque das Nações represents an interesting element to analyse in this case. However, the fact that the literature contradicts the opinions shared by former employees in this project clearly suggests that certain

aspects were misunderstood and frequently there is a confusion due to the fact that, from a personal perspective, large-scale urban development projects are always associated with neo-liberalism and this can be seen in several cases presented in the literature, which determines the researchers to have this approach when they analyse a specific case. To share a personal perspective, Pedro Neves convinced me that this project can't be associated with neo-liberalism, it is very clear that the State was planning every step and activity in Parque das Nações, and we could argue that it was the *"leader of a large choir"*, guiding every actor in this area and it was the single decision-maker in this development project. We can also argue that the gaps identified in this section influenced several scholars and planners to conclude that these were a result of neo-liebral planning or that these could be identified as neo-liebral practices. However, from a personal perspective, these gaps are a result of urban governance that was a practice used in Lisbon for the first time and this could be the rationale behind these gaps, not neo-liebral practices, since these gaps were influenced by the main decision-maker in Parque das Nações, the State.

- **Parque das Nações - a High-class, Expensive Neighbourhood in Lisbon**

The discussion with Pedro Neves continued with the rationale behind the image of Parque das Nações as one of the most expensive neighbourhood in Lisbon. The development of this area brought into discussion this aspect and it is important to see what has caused this process:

"[If] people do not like an area they are not ready to pay. The reason why the price of square meter in Parque Expo is high, much higher than what we expected is because people enjoy living and going to Parque Expo much more than what we imagined when we developed the project. And so, the main point I would say is success, too much success eventually." [Neves, 2018, 22:37].

This indicates that services and the quality in the area are among the best in Lisbon, therefore the real estate evolved in time and the price of apartments is justified through the increased reputation that this area received. People are willing to pay a high price to have the opportunity to live here, which is a unique area in Lisbon. However, there is still some work that has to be done, mainly in Tagus and Trancão Urban Park, where the space is still used for development because there are still some things that has to be taken into consideration, and this is focused on building capacity [Neves, 2018].

Overall, the outcome represents an important aspect of what urban governance has shaped in Parque das Nações. The next section will present conclusions that sums up the empirical findings and will present the future research perspective that could be interesting to carry out.

Conclusion 6

The last chapter of this thesis will sum up the research findings of urban governance in Parque das Nações and how it influenced the development process and its outcomes. Therefore, this chapter will be focused on answering the main research question:

"How urban governance influenced the development of Parque das Nações and what were the implications and results of this ongoing urban governance?"

The urban development project in Parque das Nações introduced the world to new planning practices, shaped by the State, being 100% involved in this project, both as a financial contributor and decision-maker. From a personal perspective, the large-scale operation that involved the decontamination of an old industrial site, organising the World Expo 98 event and creating a high-quality neighbourhood that competes with the city centre of Lisbon and, we could say that it drained some of the activities from city centre, created an example of successful urban development operation through the creation of a strong administrative structure, decided by the State. The fact that it drained services from city centre was determined by the ambition of local authorities to decongest Lisbon's city centre and western part, by attracting companies from the wealthy west side to the east side and to attract tourists in this newly developed area from a city centre congested and "suffocated" by tourism.

Overall, the State can be considered an expert in creating a diversity of public services and we can argue that Parque das Nações has become a hub of public services. However, urban governance contradicts this fact. Truly, this area offers high-quality services and facilities and, in general, people are very satisfied with this area, however, this research identified several aspects that were neglected by authorities, with their own will or without realising at that time, it's not certain and we can't speculate in this context. The outcome of urban governance presented not only the result of this process but also gaps caused by the structure and practices of urban governance in Parque das Nações. The fact that Parque das Nações neglected essential educational and health facilities, meaning that they integrated private institutions (an hospital and a high-school) represents one of the major gaps of how urban governance was functioning here. Therefore, this brings us to a point were we have to argue what citizens have the right to the city here, to be more precise, who has the right to educational and health rights, since these facilities encourage high-income people to send their children in these institutions, and Parque das Nações doesn't completely accommodate high-income people, since the majority are middle and upper-middle income people, according to [Gaspar, 2018]. Other neglected aspects can

be observed in a public space that is ignored by users, which represents an important insight since this area is considered the pole of public spaces but we can speculate that the high-quality spaces integrated in the former World Expo site could determine this fact and it's location, which is in the south side of Parque das Nações. Overall, we can state that these are important gaps and it affects the dynamics of the urban system but we have to take into consideration that the State experienced, for the first time, a new way of doing urban planning and it was introduced for the first time to large-scale urban development projects which emerged recently, having an history of, if we could estimate, maybe 40 years. However, the urban management structure formed here might be aware of these gaps and it might be able to find some solutions which will take time, of course. This suggests that an ongoing governance takes place in Parque das Nações and this could represent a topic to continue the research in Parque das Nações. Other gaps neglected by urban governance was the public transport, although the metro is a successful and effective transport in Parque das Nações. The issue is related to the fact that other public transports are not effective and the fact that the tramline was not expanded from the old city centre to Parque das Nações, to increase the effectiveness of public transport. In addition, the difficulty of expanding the project to other derelict areas located between city centre and Parque das Nações is part of an ongoing governance and a possible research topic for any planner interested in Lisbon's urban planning. An interesting insight related to this aspect can be identified in the following statement: *"[...] this new urban district, that has generated a process of gentrification in the eastern sector of the city waterfront, has created an urban 'luxury ghetto'—oriented to the river and lacking integration with its surrounding neighborhoods."* [Vita and Morandi, 2018, p. 88]. Some argue that this was the main cause of why this area can't be integrated with other areas, since Olivais and Chelas, the immediate neighbouring districts, built a long time ago as social housing neighbourhoods, represent the barrier of expanding the practices from Parque das Nações in other areas. However, the expansion to the southern part has already been discussed and the decision was already taken but it's unknown when the project will start in relation to the built environment.

The practices of urban governance mentioned in the previous paragraph created an extended discussion between planners and other scholars in relation to ideals and values embedded in the development of this neighbourhood. Some authors argued, through published literature, that this project was using neo-liebral practices in the development process, which contradicts the data collected from interviews, suggesting that the development of Parque das Nações is not different from other large-scale development projects in Europe. However, former employees that have a good reputation in the urban planning scene totally disagree with this concept. For example, Pedro Neves made an interesting statement about neo-liberalism in relation to the space created in Parque das Nações: *"[...] I think quite honestly Marx would be very pleased to go to this public space because he would see that everybody with or without capacity of accumulation, accumulating capital is treating the same way. And I think this is a very strong message because this is what we do not have on gated communities, this is the opposite of a gated community and so, quite honestly, it's almost an insult to call this a neo-liberal (. . .) urban development."* [Neves, 2018, 28:03]. Pedro Neves suggests that the creation of high-quality public spaces that can be used by everyone, even by non-residents, the fact that people can benefit

from several public services and that every space in Parque das Nações can be accessed, strengthens the idea that neo-liberalism was formulated in a wrong sense. Some planners, if we could speculate, labelled the project as neo-liberal due to the fact that they could identify two private institutions in Parque das Nações that were supposed to have the status of public institutions, which is essential for residents in a newly developed area, however, there is no proof, at least in this research, that neo-liberal practices influenced the decision of creating private educational and health institutions. Therefore, this could be another research topic focused on the ideals and values of urban governance in Parque das Nações.

To summarise, the project created a new status for Lisbon and we can state that it shifted Lisbon from a city labelled as the capital of one of the poorest countries in Europe in the 70's and 80's, towards a new modern city that has been avoided for a long time and Parque das Nações helped Lisbon to have a new status of the world map and to attract people, mainly from former colonies. However, certain papers disagree with this statement: *"[Apart] from international tourism, this repositioning did not continue and, in particular, did not survive the 2008 world crisis. Lisbon remains uncompetitive due to its geographical location, demographical size, and economic relevance in comparison with top world urban regions. Therefore, this case seems to emphasize that these urban and mega-event development models are no longer sustainable."* [Vita and Morandi, 2018, p. 89]. We can confirm that Lisbon, on an international scale, created a successful city that attracts a large number of tourists and the fact that, nowadays, safety is very important and that other European destinations experienced terrorist attacks, we can argue that Lisbon is one of the most visited cities in the world. However, on an economic scale, it attracted a lot of companies but still has issues, especially after the economic crisis, when Portugal implemented several austerity measures to cover the gaps and reduce inflation. These problems occurred due to the fact that Euro currency was experiencing major problems back then and it affected every country in Europe that use Euro currency. Nowadays, Lisbon is trying to increase its economy but wages are still low, compared to major powers in Europe, such as Germany, France or Spain. However, we could disagree with the fact that mega-events no longer present sustainability, since it attracted millions of visitors in Lisbon and important investments and we could state that if we take the example of Lisbon's practice in organising a mega-event with minor adjustments, we can still use mega-events as tools in urban development.

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Appendix A

A.1 The World Expo 98 site map
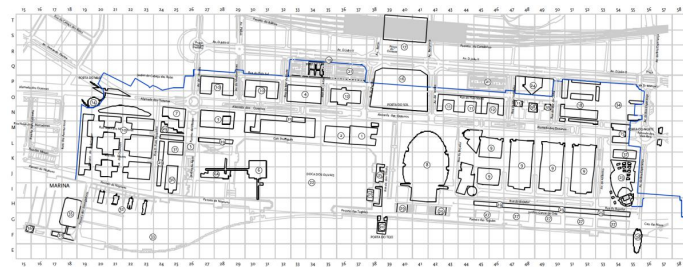
Legend

1. Portuguese Pavilion
2. Ceremonial Plaza
3. Knowledge of the Seas Pavilion
4. Pavilion of the Future
5. Water Gardens
6. Oceans Pavilion
6A. Oceans Pavilion – Support Building
7. Press Centre
8. Utopia Pavilion
9. North International Area
10. South International Area
11. International Organisations Area
12. National Organisations Area
13. Pavilion of Macau
14. Sea Entrance
15. North Entrance
16. Sun Entrance
17. Lisbon Intermodal Station
18. Central Services Area
19. VIP Entrance
20. Tagus Entrance
21. Parking
22. Olivais Dock
23. Sony Plaza
24. Administrative Building
25. Dock Restaurant
26. Dock Amphitheatre

27. Garcia de Orta Gardens
28. Vasco da Gama Tower
29. Restaurants, shops and services
30. Camões Theatre/Jules Verne Auditorium
31. Virtual Reality Pavilion
32. Floating Restaurants
33. Nautical Exhibition
34. Service Entrance
35. Navis Building
36. Pin Trading Centre
37. Radical Sports Arena
38. Swatch Pavilion
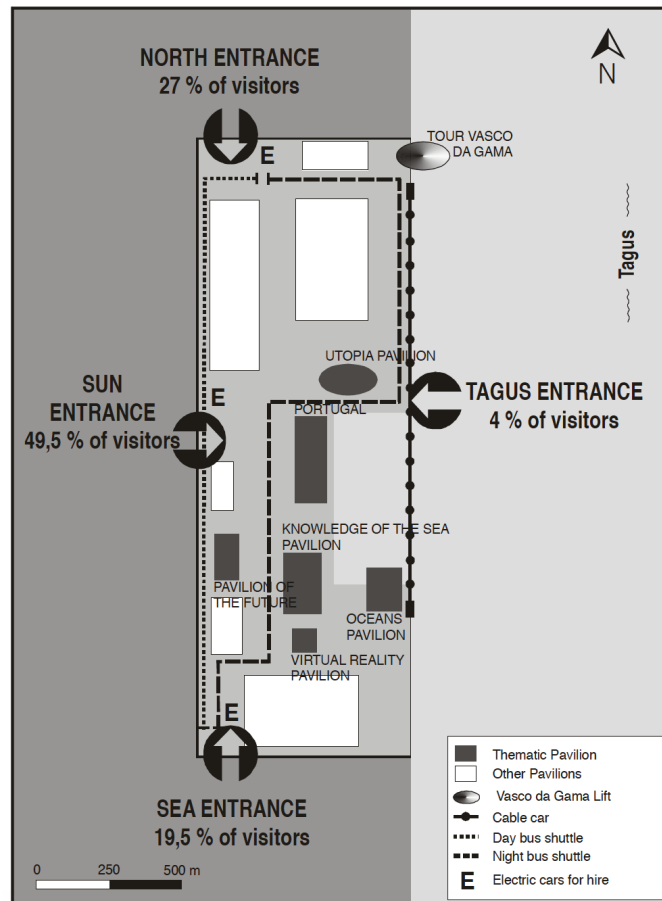39. Unicer Pavilion

Figure A.1. The expo site and its structures
[Bureau International des Expositions (BIE), 1998, p. 170-171]

A.2 The World Expo 98 - accessibility
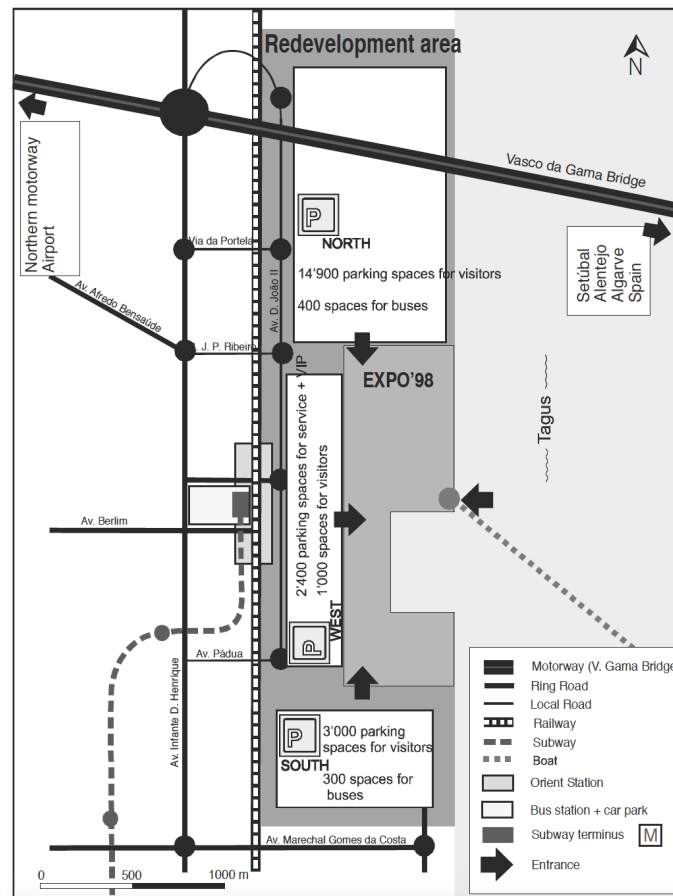
Figure A.2. Accessibility of Expo 98
[European Conference of Ministers of Transport, 2003, p. 217]

Figure A.3. Accessibility of visitors at Expo'98
[European Conference of Ministers of Transport, 2003, p. 218]

A.3   The Illustration of the Urbanisation Plan - World Expo plan and update
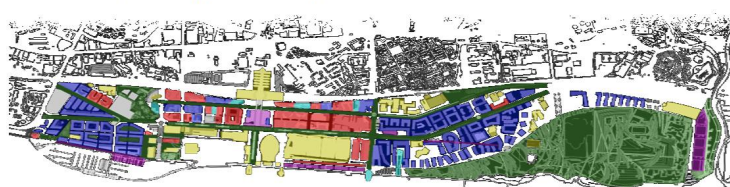
Figure A.4. The Urbanisation Plan for the Intervention Zone
[Machado, 2017, p. 7], as cited in [Radu, 2018, p. 72]

A.4   Budget - contributions to the project

Public investments	€761 million
- Investments Portuguese government	€561 million
- EU contribution	€200 million
Project related revenues Parque EXPO '98 S.A.	€1550 million
- Sales of land and buildings till 2004	€850 million
- Further expected sales	€200 million
- EXPO '98(tickets, merchandising, sponsoring)	€300 million
- Expected revenues from municipalities	€200 million
Revenues for the Portuguese State from direct taxes	€4435 million
Expected Private Investments	€5500 million
Total sold gross square meters till December 2004 (of the total 2.491.724 m2)	€ 2.139.000 m2

Table A.1. Financial contribution of the project
[Schaefer and Gordon, 2006], as cited in [van Miltenburg, 2010, p. 45]

A.5 Parque das Nações - civil parish map
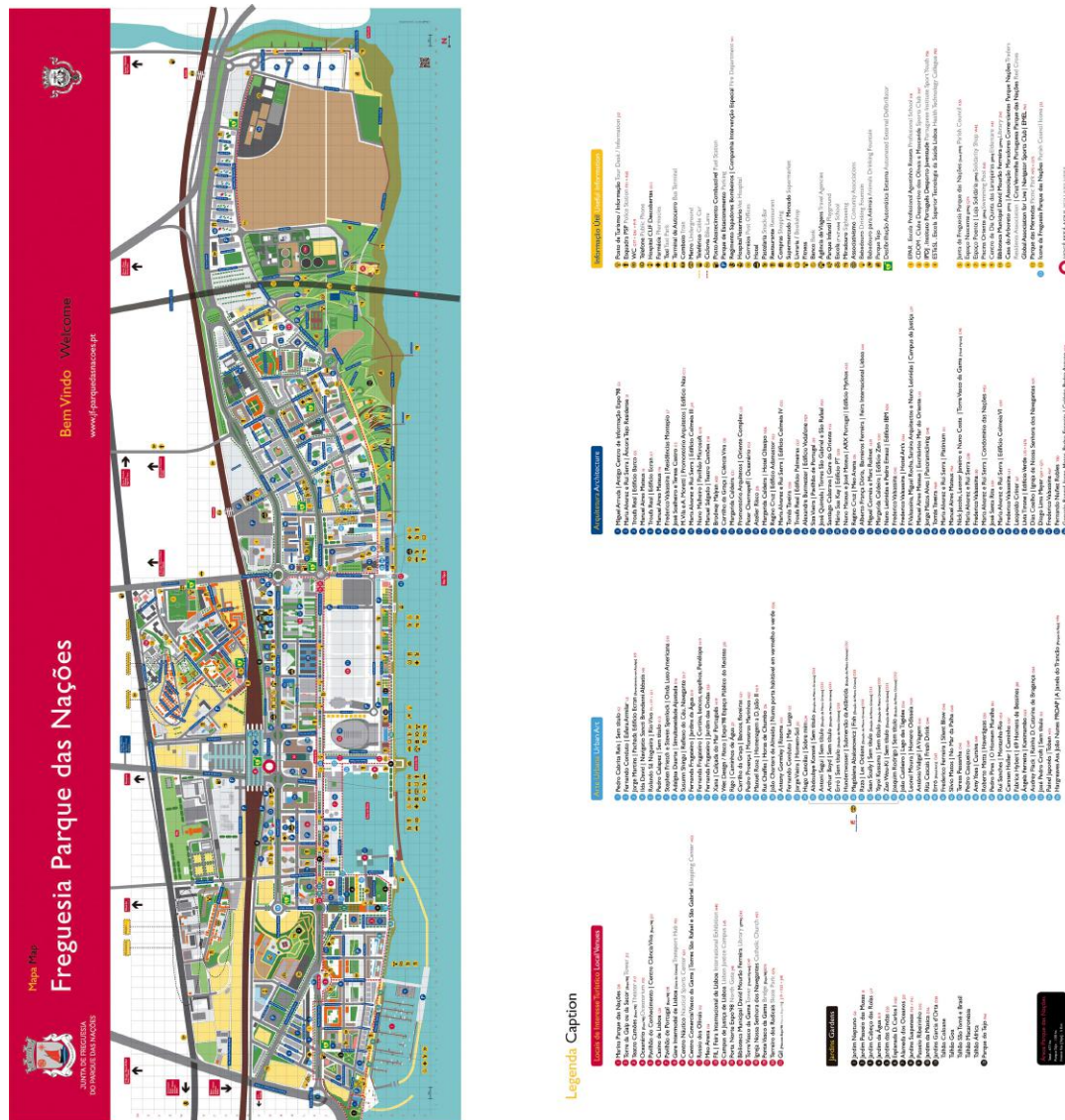
Figure A.5. Freguesia do Parque das Nações - map
[Junta de Freguesia do Parque das Nações, no year], as cited in [Time Travel Turtle - Michael Turtle, no year]

A.6 Transcriptions

Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning (IGOT) - University of Lisbon

- Date: 18.04.2018
- Location: Institute of Geography and Spatial Planning (IGOT), University of Lisbon
- Length of the audio record: 01:00:32
- Interviewer: Paul-Adrian Radu (PR)
- Interviewee: Jorge Gaspar (JG)
- Transcription: Paul-Adrian Radu (PR)

Research question	Interview questions	Sub-questions	Data/Outcome of question
Introduction	Can you introduce yourself? What was your role in Parque das Nações urban development project?		Introductive sequence to open the interview and to present the interviewee
RQ 1. The rationale behind the development	What was the main idea behind developing the brownfield on the river banks of Tagus River?	How these ideals were transformed in strategic objectives?	Early stages of the project and the strategy for developing the brownfield site
	Do you consider that the decentralization process in Portugal influenced the development project?	How decentralization influenced the development of Parque das Nações?	The role of decentralisation in industrial redevelopment.
	Do you think that decentralization favoured the implementation of this large-scale urban development project?		Decentralization as a possible force for triggering the development project
	What can you tell me about the welfare state model in Portugal?	Was the project related to promoting this welfare in Portugal?	Welfares state model as an ideal embedded in urban governance
	Do you consider that a secondary model was embraced in the development of Parque das Nações, such as neo-liberalism?	What neo-liberal features could you identify in the development project?	Neo-liberalism as the second ideal embedded in governance process
RQ2. Urban governance	What was the role of the politicians in preparing the site for the World Expo?	What practices and interactions can you identify?	What was the role of the political coalition in the urban governance Parque das Nações
	Why the preparations of the Expo 98 were done within a very short period of time?		Certain actions that determined the length of organising the World Expo 98.
	What actors can you identify during the World Expo 98 event?		Identifying the actors involved in the World Expo 98 event
	Why the State created Parque Expo 98, S.A. to develop the project?		The rationale behind the creation of Parque Expo 98, SA
	How can you describe the area after the World Expo 98?		The outcome of World Expo 98 event.
	Do you consider that a shift from the welfare state model towards a neo-liberal model emerged in Parque das Nações?	Can you identify what caused this process?	Identifying shifts in urban governance process.
RQ 3. Outcome of urban governance	How can you describe the area, nowadays?	What features could be identified in Parque das Nações?	The outcome of the urban development project presented through urban governance.
	Can you describe the public spaces in Parque das Nações?	How people interact with these spaces? What other features can you identify in these areas?	Urban governance and how it shaped the public spaces in Parque das Nações
	How this project was finished in a short period of time?	What practices influenced this aspect?	The rationale behind the short length of the large-scale urban development project.
	Why the district has become one of the most expensive in Lisbon and why all the so called "elites" moved here?		Social groups that were attracted in this area after the development process.

Table A.2. Interview guide applied during the interview of Jorge Gaspar, IGOT, University of Lisbon

PR (00:00): I'm going to start with the first question, if you can introduce yourself. What was your role in this project?

JG (00:07): As you can see in my CV (...) and I have, my role in this project, my direct role it was just before the project. I worked in the first research to decide, to the mission of planning, to decide between east and west side of Lisbon for the Expo 98.

PR (00:38): Yeah.

JG (00:39): Because one of the (...) was the Belém area where one could (...) some areas to recover because of areas that, you know, could buy by the Portuguese National Fair in 1940 (...)

PR (00:57): 47 or something?

JG (00:59): No, 1940.

PR (01:00): 40!

JG (01:01): 1940.

PR (01:02): Yeah, I read something about it.

JG (01:04): There are some pavilions very, how to say, poor in the fabric and the (...) and there are still some (...). On the other hand, the main (...) reason for researching Centro Cultural de Belém, you know, from the 1980s-1990s and it's not finished yet, there are still some modules to expand and this was an opportunity. So, west side (...), the alternative was the east side and in the east side you have a (...) area, derelict by industries, most of the already closed like just to find the most important. The refinery closed and reclosed in the (...) land in the1970s (...) land in the (...) and also the slaughterhouse also closed in the 70s-80s and also some garbage central and also a great warehouse for military derelict (...)

PR (02:26): Depots.

JG (02:27); Military (...)

PR (02:27): Yes.

JG (02:28): Military material, you know, old tracks (...) and so on but occupying some dozens of hectares (...), besides of other infrastructures related to the refinery and to the petrochemicals. All this was, had to be rebuild with the, needing great investments namely for first recover the soil. Before it was with a lot of poisons and so only a big State investment could recover the land. So, it was the main cause of the issue, so it was to see the cause, to see the revenues, the potential of revenues and the revenues was direct revenues for the fair but revenues also for big equipment (...) to Lisbon have not yet, namely the big arena or big multi-use pavilion.

PR (03:51): Yeah.

JG (03:52): And also, a new fair for Lisbon (...) for constructions, for (...) and so on and these sites, there's some touristic, namely the Oceanarium.

PR (04:16): Oceanarium, yeah.

JG (04:18): Oceanarium and others that could be built on that complex. But, and then has been a very waited what could be the results in terms of the construction and the construction it was somewhere from the very beginning and the other would be construction related to the event like for the different nations to have the room, so flats and so on and always this has been thinking about these should be reoccupied later (...)

PR (04:54): So that (...)

JG (04:55): And it should be introducing the market, in the housing market and this was the big success, understand. Second, it was a lot of parking space just for the fair but just

after the fair this parking space could be reverted in this, terms of (...) activities, service activities but also in terms of housing, another big success. Now, then it has been great in a cost-benefit analysis and I worked with a big consultant company for engineering (...) to finish, it was very important since the 50's that it was either a project to work as a consultant to them, so this was my relation, direct relation to this project.

PR (05:59): OK.

JG (06:00): And the Ministry of Planning, they approved our conclusions and the conclusions were first important, first location, the best location it was the east side.

PR (06:14): OK. Now, the second question, although you presented it a little bit, I'm going to ask you what was the main idea behind developing this brownfield? You presented some aspects before and, in the previous question, but I want (...)

JG (06:26): Yes.

PR (06:27): But I want to, what do you think, they wanted to decontaminate this site to make a sustainable project, to create sustainability in Lisbon?

JG (06:38): Well that's how (...), then this is already the implementation, implementation team, I worked with them and I tell you to finish the first question. I worked in that context but after (...)

PR (06:56): Yeah.

JG (06:57): For the Parque Expo company that has been created (...)

PR (06:59): Parque Expo 98, yeah (...)

JG (07:00): To the management I have been for a long while consultant and I worked with them in other projects, namely in the master plans for Argel, I worked with them in more plans for Lisbon, for everywhere and also in Cairo because then they started an (...), and I worked with, to (...) the plan of them to Brazil but, so I keep on the connection with the local company team but I've never been, I've not been involved in the Master Plan, neither in the decent local plans but I know because most of people working there were my friends for (...). But I can tell you about what was (...)

PR (07:55): The main idea behind the (...)

JG (07:57): I told you already the idea behind (...)

PR (07:58): Yeah.

JG (07:59): And the idea it was what I have to say is that behind all this idea to get a good example for broker planning and urban planning in Portugal. So, one of the driving forces were all the projects it should be an example that would be suitable for other projects of rehabilitation because the main idea, that it's why everything was made under the best practice, you know, in terms of environment (...) but also in terms of infrastructure, for instance, this was for big extension of (...), it was the first time that all this, the basic infrastructures, sewage, water supply; was made after a special design.

PR (09:06): Yeah.

JG (09:07): And with the old different researchers in the same canals so they wouldn't excess and so on. This has no other (...) has been made and afterwards in some Portuguese cities were total given (...) in the second level cities under a big program because POLIS program, some of these experiments has been applied there, namely in the, what concerns the environment design.

PR (09:42): I didn't know that.

JG (09:43): This is important, so you can look for the POLIS within the net, the POLIS Program. The POLIS Program it was a national program with the EC support and oriented towards a network of second level cities, from Bragança in north-east to Viana do Castelo in north-west, to Faro and Portimao in Algarve.

PR (10:10): OK. Now I'm going to talk about decentralisation that occurred in Portugal, of course.

JG (10:18): (...)

PR (10:19): Decentralisation of institutions, you know, it was an institutional decentralisation. Do you consider that this decentralisation influenced the project? Did it have a role here?

JG (10:34): But if you mean by (...)

PR (10:36): Institutions, yeah. Transfer of power.

JG (10:38): From national level (...)

PR (10:39): From national level to regional, to (...)

JG (10:41): It has nothing to do with it because this is Lisbon, so everything that you located there it was in the capital of Portugal with no decentralisation at regional level. What happened it was the concentration of services inside Lisbon.

PR (11:03): Oh!

JG (11:04): So, both of public, namely in justice sector. So, with new Justiça, Campus of Justice that was located there which concentrates several corps, dispersive in Lisbon. Some specialised, some local but these (...) in different areas of Lisbon, they have been relocated in Parque das Nações but in public (...) private sector, some big companies that were located in CBD of Lisbon, they have been relocated there because of the image but also because of the costs but also because of the quality of infrastructure that could have new buildings with all the response to nowadays demands on the service sector: office, housing and so on. This was important, and it was a success. At the same time, what is implied a trend of deconcentrating from Lisbon to the west side, the corridor Lisbon-Cascais, along the motorway A5, there are some business centres along the water way.

PR (12:25): Yeah.

JG (12:26): On the entrance of the motorway, this influx stopped because some big

companies they didn't move there but they moved to the east side, this is a success in the way of the reverse from my critics of that, that this, the concentration that was avoiding disruption for the west side, maybe it's positive because the reason to do with east side it was only supported the car, transportation, individual car. And what has happened that when they move to (...), when they moved to other places along the motorway, they (...), in Tagus Park is a good example, they moved because they would lose the motorway in the counter sense of the normal. Motorway brings a lot of people from the suburbs to Lisbon in the morning and late (...) is empty, so have now a stream from Lisbon to this new office areas, but in a few years all this was obsolete because a lot of traffic from Lisbon to that area.

PR (13:47): Yeah.

JG (13:48): Well, so they preferred to move there where they have better transportation access, namely underground. It was a big advantage for Parque das Nações to have train, better than train (...)

PR (14:03): Metro (...)

JG (14:04): Metro (...)

PR (14:05): And, yeah (...)

JG (14:07): It was important, but what is negative, what does it criticise is that way north of south Lisbon the draining, attraction of some service from Lisbon city, both private but special public, namely the different corps I told you that were dispersed in the city, they were impoverish, some neighbourhoods of Lisbon, some neighbourhoods was (...) for instance, the family court. The family court moved there, they closed the centre where they worked (...) and this was a local impact in the neighbourhood, coffee houses, small restaurants, you see, all this small commerce, this (...) had a significant negative impact. Only now the city, especially the central city, is recovering with tourism and new activities are recovering from this drainage, from this (...)

PR (15:26): Yeah. I was about to ask you another question about this decentralisation but since it doesn't make sense right now (...)

JG (15:31): No, I know what you mean by decentralisation (...)

PR (15:33): Yeah.

JG (15:34): It has nothing to do with (...)

PR (15:35): Yeah, that's why I was (...), that's why I was asking you. Because, I was (...)

JG (15:40): There is no sense, the question. Decentralisation we are thinking in Portugal is at regional level, from Lisbon to the interior, from Lisbon to the south, from Lisbon to the north, there is a big discussion on that, this is another (...) nothing to do with your project (...)

PR (16:00): OK. I wanted to be sure because (...) it was institutional relations and I was thinking that decentralisation had a role but, OK never mind. Then (...) I will talk about the ideals behind this project. Do you think it's (...), can you tell me a little bit about the

welfare state model in Portugal? Did it have a little bit of role in this project?

JG (16:26): But why (...)

PR (16:27): The welfare state model in Portugal? Do you think it had a role in this project?

JG (16:32): (...)

PR (16:33): If it had a role in this project, the welfare state model.

JG (16:36): Yeah.

PR (16:37): In Portugal.

JG (16:38): What for (...) this project or (...)

PR (16:41): If it was related to this project.

JG (16:46): Yes, in some way but I will tell you that this is a good point and if I understand it was quite, namely in what concerns welfare housing, for instance, this could be an opportunity for welfare housing (...) As a matter of fact, it must be, but I must say that this surrounding this area, are the two main Portuguese projects of, of the housing projects of (...) Olivais (...)

PR (17:19): And Moscavide.

JG (17:20): No, Moscavide is a private one!

PR (17:22): Is a private one?

JG (17:23): (...) Olivias and Chelas.

PR (17:25): Oh, and Chelas, yeah yeah.

JG (17:27): Olivais and Chelas, they benefit from this. In what sense? In the sense that this project brought, first of all, the metro and the metro stations in Chelas and in (...) would never been built so quickly (...)

PR (17:50): To take an advantage of that, obviously.

JG (17:52): (...) second, second, for question of private service and some public service, special for private service. Private service, namely shopping and so on and public space. This special for those to large (...) from the 50s and 60s, that include near some 100.000 people, this area that benefit very much for the new public space, namely public space in terms of weekend space, you know, leisure, strolling, bicycle and these kinds of (...). Also, some service but, for instance, in what concerns schools, it was the opposite because this new area has been a (...) in terms of public schools.

PR (18:59): So, there are private (...)

JG (19:00): They were very good schools but not for (...) the people that have been there, so come a big private school for (...) in conditions as well. Second, another aspect we must take into content: which class benefit of this new environment? Middle and upper-middle

class (...)

PR (19:28): Yeah.

JG (19:29): At the beginning, especially upper-middle class. Later on, in the cycle of development, the promoter, they start to build more dense buildings, (...) smaller to attract the mid class and from even lower class from northern and western suburbs. It is important to see this, what in a sense was for people living there was negative, because it increased the density and the demand for services and so on but one to understand, on the other side, it make a neighbourhood more balanced in social terms because, otherwise, Parque das Nações could become a neighbourhood of only rich people or how to speak about that.

PR (20:28): Yeah, I have a question related to that in the end, we will be going to talk about that. Now, for my research, I also identified that it could be possible to see some signs of neo-liberalism in this project?

JG (20:45): (...)

PR (20:46): Neo-liberalism? If (...) can you identify some elements of neo-liberal practices?

JG (20:54): I think it's too, this is to act too much from this, from the local program. Now the neo-liberalism is upwards, you can see neo-liberalism born in the organisation of the (...), from housing for instance and this has to do with (...) that has to do with big companies, of course consequences appeared there but there in a, although you cannot, there is no, there is a component that contradicts your hypothesis that there is always a public company that, from the very beginning, the company (...) the soil. All the soil come from, is applied by the public sector. This is important in a way that another, in a larger (...) it is always a public intervention and the formation of prices for the soil to develop it was totally dependent on the public sector first, public sector who decided the value of the land. Second, it was because what public sector invested there, namely one finishing with poison and so on, cleaning the environment. Second, building expensive infrastructures, roads, water, electricity, telecommunication and so on and (...) one, deciding the density. So, all these that could be in a total liberal model, all this was made by private. The private would buy rural land, sort to speak, and after of an approval and develop everything, here only the final part it was more social-democratic idea, if you want. It was an intervention by the State, or public, not State, public companies, OK?

PR (23:20): Yeah.

JG (23:21): I answered your question if (...)

PR (23:23): Yeah, kind of (...)

JG (23:25): But not the answer you would like.

PR (23:27): I would have expected something different but (...) because I was thinking about these companies, because I had the information that they had a lot of interest and they have friends in the parliament and (...)

JG (23:42): But this has not, this is not neo-liberal. This is another thing (...)

PR (23:47): You think so?

JG (23:48): You have this in socialist societies.

PR (23:50): Yeah.

JG (23:51): This (...) from only to help and to keep the best pieces of the meat for the friends and these kinds of things. It happened, of course, but this is, how to say, this is a wrong pass on the process. The model and itself is a model more alike a social-democratic model than neo-liberal one. You see?

PR (24:27): OK!

JG (24:28): Because what you suggest you find it in a social-democratic society, like Sweden and so on. In socialist societies (...)

PR (24:37): Yeah!

JG (24:38): You know.

PR (24:39): I'm aware of that (...)

JG (24:50): Yes, yes. OK.

PR (24:42): That's why I wanted to ask. OK. I'm also interested about (...) political sector. What was the role of the politicians in preparing the site for the World Expo? I want to talk about the World Expo now.

JG (24:58): You have a lot of literature for it and I, much better than what I could tell you that it's a (...)

PR (25:03): I just wanted your opinion, that's all (...)

JG (25:05): My opinion is the role of politicians (...). Let me say that I think the parties and some important figures of our politics (. . .) like the (. . .) prime-minister, ministers and so on and that influenced people, in politics, they were a large consensus of (...). So, this has never been an arena for political discussion, arrangements and so on because it was very consensual. Even at the beginning the location it was not so consensual, but I would say that the majority of people could saw that location. So, everything evolved in a sense or in a stream towards the consensus.

PR (26:03): Yeah.

JG (26:04): I mean until 2010, I don't know what to say. So, first for the World Fair and the World Fair, it was said that it was successful, most in terms, in economic terms, if you would call all the gains, like environmental gains and so on, gains, all this but also in terms of urban planning but after not to least, in terms of cultural satisfaction, more than social. Cultural, the sense that Portuguese could do something well then. And it was a message that social environments try to expand, that Portuguese, not only soccer and so on, but even in planning Portuguese can do very good things if everything is planned, so planning is important and so on, there's not a disease for Portuguese to make things in a wrong sense with infrastructures and so on. No, this is the demonstration, that Portuguese

(...): Yes, we can! You see, this was the main discussion and all parties, I think, all parties they may not, some extreme-left parties they are no (...) political forces in the parliament and so on, so it was very (...). Of course, after the time it becomes, other problems arise and then start to discuss namely the costs and the negative effects, the debt of the Parque Expo company and so on and so on, but this was after 2005-2010.

PR (28:02): OK. I am also interested about the length of preparing for the expo, when they started preparing everything. Why do you think the preparations were done within a very short period of time? It struck me a little bit, it's (...) everything was done very fast. Can you explain the process a little bit? How this became so short length?

JG (28:28): I think it was the time necessary to, lots of (...) but was not. I think it was the expected time, in my opinion. And why it worked well? Because it was a good team, a good team. The minister, (...) from the minister, starting from the minister Valente de Oliveira, a man who is a planner, he is a professor in the Faculty of Engineering in Porto and with large expansion on the civil service, because even before 74 he had experience running a regional authority, entity, you know, Porto, and the northern region.

PR (29:08): Yeah!

JG (29:09): But after in different ministries I worked with him in many things, even before, in the day of the revolution, 25th of April 74, I still (...) in his faculty at half past 10 in the morning I made a lecture to his students, one GIS and data banks. So, we worked since 74, I knew him, we worked before, but we worked in different projects. Afterwards, he was important for us also because he should choose the best team to work in this. Then, the Minister of the Republic was also keen to this project, Mário Soares was keen to (...). The Municipality of Lisbon was also very much interested, so there were no bottlenecks, no frictions, this was very much important, because, you know, in such a project if there are some political frictions, some legal bottleneck, that it's why it can be done in a short period, as you said, (...) but (...) if everything goes well, as it happened in fact.

PR (30:37): OK. What actors can you identify during the World Expo event? What were the actors involved in the World Expo event, what were the (...), who were the participants in the World Expo?

JG (30:52): (...) It's a typical model for the World Expo, it's a typical model. The main difference, maybe, the good idea, for the (...) after (...) success, it was there in operation to the Sevilla and to others and (...) also Fairs, Sevilla it was before, and it was after, what happen its nation, its state builds its own pavilion (...), frequently they have nothing to do with it afterwards, the evolution and so on and so on. Here it happened because there was, they made some models and these models could be adopted to other activities afterwards or there are models so, how to say, with the potential of transformation that could be rebuilt in another thing, or even demolished. So, this was very much important, this first (...) view it as a temporary event and the temporary event implies temporary infrastructures or the idea of recycling and reutilisation. So, that it concepts of sustainable involvement, what applied in everything, including in state pavilions.

PR (32:28): OK.

JG (32:30): (...) the most important infrastructure for the State's pavilion give place to this big expo exciting there, for construction, for (...) that it's still there.

PR (32:48): OK, now I need to (...) about Parque Expo, the company that developed this project. Why the State created it in the first place, I'm interested? What was the reason of creating this because they could just hire a private company and just, it was easier?

JG (33:05): That's why I told you that this is very much, it's not so neo-liberal, it's a, you see?

PR (33:13): Yeah.

JG (33:14): Since this question is good to get this, to come back to your issue on neo-liberalism. The idea of State intervention, so they created the State company with paying, with conditions to be not so dependent on bureaucratic, bureaucratic decision, bureaucratic projects but, on the other hand, controlled by the public, (...) by the public colour. It was always under control and the (...) monitoring and evaluation and so on, so it was permanently controlled and the (...) successful along (...). But this was the main, the main idea was to have something still under public sector control.

PR (34:28): OK. How can you describe the area after the World Expo event? Immediately after the Expo what happened exactly?

JG (34:40): Now I think after whether, because before the Expo (...) it was already (...) new housing (...)

PR (34:47): OK.

JG (34:48): New housing and, besides, you have some infrastructure (...) housing built for the different countries, people working there and so on that have become empty and it has been sold very quickly, so people from the middle class, my daughter, for instance, (...) but a flat there, why she (...) both central and this created, in furious the local population, so this has never been empty, abandoned; it's, you know, point of the case of Sevilla, is also because it's quite close but that doesn't work because like a fair, a typical fair, party is over and then party is over even there and it's very sad and so on. Here, it happened.

PR (35:44): OK.

JG (35:45): On the other hand, when it finished, it was in a good, still, it was in a good cycle for construction. So, you had investments there and you have all this activity, economic activity and you had from the fair also a couple of three hotels there and those hotels, with the metro going there, they could also, they centralised there some tourist activity on people living there who, it was some interesting and important and maybe we have to connect everything, the public infrastructures, (...), the gardens, walking pass, they were active all the time for the Lisbon population and they correspond, you see, so it was never empty, especially if we can, there's a lot of people, small restaurants, you can (...) a neighbourhood after, you know this wave of the expo that after when finished, people still (...), it's a good Mexican restaurant there, it's a good Chinese or it's a good Portuguese southern restaurant there still open and so, it becomes fashionable to go to the expo to have a lunch or have a dinner.

PR (37:10): OK.

JG (37:11): And also, because it remained with a lot of parking space, it's not the case today (...)

PR (37:17): Yeah.

JG (37:18): But after the expo, the parking space was also important because people could go by car there from city or from the suburbs or Lisbon and they knew that they could find a parking space.

PR (37:29): Ok, since we talked about the welfare and the neo-liberalism, I was still uncertain if there was a shift from the welfare to neo-liberalism in the end, because I was thinking (...)

JG (37:44): In the end?

PR (37:45): Yeah.

JG (37:46): And, and (...)

PR (37:47): Because I'm aware that now, an apartment there it's one of the most expensive in Lisbon, right? The cost of (...)

JG (37:55): It's expensive (...)

PR (37:57): The area has become very expensive, so I was thinking from the welfare, it was a shift from the welfare state at the beginning of the project and it embraced some neo-liberal practices trough the raise of prices or creating this exclusive neighbourhood, maybe.

JG (38:14): Maybe, maybe you can yes, I see what you mean, but as a matter of fact what you have said is the market (...)

PR (38:22): Yeah, but the market has a (...) as well.

JG (28:24): No, the market that has been helped and here is maybe the wrong thing, it's much helped by public money.

PR (38:37): Oh.

JG (38:38): The public money created infrastructure for the environmental air quality and so on, paid by public money and who benefits from it? Speculation! I think this is the extent of the discussion, I think it's a (...) I'm not able to, I can't clarify this, qualify this as a neo-liberal model.

PR (39:12): Yeah, you know, it's a (...) Erik Swyngedouw's paper on neo-liberalism and there are cases, which is also one from Denmark, but it's also Parque das Nações included in neo-liberal literature, so I'm still (...)

JG (39:29): OK (...)

PR (39:31): So, I'm (...)

JG (39:32): The transfer (...) but we can't compare this to Øresund, you know Øresund?

PR (39:40): Yeah.

JG (39:41): The new town.

PR (39:42): Yeah.

JG (39:43): New town.

PR (39:44): Yeah. Øresund is the region, but it was the Ørestad, Ørestad.

JG (39:47): Ørestad, yeah.

PR (39:48): Yeah. Yes.

JG (39:49): Ørestad, not Øresund (...)

PR (39:51): It was one of my, it was (...)

JG (39:53): The (...) center of the (...)

PR (39:54); Yeah, I had a semester project on Ørestad last year, so I was working so I'm quite used to these kind of projects, so yeah (...)

JG (40:03): Well, I worked in one of the apartments there some 57 years ago, I was in Amager (...)

PR (40:16): Amager, yeah.

JG (40:17): Amager, Amager (...), you know (...)

PR (40:20): Yeah, yeah, it's close to, yeah (...)

JG (40:21): Yeah, it's close, I know (...)

PR (40:22): Yeah, yeah (...)

JG (40:23): That's why I tell you (...)

PR (40:24): Yeah, OK.

JG (40:25): I know this, and I go there every time and one of the reason for (...) for Ørestad, in the company, in the State company for Ørestad, I invited in for a conference in Parque das Nações, some several years ago, within a big conference.

PR (40:44): OK.

JG (40:45): On the demand of Parque Expo, they invited me to organise a conference to discuss similar situations, so I invited (...) from Paris and other people. And what we were discussing is the, of course, the Danish case I think, in the Danish case Ørestad is a, there are some similarities, one is that there is still a role of the State.

PR (41:13): Yeah.

JG (41:14): That it's typical of and similar to this that is, not affected the large (...)

in terms of the soil, the land belonged to the State but after it was the private sector who worked. In this sense, you can compare, you can compare, I never made this study comparing which one was more capitalistic, more or less, most are because those, most oriented, all the projects to the integration in the market, in several markets.

PR (41:50): There was one problem (...)

JG (41:52): And (...)

PR (41:53): In Ørestad, a different one (...)

JG (41:54): Sorry, sorry (...)

PR (41:55): Yeah, OK.

JG (41:56): This should (...) to see and this can really measure in which one the market has been more biased by the help of the public sector.

PR (42:11): Yeah.

JG (42:12): This is the, what could you compare in this case.

PR (42:14): It's different because in Ørestad they are building next to a protected area, an environmentally protected area.

JG (42:23): Here too (...)

PR (42:24): (...) like (...)

JG (42:45): Here too! It's the Tagus.

PR (42:28): The Tagus is included in the (...)

JG (42:30): Yeah, the Tagus, all the Tagus, all the front you see and the front of the front river (...) water front has been worked in terms of landscaping very well because all this belongs to preserved areas, namely with the birds' directive from the European Union.

PR (42:56): OK, I'm (...)

JG (42:58): No, no, and this has been a, they worked very careful and it works. If you go now, for instance, to the northern part of the Parque das Nações. Have you been there?

PR (43:10): Park Tagus, yeah.

JG (43:11): Where the train (...) comes to the (...)

PR (43:13): And there's the bridge and (...)

JG (43:15): After the bridge (...)

PR (43:16): After the bridge, yeah!

JG (43:17): You can see there, what you can see there? The colony of flamingos, have you seen it?

PR (43:21): Yeah.

JG (43:22): Beautiful and the flamingo didn't come before. It's because they, all this, they cleaned Trancão River also.

PR (43:31): Yeah.

JG (43:31): And this (...)

PR (43:32): It was the most polluted one.

JG (43:33): Much more, much more!

PR (43:34): The most polluted I guess in Europe.

JG (43:35): Very polluted (...)

PR (43:36): Yeah.

JG (43:37): But not so (. . .), there is some, but all this environment progress has been paid by the European Union and Portuguese state money, so public, 100% public. And who benefits from it? The guys who built the flats, of course!

PR (43:57): Yeah!

JG (43:58): But also, then (...), but also if you go there in weekends, population from Lisbon and the outskirts are still, use that area. Also, all Portuguese who can listen to the Rolling Stones in this big public, also the Portuguese finance that can benefit from the Rolling Stones and other main concerts that or from (...)

PR (44:25): Yeah.

JG (44:26): The Web Summit has been there, you see. So, infrastructures that are national.

PR (44:35): Yeah.

JG (44:36): And it's not so black and white in the (...), it's a (...)

PR (44:44): Yeah. I'm interested in what's happening nowadays in Parque das Nações? How can you describe the area (...), in present times right now? JG (44:54): In what terms, in terms of quality, in terms of (...)?

PR (44:56): (...)

JG (44:57): In terms of urban planning?

PR (44:58): In terms of, yeah, urban planning, I guess, in terms of space, what was the (...)

JG (45:04): In terms of planning is still very, you can see, is still a very pleasant area that has been, I think, a success, although I looked before in some parts a lower density. But increasing of density can be also a response to create a more mixed social, social mix more interesting. What I think is wrong there is some public provision of those or education and health. (...) the hospital, there was expected to be there a large public hospital, a public hospital of Lisbon has not yet been built. (...) to respond to enterprises hospital, that is very successful in terms of economic terms, that is a private hospital, of course, that's

always, you know, CUF Descobertas, but there is not yet, there is no private hospital with already this new public hospital, because there is a need for it. Now, I tell you, for Parque das Nações but for all west-east part of Lisbon and the next suburbs, this is important. So, I would say that, to me, the name (...) also in public transportation there is a need for more local irrigation public transportation: bus and maybe, as I suggested many times, the tramway. You should have the possibility to connect from Santa Apolónia, you see it was before, from Santa Apolónia that is the end of a metro line and is the beginning of an end, the beginning of an (...) still our main railway station, you could have a kind of a ribbon with the tramway and this would imply what is, maybe, the name, the main negative unexpected, we had so many expectations, some worked: public space, housing and so on; but one didn't work. I (...) so recently it didn't work. It was with Parque das Nações, we're expecting to recover all this derelict area (...) between Parque das Nações and Central Lisbon and this is happening very slowly and it's happening with a typical activity of marginal areas, active space, (...) restaurant, fancy restaurants, fancy bars and so on, you know, these kind of things, but not integrated, rebuild, more renewal area and I think one of the reason is because there is no concept, you know, urban concept connecting Parque das Nações that it's like a gift in terms of exclusive area and central city that it's a very interesting area when you start from where is now and the new terminal for cruise and this kind of things you should like to see a continuity in this.

PR (49:05): Yeah.

JG (49:06): And I think the continuity has to be supported by a ribbon based on modern tramway. And the modern tramway would (...) all the Parque das Nações and (...) there is space for it.

PR (49:21): OK (...)

JG (49:23): Because people living in the eastern part of Parque das Nações, that is the, where is the new secondary school, private secondary school from there to west there are two kilometres from there to the metro station and no transport before using car, it should (...)

PR (49:42): Yeah. It's a problem. Can you describe the public spaces in Parque das Nações?

JG (49:49): Hmm?

PR (49:50): Can you describe the public spaces in (...)

JG (49:52): I did already, I (...)

PR (49:53): Yeah, it's a (...) I'm interested about (...), your opinion this, especially green areas. What do you think about (...)

JG (50:05): Green areas that are in average they are very good and very successful, namely those green areas connected to Tagus River, with different scales, you have those small gardens, but it was also connected by a (...) cross, how to call it, walking pass, crossing pass and so on, it works very well and it's very nice. Also, in the still, the central ribbon, one was the base for the Expo, although it cost to maintain it, work in a reduced water

and so on, but it's still in good conditions. I would say there are some public space that has been landscaped but they have not (...). For instance, this small (...), called (...), you know, that is a good piece of landscaping and people forget it, I don't know how to change and to attract people there. Maybe because people and others go to the waterfront, left this and so on. But at very local environment neighbourhoods, very local, you have very interesting solutions, but they are not so much used by the resident people. Why? I don't know, I could speculate but I don't want to speculate on that. The fact is that there's a potential for residents, in the very local residential areas, a potential public space that is not used by the residents. Why?

PR (52:10): Maybe because they are working residents, they are living there for work (...) maybe.

JG (52:17): Maybe because (...) of the population and so on. Maybe it will change, and people will be more eager of having, as we have seen in Lisbon, people in most of cases lost the sense of neighbourhood.

PR (52:36): Yeah, it could be an insight.

JG (52:37): First, the most important thing for me in a neighbourhood is to have local schools, from kindergartens and family schools, this could be also the walking distance, as you know, large part of the (...), like cars in Lisbon are bringing the children from one side to the other side.

PR (53:04): Yeah.

JG (53:05): And this is very negative and (...) it could work but it doesn't work because the, again, there is no enough response for schools, many children from Parque das Nações there are in schools on Central Lisbon. Why? Because the parents are working in Central Lisbon.

PR (53:26): And in Ørestad is different because you see only very young families living there, you see a lot of children around the neighbourhood, you don't see like old people. It's like, I think they have very good schools there, very good educational infrastructure.

JG (53:40): Where, where?

PR (53:41): In Ørestad, if you (...)

JG (53:42): (...)

PR (53:42): Walk to Ørestad now, because we, I had the semester project (...)

JG (53:46): But this is the Nordic tradition, it's not (...)

PR (53:49): Yeah.

JG (53:50): Nordic, not tradition, the Nordic culture because the Nordic culture, the urbanism starts from the very local, you know (...)

PR (53:59): Yeah.

JG (54:00): Starts from the yards formed by the housing, and this is what it's failing here,

at design level, is there; but the (...) level is not there because they have nothing to work.

PR (54:15): Yeah. Well, I also asked you about how the Expo was finished in a short period of time. Now (...) in the whole project, why do you think (...)

JG (54:28): I have to finish maximum 5 minutes.

PR (54:31): Two more questions, two more question.

JG (54:32): OK, 5 minutes.

PR (54:33): I have only two more questions. Why do you think this project was finished in a short period of time? And related to Ørestad again, because Ørestad was, the development started in the same period as Parque das Nações and it's still in development, it's very slow. I'm interested in (...)

JG (54:51): How many people are living there?

PR (54:53); I think (...) maybe 20000.

JG (54:58): So, it's the same scale (...)

PR (55:00): Yeah, but they are still building, it's not done yet. There are still companies moving in, some companies are still making their (...)

JG (55:06): But look, but Ørestad, I don't know but I think is a larger area, and it's not an area with a very, it can expand.

PR (55:13): It's the similar size, I guess.

JG (55:15): The total size of built is similar, the density is the same more or less that is about near under 50, 200 inhabitants per (...) or something.

PR (55:25): They just have more canals and it's (...)

JG (55:27): That's all.

PR (55:27): Yeah.

JG (55:28): But anyhow, but it's like here a close project, because here is finished more or less. What you can do there more, as we have done in the last 5 year, is negative, very negative, I could tell you some local specific situations, namely the private school we talked about, the private school that is built in an area that it's not (...) previewed for building.

PR (56:03): Also, they (...)

JG (56:04): It was part of the old (...) garbage station and this in the primary urban plan, all that area should be transformed in a golf (...) or golf course (...)

PR (56:22): Yeah.

JG (56:27): Yeah, you see this is a little bit tided, (...) that are wrong. And now, so now I tell you that in Parque das Nações one should be concentrated in public service and already ameliorating the public, very local public space, this would be my priorities in the

area.

PR (56:54): OK. So, the last question (...)

JG (57:00): The last one (...)

PR (57:01): Yeah. Why the district has become one of the most expensive in Lisbon? That's what I'm trying to understand and why these so called "elites", because I heard this term before, all the elites moved in the neighbourhood, like politicians all the big shots in Lisbon, that's what I've heard. So, I'm interested in (...)

JG (57:17): It's not, I don't (...)

PR (57:19): You disagree with this?

JG (57:20): I disagree in a sense, because I have no study, no data. If you show me something very objective (...), but I, your (...) seen a study showing Lisbon, even in the areas of very fashionable or (...) you have always a mix. Portuguese have a tendency to some (...) in social countries, which is positive. It's not so, there are, of course, fragmented areas of different social classes and so on. But it's less than we can see in most of the European cities and the, there although is programmed, although is the range of classes shorter than you can find in the traditional urban neighbourhood, but although this you still have a social mix, very interesting. And you have another thing, that in the exclusive areas of Lisbon city is more old people, there are young people, who has the majority of young families and these young families you can't decide now what it would be in 20 years. So, the social result you can't measure it right now. Sometimes people are there because the parents are helped to go there, or they have, recently they (...) there and there is positive and negative a lot of very good houses. Is, I don't know, much percentage, I would like to know, we (...) to the 30's an, which is (...) but it's a very, I think, it's higher than in other parts of Lisbon, one there it comes speculation for many people bought flats speculate, even people living abroad.

PR (59:22): Yeah.

JG (59:23): And now they are renting. My daughter lives there in a rented house and they could, they like very much to be there, and they could, she went there with her husband, first husband and they bought because it was cheaper, they bought a flat and he is still there in this flat, but they got divorced. She (...) wanted to stay there, so they rented (...), they found a new (...). My, I would say my price, that is the rent, it's much lower than the area where I live. I live in an area that is richer, you know Corte Inglés (...)

PR (1:00:04): Yeah.

JG (1:00:05): Here in Lisbon and the rents are much higher. Here one flat with one rooms costs more than, she lives in a flat with three rooms and she pays less that she would pay for one room (...)

PR (1:00:20): Oh, interesting!

JG (1:00:20): Yeah. So, we but I have no figures to compare.

PR (1:00:27): Yeah. I think (...)

JG (1:00:30): OK?

PR (1:00:30): That was everything. Thank you very much!

JG (1:00:32): (...)

Global Solutions 4U

- Date: 20.04.2018
- Location: Cascais, Portugal
- Length of the audio record: 00:33:06
- Interviewer: Paul-Adrian Radu (PR)
- Interviewee: Pedro Neves (PN)
- Transcription: Paul-Adrian Radu (PR)

Research question	Interview questions	Sub-questions	Data/Outcome of question
Introduction	Can you introduce yourself? What was your role in Parque das Nações urban development project?		Opening the interview
RQ 1. The rationale behind the development	What was the main idea behind redeveloping the industrial area in Eastern Lisbon?		The rationale behind the development project
	Do you consider that the welfare state model influenced the development of this area?	What elements of the welfare state model could be identified in the project?	The welfare model as the driving force in brownfield development
	Do you think that neo-liberalism practices were embedded in the development of Parque das Nações?		Neo-liberal practices as the second component of governance culture
RQ 2. Urban governance	Why the State created Parque Expo 98, S.A.?		The rationale behind creating Parque Expo 98, S.A.
	What was the impact of the World Expo event in Lisbon?	How this event influenced the continuity of the regeneration project?	The effect of the World Expo in moving the project forward.
	Can you identify the period when the State invited the private sector in the project?		The private sector as a new important stakeholder in the project.
	What private actors were involved in the development of Parque das Nações?	Can you name these actors? How they interacted in the project?	Identifying private actors in the project.
	What can you tell me about citizen participation? When the citizens became actors in the project?	How the citizens were included in the project?	Citizen participation in the development project.
	Do you consider that, at a certain point, a shift from welfare ideals to neo-liberal practices emerged in the project?		Urban governance shift in Parque das Nações
RQ 3. Outcome of urban governance	How can you describe the area nowadays?		Urban governnce and how it shaped the area.
	Can you describe the public spaces in Parque das Nações?		The outcome of urban governance through public spaces
	What companies can you identify in Parque das Nações?		Urban governance and its role in creating a business-friendly area.
	Why Parque das Nações has become the most expensive neighbourhood in Lisbon?		The cause of exclusivity created in Parque das Nações.

Table A.3. Interview guide applied during the interview of Pedro Neves, Global Solutions 4U

PR (0:00): Yeah. One of my first question is if you can introduce yourself. What was your role in this project?

PN (00:09): In Parque Expo.

PR (00:10): In general, in (...)

PN (00:12): In this (...) or?

PR (00:13): Yeah, what was your role in this project, mainly? You were working like 5 years, right, or (...)

PN (00:18): Yes.

PR (00:19): If I'm not mistaking.

PN (00:20): Yes, my role was to (..) develop a, was to develop a business model for the city itself. So, Parque Expo was created to develop the Expo 98.

PR (00:41): OK.

PN (00:42): But then to develop the Expo 98 the State decided (...) that the city around the Expo would pay for itself and I was in charge of developing the city. Well, while I was working for Parque Expo, a 99% State-owned company, 1% municipal-owned company and I was in charge of developing public-private partnerships, so of creating companies with the private sector to develop the city according to the Master Plan that the city had decided, the city, Parque Expo had decided.

PR (01:31): Alright. What do you think was the main idea behind redeveloping this industrial area?

PN (01:38): The main idea was to promote (...) equity within the Lisbon urban area, meaning when you know Lisbon you know you have the backbone of Lisbon that goes from the rail Do Passo do Rosio, (...) and west of this line I would say is the rich part of Lisbon, east of this line was the poor part of Lisbon, the area were Parque Expo took place was the poorest part, not only the poorest, the one with more social pathologies, like prostitution, drugs and, at the same time, the one that was the worst, environmental. So, I would say that Parque Expo represented the worst you can have in Lisbon at that time in environmental terms and in social terms. And so, the main goal was to correct these pathologies, so was to fight social inequity and it was to fix the environment.

PR (03:11): OK. Do you consider that this welfare state model Portugal was implementing in the 70s had a role (...)?

PN (03:19): Not in the 70s, in the 90s.

PR (03.21): In the (...), yeah, this idea, the idea started maybe in the 70's. PN (03:25): No.

PR (03:25): When democracy (...) are you sure?

PN (03:27): You're talking about Parque Expo?

PR (03:29): I'm talking in general about Portugal if they were promoting this welfare model, right, to improve the social status of Portugal? So, to make more contributions (...)

PN (03:42): You have to make the (...), you have to clarify the question because when you look, especially if you're studying urban planning (...).

PR (03:50): Yeah.

PN (03:51): When you're looking into urban planning, the east part of Lisbon was always the part of the poor until Nations Park was created, OK? So, for the first time, the central government decided to reverse and go from poor to medium and upper-middle class and therefore, to change the social DNA of Lisbon. Anyway, when you look into Lisbon, north of Lisbon, so east-north of Lisbon and you look into Encarnação, it's a garden city project developed during the dictatorship and at that time, although it was a dictatorship, it was a social housing program as I believe never existed afterwards. OK? So, the fact that you have a dictatorship is wrong in terms of democracy but that does not mean that some aspects weren't taken care of. OK? And so, Encarnação, in terms of urban design, is an example of social housing, after that you have Olivais, Olivais again not as good as Encarnação but it's also an example of social housing, very low density of buildings, a lot of green, a lot of gardens. OK? And it's very interesting because after that, after the 75, so after the revolution you have Chelas and Chelas, is an example of social housing developed after the revolution, so already on the democratic (...) and in terms of urban design Chelas is probably one of the worse urban design project that we ever had. And so, although it was developed after 75, socially is very wrong and today we have a lot of problems with Chelas. OK? So, you can say that in terms of urban design and promoting equity, promoting quality of life, respecting the planet, so if you look into sustainable development goals protecting the planet, respecting people, promoting prosperity, I would say Chelas is not a good example. It's a very bad example and it was developed after the revolution, in the 70s. So, when you talk about the 70s, aware of the problems that Chelas had which was quite, let's be frank, very poor social housing developed, Nations Park was developed in the 80s with a complete different DNA. OK?

PR (07:12): Yeah. Do you think that neo-liberal practices were embedded in the development in this project? Most of the literature I checked kind of marks this project as neo-liberal.

PN (07:24): I don't agree! I think it's very important when we say neo-liberal, if everything which is not Marxist is neo-liberal, then yes. So, if you accept that only projects that have in mind the socialist revolution are not neo-liberal then Parque Expo never had in mind to promote the socialistic revolution. OK?

PR (07:54): Yeah.

PN (07:54): Now I believe that between neo-liberalism and neo-marxism there is a wide gap. OK? And it's, so if everything that is not neo-marxism is neo-liberalism, then Parque Expo is neo-liberalism. If you say that promoting a city that is focused on promoting social equity, protecting the planet by transforming what is wrong and doing this under an umbrella that is 99% defined by the government and 1% defined by the city, in any case

the public interest, I cannot see how a city developed by the State and by the city can be called neo-liberalism.

PR (08:57): Yeah, I heard that story before that the State kind of like allowed the market, like investing in the market somehow, it was more involved with the market I guess. So, the market didn't put a lot of pressure, excluding the State or (...)

PN (09:13): What you call market?

PR (09:17): Well, the market (...)

PN (09:17): What is market?

PR (09:19): For me, a market (...)

PN (09:21): The government invested 2 billion euros to create Parque Expo. OK?

PR (09:26): Yeah.

PN (09:27): The government developed a bridge that, where 2 billion euros were invested. The government created a railway line, so it's very hard for me when you have such a massive public investment coming from the government to generate a location that is created to have a new city how can this be considered neo-liberalism? In my concept of neo-liberalism, the role of the State is very far from what happened in Parque Expo and I would consider a very strong mistake and I would challenge anyone that would consider Nations Park a neo-liberalism project. I am challenging now (...)

PR (10:35): These are strong words.

PN (10:36): OK?

PR (10:37): Yeah.

PN (10:37): I'm challenging anyone to come and to present this. I only know one article that was presented (...)

PR (10:47): Erik Swyngedouw.

PN (10:48): Yes.

PR (10:49): Yeah, exactly.

PN (10:49): OK?

PR (10:50): Yeah.

PN (10:50): And this article was presented 2 years before the expo was created, was open. It's very hard for me to imagine how can someone present and write an article knowing a project that at time was 100% public, neo-liberalism. So, my point is if everything which is not marxism is neo-liberalism then yes, Nations Park is neo-liberalism. So, the question becomes what your definition of neo-liberalism is but when the government in 1996 had 100% of the investment, I do not know where these people went to school or what type of definitions of neo-liberalism they use, but it's very hard for me to imagine this and I'm challenging, through your paper, these people to come to me and to discuss urban

development and brownfield development (...)

PR (12:01): It got me thinking, yeah.

PN (12:03): And put and having these types of titles and branding because, quite honestly, it looks like people are trying to get attention, critical attention and not using the definitions properly.

PR (12:20): But I was thinking is it possible that it was some kind of shift, like at the end of the project maybe? Because this area has become one of the most expensive, I think it's the most expensive in Lisbon so (...)

PN (12:34): It's not the most expensive but it is, it's fairly expensive. So, what is your idea, your idea is that the poor have to live with the poor and have to be condemned?

PR (12:45): Not exactly (...)

PN (12:47): And the worst area in one city has to remain the worst area in a city or should we mixt? Should we create a melting pot, and should we fight poverty by promoting business or we just have to accept that the poor are condemned to be poor and that's it? Because in, for me, that's not ethical.

PR (13:09): No, of course. We have to find solutions for everyone.

PN (13:11): Yes.

PR (13:11): Of course.

PN (13:12): And living no one behind means fighting poverty, that does not mean promoting poverty so, if what would people would like is for Nations Park just to be a huge social housing just like Chelas? This would mean that we would keep on having drugs, prostitution and social pathologies and, in my opinion, it doesn't make any sense.

PR (13:42): Of course. Now I'm interested about the company, Parque Expo, why the state created it in the first place? It could just hire a company to develop (...)

PN (13:53): It could have been neo-liberalism.

PR (13:55): Oh, yeah it makes sense but (...)

PN (13:58): That could have been neo-liberalism, OK?

PR (14:00): Yeah.

PN (14:01): And Lisbon created that company, it's called SGAL in Alta de Lisboa. OK?

PR (14:07): Yeah.

PN (14:08): SGAL Alta de Lisboa started 10 years before Parque Expo, it's still not working. OK? It's private sector only, that's neo-liberalism.

PR (14:17): I heard that Alta de Lisboa tends to be neo-liberal.

PN (14:20): Yes.

PR (14:20): So (...)

PN (14:21): It doesn't work.

PR (14:21): Yeah.

PN (14:22): It doesn't work, OK?

PR (14:25): (...)

PN (14:26): So that's the reason why. So, the reason was how are we going to implement a project, an urban project that is defending public interest at national level and at city level and for this a State-owned company with municipal participation was created. In my opinion, I believe this was the right choice. Why? Because we created a fantastic city made and designed by the public sector. So, I see if you want to baptise, I see Parque Expo much more, much closer to a developmental State part of a project like the ones being developed in Korea than anything that could be called neo-liberal.

PR (15:20): OK. What do you think was the impact of the World Expo event in Lisbon? I mean the project, of course.

PN (15:26): The most important, the most important impact was the self-esteem of Portuguese people. The Portuguese people feel different after Expo 98, the Portuguese people feel they have created something that is world class. Today, Nations Park is being visited every year by all urban planners around the world, as a success story. Nations Park is considered the top example of how expo sites should be developed. I just came from Dubai and I was in Dubai to see how Expo 2020 in being developed and quite honestly Expo 2020 in Dubai will not be, will not have the same impact that Expo 98 had in Lisbon.

PR (16:23): Different practices, I guess, so (...)

JG (16:25): Different practice but above all different motivation, the most important question you asked was why was this created? This was created to fight poverty, this was created to protect the planet, and this is different, and this is public interest.

PR (16:45): OK. Can you identify the period when the State invited the private sector in the project?

PN (16:52): The private sector, the private sector was much more involved from 2000 onwards. So, the project started in 1992, the Expo happened in 1998, the whole project was developed and opened for private sector investment according to public design definition and public design management models from 1999 onwards, for example, the private sector to build anything in Nations Park today they have to follow project management specifications that do not exist anywhere else in Portugal. So, the technical specifications to build anything in Nations Park are much more restrict than any other municipality in Portugal. OK? Then Nations Park was created to have 25000 new inhabitants and 18000 new jobs, and it does. And so, it was very clear that to fight the negative demographic evolution of Lisbon, Lisbon lost more than 200000 people in the last 20 years and to fight this we needed to have new projects and not traditional social housing development that could not attract anyone, that would be developed in Lisbon to attract people to come back to Lisbon. Nations Park was developed to have 25 new thousand inhabitants and it

does. And so, we had to create a model that would coop with this.

PR (19:15): OK. What private actors were involved in the development process?

PN (19:21): That's a very interesting point because the whole thing started with very small private companies, Portuguese private companies, that could only develop plots with 1000-2000 square meters. This was at the beginning, at the end the last plots had already investors, large investors coming from abroad, real estate investment funds. Why? Because they knew the city, in the future, would be what the plan (...) was being developed according to plan. Again, if you compare Nations Park with SGAL, where the private sector could basically have developed anything they would want, that's different. So, the important thing is that the investor came because they understood there was a very strong public participation, very strong public vision, very strong public development model and because this was working they would come and they would invest.

PR (20:45): What can you tell me about citizen participation? When the citizens became actors in this project?

PN (20:52): I think the citizens (...), well let's put it like this. The citizens became participants when they first had to stop negotiating drugs and prostitution on this place. OK?

PR (21:08): Alright.

PN (21:09): And this not the type of activity you wanted. Then the citizens became actors, very active actors when they were, and they visited the Expo 98. They had the chance of realising in Portugal, engineers, architects could create something as good as we would have in any of the best cities in the world. This is the phase before and the phase during the exposition, then the phase after the exposition we created an audit body for the citizens in Parque Expo that I believe does not exist in any city today in Portugal where, basically all citizens could inform about what was going on and what should be redressed and what weren't happy with.

PR (22:12): OK. How can you describe the area nowadays?

PN (22:17): (...) today is an area where people, the indicator of price per square meter is always an indicator whether people like a certain area in a city.

PR (22:36): Of course.

PN (22:37): If people do not like an area they are not ready to pay. The reason why the price of square meter in Parque Expo is high, much higher than what we expected is because people enjoy living and going to Parque Expo much more than what we imagined when we developed the project. And so, the main point I would say is success, too much success eventually. There are a lot of other things that should be done, that integration of Nations Park with the surrounding area is definitely something that we would, if we would go back in time we would be much more aware of how to make the surrounding area of Nations Park benefit from Nations Park itself, this is happening today but we believe that we should have spent more energy on promoting social cohesion with the surrounding areas, so I would say that Nations Park today is a success. The point is how we can bring

this success to the surrounding area.

PR (23:54): Can you describe the public spaces in Parque das Nações?

PN (23:58): Public space (...), public space is another thing. Parque das Nações has a density of point 7 and if we would go back I think we would have kept the point 7, the point is we would have increased the height capacity in order to have more public space. Still the rate of public space today in Parque das Nações is probably one of the highest in, certainly, in Lisbon and we have to, and when we take the north park, the green park of Parque das Nações then (...)

PR (24:45): Tejo and Trancão, yeah.

PN (24:46): Near Trancão, not near Trancão, on top of the waste treatment plant.

PR (24:52): Yeah.

PN (24:54): Because Trancão is still going to be developed and they are still building capacity there but the, on top, then it's I would say this would be the range between green and non-green, permeable and non-permeable. Now, when we talk about non-permeable and we talk about public space and public space that is animated, again it's unique in Lisbon. Why? Because it was very clear for us that we had to not only design, build and maintain the city but especially animate the city and so, we have entertainment process in Parque das Nações, where people would feel that the public space was the best place to be. Again, this is unique and the quality of public space in Parque das Nações is the (...) and it's very important because public space are the square meters where people are not paying for. OK? So, you do not have to buy a ticket to enter into the public space of Parque das Nações. OK?

PR (26:08): Yeah.

PN (26:09): So, again this is not private speculation, this is public vision, this is public perspective about public goods which is public space and, again, I would challenge anyone to compare the public space of Parque das Nações with any public space in the world on a new city. So, Parque das Nações does not have that tradition of 500 years - 1000 years that you can find on old Lisbon because it was build 18 years ago but considering it's a new city with 18 years I would challenge any city in the world, Dubai included.

PR (26:56): OK.

PN (25:57): Any city in the world to compare the quality of public space.

PR (27:03): I heard that there are some critics with the public spaces because people are in a conflict with the municipality, because they say OK why don't we can have those public spaces? Like, why we cannot have them in the rest of the city? Why it's only in Parque das Nações?

PN (27:17): Yeah, that's (...) again (...)

PR (27:19): And that's a good insight, I guess (...)

PN (27:20): Yes, but (...) that's a, but what are you saying is that that's (...) you're

paying the price of success.

PR (27:28): Yeah.

PN (27:29): So, but who and, but is this public space, is this private space? No, it is public space.

PR (27:35): Exactly, it's (...)

PN (27:36): So, why don't you create public space like that in other places in Lisbon?

PR (27:40): I know that the place is more used by people outside of the neighbourhood rather than the rest. So, it's a (...)

PN (27:46): Yes! So, again we created a city that has a public space that is used by everyone and everybody else around Lisbon would like to have that quality of public space (...)

PR (27:59): You don't have gated communities there or something (...)

PN (28:01): So (...)

PR (28:02): Yeah, it's (...)

PN (28:03): So, again, so, you know, I think quite honestly Marx would be very pleased to go to this public space because he would see that everybody with or without capacity of accumulation, accumulating capital is treating the same way. And I think this is a very strong message because this is what we do not have on gated communities, this is the opposite of a gated community and so, quite honestly, it's almost an insult to call this a neo-liberal (...) urban development.

PR (28:47): OK. What companies can you identify in Parque das Nações?

PN (28:53): Vodafone, obviously, because that's the first time a new building had a corporate image, was Vodafone that understood what Parque das Nações would be. At that time, it was still a Portuguese company and, anyway today is Vodafone, I would say obviously I still like to go at the Atlantic Pavilion because the name of the pavilion will change. So, but it is definitely the Oceanarium because, again, it's another landmark and, obviously, the headquarters of the railway network, the Portuguese network. This would be some of the very important and it's very funny because all of these provide public service, even if Vodafone is private, it's providing public service, basically, what happened is everybody likes to go there. Why? Because it works. Why? Because you have nice people. Why? Because you have tremendous good public space. Why? Because it's easy to park. Why? Because it's self-sustainable, you know! Probably the most important thing of Parque das Nações is self-sustainable and so, it's so important today when we talk about development, sustainable development goals, that we understand that we can create cities, designed by the government, designed by the public sector, DNA defined by the public sector that have private sector participation. Yes, but where the quality of life is defined by the public sector and is respected.

PR (30:49): OK. My last question. Why Parque das Nações has become the most expensive neighbourhood in Lisbon? I'm very much interested in this.

PN (30:58): Because it's good (...)

PR (31:00): That's the only explanation?

PN (31:03): The price, let me tell you this. When we start selling the plots in Parque das Nações, the price was fairly small because, again the price of Parque das Nações was in the worst area of Lisbon and what people understood is that Parque das Nações created one of the best, if not the best let's say one of the best places to live in Lisbon in the middle of the poor, in the middle of the worst environmental problems, we created the best city possible and when people realised this people started paying more. We, Nations Park, public entity sold the plots to developers and developers sold the plot to a user that use the price of square meter to have offices, to have shops, to have to live and, obviously, up to a certain point, the prices were defined by the market but I believe the main goal of the public sector, of government was to show that the cost of infrastructure, the cost of transforming the worst area of Lisbon into one of the best areas of Lisbon was paid back and this worked. Now, (...) so essentially the quality of the city made the prices go up.

PR (32:56): OK. Well, I have no further questions, so I think that's all.