De-parochializing Urban Entrepreneurialism

- A study on the politics of place-ness and the (im)mobilization of Portugalia Square

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Abstract:

Although the concept of urban entrepreneurialism has been developed over thirty years ago, it still resonates with our contemporary urban condition as cities have become increasingly focusing in attracting external financial investments and consumers to secure local economic growth, specially within a context of post-crisis and austerity. The implementation of austerity policies has instigated local governments into being innovative and adopting entrepreneurial forms of governance and policies. As a result, these cities have been reflecting accelerated and aggressive forms of spatial displacement within its inner city centers, driven by global pressures of tourism and real-estate industries. This has been the case in Lisbon. In 2015 Lisbon received the European Entrepreneurial Region (EER) award. That said, while the city of Lisbon is currently undergoing profound transformations in its social, economic, political and territorial dimensions, being instigated by accelerated patterns of urban and economic development, the city still portrays deep contingent social-economic and territorial inequalities. That said, while David Harvey had elucidated the complex logic of 'city commodification', urban entrepreneurialism has often been theorized as 'effects' of neoliberalism/globalism as well as responses of crisis, rather than an (political) exercise aimed at the articulation of mobile financial investments and consumers within particular places and the realization of profit. In that light, this research argues that the concept of urban entrepreneurialism associated with the concept of policy mobility and local dependence is relevant as it allows renewed reflections on the logic the politics of place-ness. That is, why and how particular places are (im)mobilized in order to allow the articulation of capital and the realization of profits. That said the research aims at de-parochializing both the 'sites' of theoretical production of urban entrepreneurialism by providing a meta-analytical perspective on the urban entrepreneurialism within Portugal and the normative 'status' of the concept of urban entrepreneurialism by exploring empirically the underpinning power-laden dynamics that (im)mobilize Portugalia square.

Preface

Acknowledgements

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Reading Guide

In this report the Harvard referencing style is used. This means that all references appears in the text as [Last name, year]. Whenever more than one reference is used, a semicolon separated the references. Quotes are put in *italic* and are referred to with the page number on which the quote can be found in the original text. All references can be found at the end of the report in the bibliography. Every figure is numbered according to the chapter in which they appear. For instance, figure 1 in chapter 2 is numbered 2.1.

Contents

1 Entrepreneurial City

"[...] It would not have been possible to refurbish [reabilitar] and modernize the city, as it will not be possible to build affordable hosing, exclusively through public initiatives. Both initiatives and private investments are absolutely crucial to achieve the goals of quality of life goals, that we aspire. [...] The municipality of Lisbon is a lawful body that must have a reliable and predictable relationship with all those who invest in the city's refurbishment and modernization. A city for everyone cannot be made without a strong public intervention, clear rules and procedures of public participation. But without private investment, the city stagnates."

[Assembéia Municipal de Lisboa, 2019, Manuel Salgado, author's translation]

The aforementioned quote is part of the discourse presented by Manuel Salgado (Lisbon's city councilor of urbanism at the time) in the public hearing steered by the City Council of Lisbon about the heavily criticized project, involving the construction of a 60 meters tower within the historical center of Lisbon. The tower is part of a private-led real-state refurbishing (rehabilitação) initiative termed *'Portugalia Plaza'*, named due to it being located a square that used to bear a historical brewery called *Portugalia* [Camara Municipal de Lisboa, n.d.]. In addition to the tower, the initiative involves the refurbishing of Portugalia brewery's buildings and the construction of three more buildings consisting of 85 housing apartments, 180 co-living housing units, offices, co-working spaces, retail and 413 parking spaces or cars and 99 for motorcycles [Diário de Notícias , 2019]. The cornerstone of the project is the creation of an open plaza of approximately 3000 m2 in which *"[...] will be the binding element of the whole project as well as a new centrality in terms of outdoor activities and leisure [...] enhancing the relationship between the square and its surroundings [...]"* [Camara Municipal de Lisboa, n.d.]. Although for Manuel Salgado and the private actors, the initiative is an opportunity as it engenders new 'open spaces', several landscape architects, academics, citizens, local politicians, planners and activists have criticized it and a formal petition was put in motion by the movements *Stop Torre 60m Portugalia* and *Vizinhos de Arroios*.

While initially, the height of the tower spiked concerns over the visual impacts that a tower this high would inevitably create [Diário de Notícias , 2019], it has reflected deeper problems regarding Lisbon's urban policies. In a context of growing touristification and

gentrification, Portugalia square reflects a pattern of an accelerated urban development through urban rehabilitation and real-estate refurbishing [Lestegás et al., 2019].In that sense, it reflects a political economic attitude of a local governance that on the one hand, (re)produces and legitimizes entrepreneurialism as the 'only solution' for achieving political objectives of urban requalification and real-state refurbishing, and on the other hand, limits the possibility of alternative and more progressive forms of urban politics and policies to come into play.

1.1   Neoliberal, Neoliberal-ism, Neoliberal-ization

The concept of urban entrepreneurialism was developed by David Harvey over three decades ago to elucidate a paradigm shift in governance from managerial to entrepreneurial regime driven by macro-economic dynamics of inter-urban competition [Harvey, 1989]. He has noted that since the 1970s and 1980s, cities have become increasingly preoccupied in simultaneously attracting highly mobile financial and consumption flows while promoting localities through place-specific policies and projects. In addition, he has associated inter-urban competition with urban entrepreneurialism claiming that within such regime, cities are coerced to compete, engendering similar forms of urban (re)development. In that light, while the material outcome of urban entrepreneurialism is variegated, scholars have noted he use of similar urban development policies and strategies and urban governance tools [Baptista, 2013a]. Sager [2011] has noted that city-marketing, public-private partnerships, liberalization of housing markets, privatization, urban regeneration and real-state refurbishing are some of the trends and practices entrepreneurialism.

While Harvey has provided interesting views on the urban politics underpinning 'city commodification', his concept of urban entrepreneurialism has been often been theorized as an 'effect' or a 'context' of neoliberalism rather than a political exercise aimed mobilizing territories and realizing profit by extracting value locked within these territories [Wood and Brock, 2017]. Over the years Harvey's concept of urban entrepreneurialism, has been used by multiple scholars in various ways to explore changes in urban governance arrangements and policies driven by a political economic regime of capital accumulation [Wood and Brock, 2017]. Specifically, it has been used within the broad and variegated literature of neoliberalism [Sager, 2011]. From a critical perspective, urban entrepreneurialism is often associated to a 'shift' from managerialism to entrepreneurialism and the various and often contradictory manners in which neoliberalism has both de-regulated and reduced the role of the state, dis-assembling a welfare regime, while naturalizing a market-oriented governing logic that favors a regime and a mode of capitalist accumulation [Baptista, 2013a; Allmendinger, 2017; Sager, 2011].

More recently, scholars have contextualized urban entrepreneurialism within a context

of crisis, austerity [Tulumello, 2016; Drago, 2017]. That is, in a period of European crisis and the implementation of austerity policies, scholars have noted a rise in urban entrepreneurialism, reflected through real-state refurbishing and urban requalification within inner cities in Southern European countries [Mendes, 2017]. From a critical perspective they have scrutinized how such strategies have enhanced tourism gentrification and social-spatial polarization, due to the growing dependency of local economies on global investments, processes and actors. Lestegás et al. [2019] have exposed that in a context of crisis and austerity, 'globally-scales rent gaps' intensify as local residents living in attractive areas turn their dwellings into short-term rentals.

While the exploration of Portugalia Plaza through these lenses will provide interesting views of for instance, how urban entrepreneurialism 'plays out' in the case of Portugalia square and how does it enhances tourism gentrification within Lisbon, they will inevitably contribute to the (re)production of what Jacobs [2017] has termed as an 'associative ontology'. That, is, it will 'add-on' to the multiplicity of studies on neoliberalism. Recently, scholars have been increasingly growing wary over the constant invocation of neoliberal(-ism, -izing) within urban studies [Baptista, 2013a; Tulumello, 2016]. They have claimed that not only the over-commitment to neoliberalism has limited the possibilities of the emergence of alternative political and theoretical reflections beyond neoliberal interpretations, but it has also distorted the understanding of the "multiple drivers of urban change" [Parnell and Robinson, 2012, p. 597].

This is specifically true within places locates outside the 'borderlands' of urban theory production as cases within these places *"[...] map uneasily onto the mainstream concepts and analytical lenses in urban theory[...]"* [Baptista, 2013a, p.592]. Parnell and Robinson [2012] have alerted how neoliberalism has achieved a dominant status, providing a 'ready-made interpretive framework' that travel towards southern places in the globe, (re)producing the realities and ideas, originated from places within the capitalist core. In that light, scholars have been arguing for a 'epistemological renewal' that re-calibrates both the sites of 'epistemological production' as well as the dominant 'status' of theories and concepts [Baptista, 2013a]. As Jacobs [2017] has claimed, the inability of alternative urban politics or conceptualizations beyond neoliberalism, is in part a methodological problem that needs to be addressed by scholars.

1.2   Contextualizing epistemological renewal in Portugal

Recently, Portuguese scholars looking to renewal the 'sites' and the 'status' of mainstream theoretical and analytical framework, have been providing interesting theorizations of the urban experience in Portugal. One of these contributions have been the works of Baptista

[2013a] who has argued that an empirical study within the Portugal is interesting for the de-parochialization of urban theory since *"[...]the Portuguese urban condition is dissimilar, while not exceptional, to cities forged by the industrial revolution [...]"* [ibid., 596]. Indeed, urban entrepreneurialism offers a linear periodization that identifies a 'paradigm shift' of a political economy regime (and its mode of regulation) that favors the logic of capitalist accumulation in the mid-1970s following the first oil shock in 1973 [Drago, 2017]. Nevertheless, this 'EuroAmerican centric' historical periodization does not 'fit' the genealogy of Portuguese political and economic shifts. Although Portugal is geographically located in an 'Euro' context, until the mid-1970s, Portugal was under a 50-year-long authoritarian regime, entangled in long anti-colonial wars with its African colonies Drago [2017]; Tulumello [2016]. It was only after 1986 that Portugal has become a member of the European Economic Community (ECC), following a period of *"'modernizing' toward a 'European' welfare ideal"* [Baptista, 2013a, p. 600]. In that sense, the has argued that theoretical reflections of the contingencies in Portugal should be associated to a view of modernization, democratisation and state building.

Baptista [2013a] has exposed the manner in which a perspective that conceptualizes neoliberalism as a premise to study a Portuguese state-led 'landmark' urban regeneration initiate (POLIS Programme), drives the attention towards the changes in the relationship between the local and central governments. She argues that through such perspective, one might interpret the POLIS programme as a matter of governmental and institutional re-structuring to facilitate urban competitiveness. However, Baptista [2013a] claims that the intersection of ideas of democratization, modernization and welfare state are crucial to understand the POLIS programme as *"[...] an idealized 'European' welfare (and efficient) state apparatus [...]"* [Baptista, 2013a, p. 605]. In that light, she has exposed that the POLIS programme, that has been addressed by academics and politicians as a neoliberal policy, was (paradoxically) *"[...] an attempt at expanding the reach of the state to an idealized welfare model."* [Baptista, 2013a, p. 606]. In another paper, Baptista [2013b] has used the the concept of 'legal practices of exception' to scrutinize the (re)configuration of the power-laden relationship within the state through the POLIS programme case. She has argued that while the deployment of practices of exception, anticipates the shifts in complex institutional contexts through overarching forces, *"[...]exceptions are selective by nature."* [ibib., p. 49] In that sense, she has noted that while policy-makers have expected the POLIS programme to 'fix' the deficiencies of the Portuguese urban regime (planning and governance), they operated through "temporary enclaves of rule" [ibid., p. 50]

Following [Baptista, 2013a]'s lead, Tulumello [2016] has exposed how in a 'dense' deprived neighborhood, against a landscape of crisis and the implementation of top-down austerity policies, local initiatives of urban regeneration coupled with the implementation of neoliberal governance regimes, have engendered local empowerment, rather than fomenting a process of de-politization and de-democratization. While he contextualizes

the deployment of austerity policies as *"[...] an expression of the neoliberal project [...]"* [ibid., 124], he reduces neoliberalism to a concept among others. More recently, Gomes [2019] has noted how the privatization of a public space in Lisbon, has been a product of 'timely' negotiations rather than a result of neoliberal trends and 'ruptures' in Portuguese governance regimes and existing practices. He has also scrutinized the manner in which conviviality has been used as *"[...] a vehicle for the commodification of public spaces and reconfigurations in the city's governance and stakeholder networks."* [Gomes, 2019,p. 11]. Moreover, he noted that paradoxically, the framing of 'conviviality' as a policy objective, coupled with a generalized commodification of public spaces has limited the possibilities of broader social and political activities in public space.

Furthermore, Baptista [2012] has also provided an critical perspective on the extensive Portuguese urban literature, arguing that (re)production of Portugal as 'unplanned' within Portuguese literature *"operates as an intellectual and discursive construct"* [ibid., p. 1076]. Such construct leads to an abstract image of Portuguese cities as 'not quite yet' modern while associating it with an idealized notion of democracy [Drago, 2017]. Drago [2017] corroborates with Baptista's perspective, further arguing that this intellectual construct has reduced urban development to a question of state apparatuses while naturalizing the 'liberal-Western-European model of democracy' [ibid., 433] as the only model of democracy. That is, if the Portuguese 'model' of, for instance, urban governance does not follows an European 'model', then there is a need to 'modernize' it. In that light, as Baptista [2012] has argued, this pattern of thought does not take into account the critical debate on idealized views of 'modernity' and 'modernization'.

1.3 Portugalia square: Between mobilities and immobilities

As argued before, the de-parochialization of urban theory involves a re-calibration of the sites of epistemological production as well as their status. As exposed in the section above, Portuguese scholars have exposed the manner in which empirical urban studies within Portuguese cities provide a rich field for the de-parochializing urban theory through the exploration of the Portuguese urban governance and urban conditions.That said, Lisbon is currently undergoing a period of profound transformations of its social, economic, political and territorial dimensions, being instigated by accelerated patterns of urban and economic development [Seixas et al., 2019]. The intersection between the an urban regime that favors entrepreneurialism and tourism to attract external private investments, the foment of alternative governance regimes at a local level and a global context of 'transnational gentrification'. Recently, within a global context of increasingly mobility of financial investments and consumers, policies and ideas, these variegated forms of civic manifestation

that have been putting pressure over Lisbon's urban regime [Seixas et al., 2015b]. In that sense, as suggested by Tulumello [2016] a focus on the *"conflictual and dialogical patterns of production of urban space"* [ibid., p. 133] within spaces characterized by having a concentration of coexisting and mixed "[...] social groups, activities, understandings, wills, desires, instances, interests, and values" [ibid., p.125] - allows a nuanced understanding of the relations between civic movements, urban policy and hegemonic processes. Indeed, as [Harvey, 1989, p. 6] has argued 30 years ago:

> *"It is likewise important to specify who is being entrepreneurial and about what. I want here to insist that urban "governance" means much more than urban 'government'. [..] The power to organise space derives from a whole complex of forces mobilised by diverse social agents. It is a conflictual process, the more so in the ecological spaces of highly variegated social density."*

1.4   Research Question

The aforementioned perspective fomented the following research question and additional sub-questions which will guide the exploration within this thesis:

> *"How Portugalia square has become (im)mobilized and to what extend is Portugalia square an 'effect' of entrepreneurialism?*

- How does Portugal reflects generalized forms of urban entrepreneurialism and what is the 'nature' of the Portuguese urban entrepreneurialism?
- How has local dependence affected the (im)mobilization of urban entrepreneurialism in Lisbon?

This research argues that the concept of urban entrepreneurialism associated with the concept of policy mobility and local dependence is relevant as it allows renewed reflections on the logic the politics of place-ness. That is, why and how particular places are (im)mobilized in order to allow the articulation of capital and the realization of profits. That said the research aims at de-parochializing both the 'sites' of theoretical production of urban entrepreneurialism by providing a meta-analytical perspective on the urban entrepreneurialism within Portugal and the normative 'status' of the concept of urban entrepreneurialism by exploring empirically the underpinning power-laden dynamics that (im)mobilize Portugalia square.

That said, the research has two objectives. First, by exploring empirically the underpinning power-laden dynamics that (im)mobilize Portugalia square, the research adds substance

to the concept of urban entrepreneurialism empirically. Second, it contributes to the re-calibration of urban theory, not only by generating theoretical and political reflections in a place within the 'borderlands' of urban theoretical production, but also by reflecting upon the methodological limitations and implications of theorizing (variegated) urban experiences from hegemonic theoretical perspectives.

The scope of the research is limited to Lisbon since the city is undergoing a dynamic period of socio-political transformations due to its intensive commodification, making it a rich field for renovated exploration of urban entrepreneurialism beyond normative perspectives.

1.5   Structure of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into 8 chapters. **Chapter 1: Entepreneurial City** introduces the empirical problem, providing the underpinning relevance and motivation for the research. Following this reflections, the Research Question and appertaining sub-questions delimit the scope of the thesis. **Chapter 2: Epistemological Framework** presents the ontological and epistemological foundations that have driven the theoretical and analytical reflections of this research, as well as the researcher's scientific position. The chapter also presents the methods deployed for collecting data, making the thesis transparent. **Chapter 3:'De-parochializing' Urban Entrepreneurialism** provides a meta-analytical framework in which the concept of urban entrepreneurialism is contextualized in the Portuguese urban genealogy. **Chapter 4: Conceptual Issue** provides a conceptual framework in which the concept of urban entrepreneurialism is associated to the concepts of policy mobility and local dependence. **Chapter 5: Entrepreneurial Lisbon: Between (Im)mobilities** explores the manner in which local dependence affected the (im)mobilization of urban entrepreneurialism in Lisbon by scrutinizing the manner in which tourism and urban rehabilitation have been (im)mobilized due to local dependence. **Chapter 6: (Im)mobilizing Portugalia Square** explores the power-laden dynamics associated to the politics of place-ness within Portugalia square. **Chapter 7: Discussion** discusses to what extend is Portugalia square an 'effect' of urban entrepreneurialism. **Chapter 8: Conclusion** constitutes the conclusion of the research in which the three analysis chapters are synthesized and the research question is answered.

2 Epistemological Framework

"The salvation of knowledge (connaissance) depends entirely upon a methodological re-examination of its established forms (savoir), which congeal it by means of epistemology and seek to institute a supposedly absolute knowledge [...] The only road for such a re-examination to take is the unification of critical knowledge with the critique of knowledge [...] Collusion between 'knowledge' and 'power' must be exposed, as must the purposes to which bureaucracy bends knowledge's specialization."

This thesis seeks to contribute to the on-going project of re-calibration of urban theoretical production, by challenging the inherently conceptions of normative and universalizing theories. In specific this thesis challenges the dominant status of neoliberalism within urban theory, and corroborates with the meta-analytical discussions that pursue political and theoretical reflections beyond an 'associative ontology' Jacobs [2017].

That said, the thesis argues that the concept of urban entrepreneurialism as an 'object' of enquiry' is relevant specifically within our contemporaneity as it allows us to understand the logic of 'commodification' of cities and the local/global politics of policy-making. By exploring empirically the power-laden dynamics underpinning the (im)mobilization of Portugalia square in Lisbon through the implementation of entrepreneurial policies, this research provides substance to the concept of urban entrepreneurialism. The empirical data was collected by means of qualitative interviews and document analysis, providing the in-depth understandings of the complex dynamics of the urban experience of Portugalia square in Lisbon. In that light, this empirical qualitative research has been designed to elucidate the intellectual and political implications of theorizing urban phenomena through universal lenses.

Thus, this section will provide a comprehensive argumentative description of this research's scientific approach, elucidating the underpinning ontological and epistemological assumptions of the researcher as well as the methods deployed for empirical data collection.

2.1 Scientific Approach

The foundation of every research is the various assumptions of reality (ontology) and the ambitions of gathering knowledge to verify this assumptions (epistemology) [Farthing, 2016]. As argued before, this thesis seeks to refine the concept of urban entrepreneurialism as an 'object of enquire', arguing that the concept can be useful to understand the phenomena of 'city commodification'. That said, by no means this research assumes that the 'world market' is a 'sovereign entity', nor as a manipulated 'instrumental reality' [Lefebvre, 1991]. Rather, this thesis follows Lefebvre [1991]'s argument that the underpinning of social relations is spatial. Such approach elucidates the power-laden relationship between planning practice and urban entrepreneurialism.

This thesis follows a relational-territorial approach that conceives space beyond boundaries stating that the urban is not *in* networks but rather *are* networked [Jacobs, 2017]. Thus, the thesis uses terms as place-ness, localities and urban-ness to connote this conceptualization of space. By following an ontology of movement, the boundaries between object and substance, material and non-material are conflated, leading to a urban-ness that is constantly in-transformation and being assembled through multi-scalar and overlapping dynamics.

That said, the thesis is also sensitive to the 'territoriality' feature of space. Although knowledge has been built up *globally* and *atemporal*, they do posses a temporal character as they inform an 'evolution' of historical 'paths' [Lefebvre, 1991]. Thus a relational-territorial view of the space through an ontology of movement, allows a non-linear approach that is sensible to the contingencies and context specificities of Portugalia square (and Lisbon). That said, it also reflects the methodological limitations and implications of linear approaches within homogeneous narratives such as neoliberalism.

It is important to underline that there are no absolute 'truths' in the world as the world 'in motion' is constantly changing. Thus, the (re)evaluation of taken-for-granted 'truths' about the the logic underpinning city commodification is crucial to understand 'how profit is made and who profits' as well as to expose the fundamental political nature of city commodification and its relationship with urban planning.
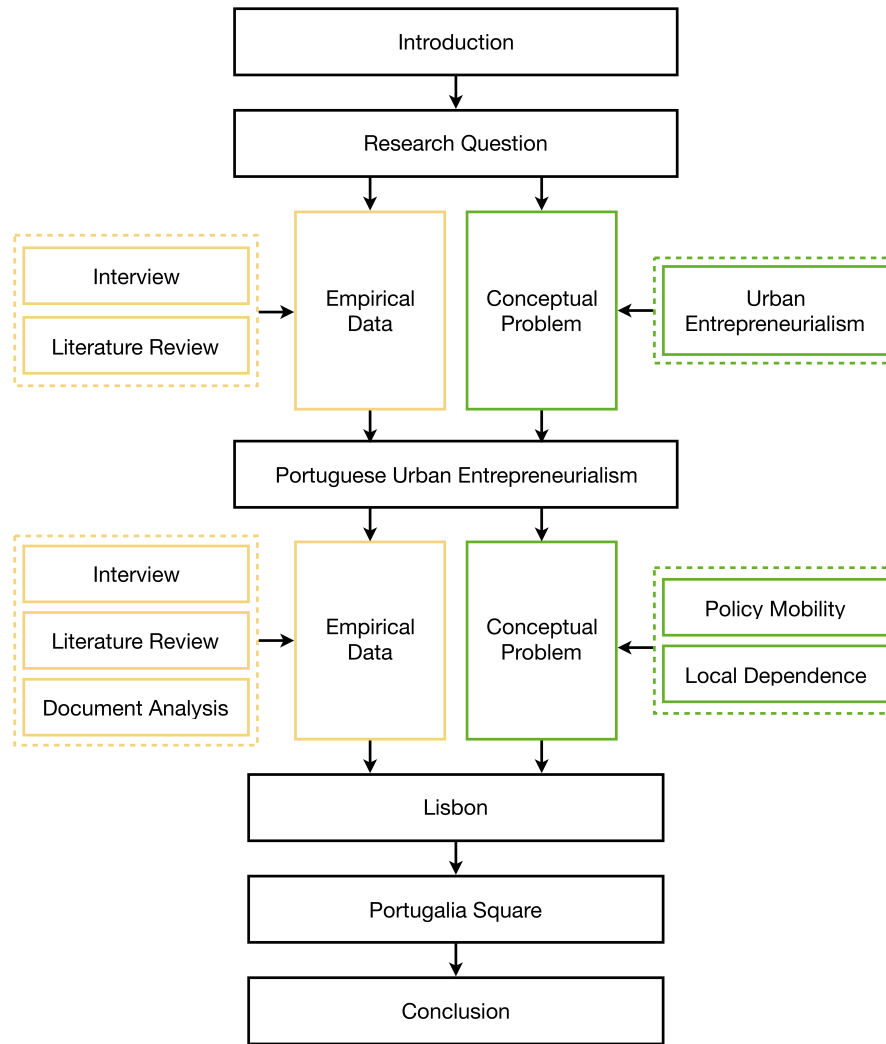
Figure 2.1: The overall structure of the thesis.

Figure 2.1 shows the overall structure of the thesis. As illustrated on the figure, the research question influence the choice of methods and theoretical concepts.

2.1.1   Empirical Analysis

Since the thesis does not intend to develop a normative theory or methodology, this research follows an empirical approach. In that light, a exploratory conceptual framework will be developed and used as an 'instrument' for empirical analysis [Tulumello and Picone, 2016]. Thus, through Portugalia square this thesis will critically analyse the logic of 'commodification' underpinning urban entrepreneurialism, and its relationship with planning practice, through the exploration of the power-laden dynamics underpinning the (im)mobilization of Portugalia square in Lisbon.

Following this argument, the thesis corroborates with the re-calibration of urban theory

by empirically studying urban phenomena outside the 'heartlands' or theoretical urban production [Jacobs, 2017]. Thus, it allows the understanding of dissimilar (but not exceptional) dynamics underpinning urban theory. As argued by Flyvbjerg [2004], praxis is fundamentally context dependent.

Portugalia Square

Portugalia square is an interesting object of analysis as it represents what [Jacobs, 2017, p. 419] interpreted as *"sites of failure, absence and mutation"*, thus, although real-state refurbishing is not uncommon in Lisbon, the conflicts in Portugalia square makes it an interesting case to study. Thus, Portugalia square represents an *extreme* case, that can reveal tensions and pressures that emerge due to the intersection of conflictual interests and ideologies of the various actors in a global-local context of policy circulation.

In addition, a study in Portugalia square also reveals *"how certain conditions and their underlying processes change over time"* [Yin, 2014, p. 53]. Indeed, although the current real-refurbishing project, that sparked criticisms has stared in 2017, the square has been under a 'urban requalification' strategy since 2001 [Assembéia Municipal de Lisboa, 2019]. Thus, the exploration of the genealogy of Portugalia square in parallel with the evolution of Lisbon's entrepreneurial practices and policies in a global-local context, reflect how global trends and dynamics affect the (im)mobilization of entrepreneurial policies in Lisbon.

2.1.2 Triangulation

According to Farthing [2016], if little research has been done in a topic, an exploratory approach is appropriated as it allows in-depth insightful understanding of the concept and the context where the concept is being research. In that sense, qualitative methods, such as interviews with the actors involved and documentation analysis, allow the exploration the insights and experiences of actors, as well as the language and content in documents, thus allowing a deep understanding of the concept. In that light, since little research has been done about urban entrepreneurialism beyond neoliberalism within Portugal, semi-structure interviews, as a qualitative methods, have been the cornerstone of the methodologies of this research.

Moreover, triangulation has been deployed in this research since the use of multiple sources of evidence in empirical studies allows the convergence of evidence, thus strengthen the research validity [Yin, 2014]. In addition, it also allows a holistic view on the research concept. Thus, triangulation has been used in this thesis to strengthen the evidence and accommodate the research complexity, since inconsistencies and divergences of collected empirical data areimportant to the research [Farthing, 2016]

Interviews

Since the flexibility of semi-structure interviews allows the exploration of the opinions, views and experiences in a wide and in-depth manner [Farthing, 2016], this research conducted by means of six semi-structures interviews. While two interviews were made with the actors involved within the movement 'Stop Torre 60m Portugalia' and 'Vizinhos de Arroios' providing empirical insights, the other four interviews were made with scholars, whose academic papers have served core-base for analysis. Despite repeated attempts by the researcher, no local actors from the municipality or other governmental organization, were interviewed. In addition, the private actors also refused to be interviewed. The interviews were recorded and for the most part transcribed.

The semi-structure interviews conducted with the scholars (see figure 2.2) were crucial to get an overview of the urban conditions in Lisbon. As argued by Baptista [2013a], scholarship in Portugal often follows a 'not quite yet' approach, thus characterising Portugal as an 'unplanned'. In that light, conducting interviews with relevant members of the academia that have been providing alternative theoretical and political reflections of the Portuguese urban experiences, has been the cornerstone of the methodology of this thesis. It is also important to mention that the academics have also been active in different organizations within governmental organizations as well as non-governmental organizations. Thus, their experiences within those areas have also provided crucial views on the power-laden mechanisms that affect the Portuguese urban experience.

Dr. João Mourato	Dr. João Mourato is a PHD research fellow in ISC- Lisbon University and has worked as a consultant within DGOTDU-CEMAT/UNECE, a governmental agency for territorial planning in Portugal. The purpose of this interview was to collect data about the evolution of urban planning policies in Portugal and shifts in planning culture. That is, the dynamics of the institutionalization of urban planning in Portugal along with a process of modernization and democratization. In addition to gather data on the central and local tensions.
Dr. Simoni Tulumello	Dr. Simoni Tulumello is a PHD research fellow in ISC- Lisbon University and a member of the civic association for housing in Lisbon – HABITA. The purpose of this research was to gather data on the socio-political dynamics of transformation in Lisbon, the rise in civic movements, the local politics in Lisbon, the tensions between local and central governments.
Dr. Idalina Baptista	Dr. Idalina Baptista is a PHD is a research fellow at Kellogg College. The purpose of this interviews was to understand from a theoretical perspective the idea of Portugal as unplanned. In addition, the presence of scholars in the state.
Ana Drago	Ana Drago is an integrated researcher at DINÂMIA'CET-IUL in Lisbon, a sociologist and a politician. She has worked as a congresswoman at the national assembly and Lisbon's municipal assembly. The purpose of this research was to gather data on the public participation in Lisbon, the civic movements in Lisbon, the autonomy of local governments and the commodification of Lisbon

Figure 2.2: Interviews with academics

That said, the prepared questions for the interviews with the academics, focused in different perspective according to the field of work. However, all interviews focused on gathering a broad overview of the historical tensions between the central and local governments as well as the relationship of Portugal with the European Union, and how these affect the planning practice. While such perspective is not the scope of this thesis, they are crucial to understand the urban phenomena in Portugal. As [Baptista, 2013a] has argued, urban planning is Portugal must be viewed in connection with concepts of modernization, democratization and an idealized view on the European Union.

The interviews conducted with the actors involved within the movement 'Stop Torre 60m Portugalia' and 'Vizinhos de Arroios' (see figure 2.3) focused on gathering their option, experiences and understandings of the case itself. The prepared questions designed to guide the interview had a similar scope, ensuring that the relevant points and themes were covered.

Miguel Pinto	Miguel Pinto is the leader of `Stop Torre 60m Portugalia' movement and the official petitioner. He has also be the co-leader of the `Jardim do Caracol' movement two years prior. The purpose of this research was to gather data on the public participation system in Portugal and the increasingly commodification of the city.
Luís Castro	Luís Castro is the leader of the neighborhood association "Vizinhos de Arroios" and is active in the movement against the real-refurbishing of Portugalia square. The purpose of this interview was to gather data on the public participation system in Portugal, the commodification of Lisbon.

Figure 2.3: Interviews with local actors

Document Analysis

Document analysis has been crucial to this research. Qualitative study of the existing legislation underpinning the master plan of Lisbon as well as the master plan, were crucial to analyze how Lisbon's entrepreneurial policies have affected Portugalia square. In addition, they provide in-depth understanding of the contradictions of planning and what Foucault has termed 'the rhetoric of policy' [Farthing, 2016]. Through qualitative analysis the focus has not been on what the policy said but how they have been selectively used by actors. In addition, the development plans for Portugalia square have also been analysed, providing insights of how private actors and the municipality have justify the 'mobilization' of the development of Portugalia square. These qualitative analysis focused on the language and the rhetoric used. Moreover, data was also collected from the official debate about Portugalia square steered my Lisbon's Municipal Assembly on the 18 of July 2019 and published online. Such debate provided an overview of the political views of several members within the municipality as well as the politicians within the municipal assembly.

I addition, documents in association with interviews have been used to complement the

case. While there are debates on what constitutes documents, this research follows Farthing [2016]'s view that while not all documents are text-based only. In this thesis, a qualitative documentary analysis involving the study of the master plan of Lisbon (PDM), and the strategy for urban requalification (ERU) were crucial as they set legal frameworks for urban entrepreneurialism. Apart from these documents, the thesis also used the official petition developed by 'Stop Torre 60m Portugalia' in association to the interviews with the actors of the movements. The plan for the development of Portugalia square has also been analysed. In addition, data was also collected from the official debate about Portugalia that has been published online.

The main purpose of the qualitative analysis of these documents has been to evaluate how Lisbon supports urban entrepreneurialism within a legal dimension. As argued by [Farthing, 2016], policy documents are the cornerstone of planning systems. In addition, considering that policies are socially constructed, there is also an interest in finding out who participated in its development and for what purposes [ibid.].

2.2   Summary

This chapter has given an overview of the research's scientific approach, elucidating the underpinning ontological and epistemological assumptions of the researcher as well as the methods deployed for empirical data collection. The methodology designed for this research encompasses varied forms methods in order provide adequate data to address the empirical and conceptual problems addressed within the research question. Since there is a gap in urban theory concerning the concept of urban entrepreneurialism, qualitative methods were applied to

If little research has been done in a topic, an exploratory approach is appropriated as it allows in-depth insightful understanding of the concept and the context where the concept is being research. In that sense, qualitative methods, such as interviews with the actors involved, allow the exploration of their own experiences and insights of the situation, thus allowing a deep understanding of the concept. In that light, since little research has been done about urban entrepreneurialism beyond neoliberalism within Portugal, semi-structure interviews, as a qualitative methods, have been the cornerstone of the methodologies of this research.

That said, the thesis argues that the concept of urban entrepreneurialism as an 'object' of enquiry' is relevant specifically within our contemporaneity as it allows us to understand the logic of 'commodification' of cities and the relationship between planning and city commodification. By exploring empirically the power-laden dynamics underpinning the (im)mobilization of Portugalia square in Lisbon through the implementation of entrepreneurial policies, this research provides substance to the concept of urban

entrepreneurialism. The empirical data was collected by means of qualitative interviews and document analysis, providing the in-depth understandings of the complex dynamics of the urban experience of Portugalia square in Lisbon. In that light, this empirical qualitative research has been designed to elucidate the intellectual and political implications of theorizing urban phenomena through universal lenses.

3 'De-parochializing' Urban Entrepreneurialism

According to Wood and Brock [2017] while Harvey's work has travel throughout a a variety of territorial and temporal scales and and contexts, his concept resonates with our contemporary condition. Indeed, Pinkster and Boterman [2017] have noted how the expansion of the commodification of historic centers in European cities, driven by global forces and fulled by local governments, has had remarkable social-spatial impacts. Moreover, Lestegás et al. [2019] have expose that Southern European countries are specially vulnerable to global pressures of global touristification an real-estate investments since the local economy within these countries are specially fragile and vulnerable to global financial pressures.

In that light, this research argues that the re-examination of Harvey's original work on urban entrepreneurialism, can provide interesting theoretical underpinnings that are relevant to our contemporary situation. In specific it is particular relevant to understand the peculiar temporal pattern that led Lisbon to a dynamic period of socio-political transformations due to its intensive commodification. While Portugal has adopted entrepreneurial urban practices such urban rehabilitation and tourism development for over three decades, it was only recently that its two major cities Porto and Lisbon, have began to reflect accelerated and aggressive patterns of spatial displacement [Mendes, 2017].

That said, while Harvey [1989] has developed the concept or urban entrepreneurialism by observing patterns of changes within urban arrangements from urban managerialism towards urban entrepreneurialism and a re-orientation in attitudes within the local public sector, his studies have mainly focused on 'capitalist' cities. That said, his linear periodization that starts from the first oil shock in the mid-1970s does not reflect the evolution of urban governance and planning in Portugal [Baptista, 2012]. Indeed, Portugal was an authoritative regime until 1974, followed by a turbulent economic and political period in which disputes over its democratic future took place. It was only in 1986 that Portugal finally adhered to the European Economic Community (EEC) [Baptista, 2012; Mourato, 2019]. Thus, scholars have noted that the understanding of the conjuncture of these two moments are crucial to understand the urban condition and experiences of Portugal. In addition, scholars have also suggested that theorizing the Portuguese urban condition, requires the notion of modernization, democratization and an idealized version of Western European welfare state [Baptista, 2012; Seixas et al., 2019].

Following this perspective, this chapter will focus on de-parochializing the 'sites' of theoretical production of urban entrepreneurialism by providing a meta-analytical perspective on the urban entrepreneurialism within Portugal. That said, this chapter will examining the 'nature' of urban entrepreneurialism in Portugal through the general view of urban entrepreneurialism developed in Harvey [1989]'s paper: *"From managerialism to entrepreneurialism: the transformation of urban governance"*. While his linear approach has been pitched within relatively abstraction levels, and consequently subject to much critique, he did provide three distinguishing dimensions that characterize urban entrepreneurialism which are: a turn towards governance arrangements through the formation of coalitions, an emphasis in attracting mobile financial investments and consumers to ensure local growth and development and the speculative nature of urban entrepreneurialism [Wood and Brock, 2017].

That said, this chapter is divided into four sections. Section 3.1 will provide a 'generalized' view on the concept of urban entrepreneurialism. Section 3.2 will contextualize Portugal within Harvey [1989]'s periodization that followed the 1970s crisis and the paradigmatic changes in governance and institutions, by examining the two crucial moments that affected the Portuguese urban governance and condition (the Revolution of 1974 and the adhesion to the EEC in 1986). Section 3.3 will provide a meta-analytical framework, in which the 'nature' of the Portuguese urban entrepreneurialism will be examined through his three fundamental arguments described above. Finally, in section 3.4, will discuss how does Portugal reflect generalized forms of urban entrepreneurialism.

3.1   Bringing Back Urban Entrepreneurialism

Over three decades ago, Harvey [1989] has conceptualized a entrepreneurial turn in urban governance against a background of globalization, inter-connectivity and a logic of capital circulation and accumulation. He has argued that inter-urban competition 'coerce' cities into a adopting entrepreneurial policies and strategies of urban governance to attract mobile capital [Harvey, 1989; Sager, 2011]. In that sense, local authorities became increasingly preoccupied in ensuring local development end employment growth, through the attraction of an increasingly mobile capital.

Harvey [1989] developed the concept or urban entrepreneurialism within a global context of increase change. The crisis engendered by the first oil shock in 1973, the desindustrialisation and the widespread of unemployment, the implementation of austerity measures both at national and sub-national levels have had serious implications to capitalist economies across the globe [Harvey, 1989]. Against this backdrop, the collapse of socialism in Eastern Europe and a rise of free-market liberalism rationale provided the appropriated channels for neoliberal policies to become incredibly mobile and global(ized).

It is within this context that Harvey [1989] noted a global pattern of changes within urban arrangements from urban managerialism towards urban entrepreneurialism and a re-orientation in attitudes within the local public sector. While this linear approach has been pitched within relatively abstraction levels, and consequently subject to much critique, he did provide three distinguishing dimensions that characterize urban entrepreneurialism [Wood and Brock, 2017].

Governance arrangements

Harvey's concept of urban entrepreneurialism is deeply rooted in his interesting in the relationship between a shift in the regime and mode of capitalist accumulation and its impacts and manifestations within the urban 'built environment' and urban institutions [Wood and Brock, 2017]. The use of the term 'urban governance' indicated a profound change in the relationship between central and local governments as well as a rise in coalitions with actors outside the 'public sector', specifically in forms of public-private partnerships. In addition, he has payed particular attention towards the manner in which the political-economic discourse and practice of urban entrepreneurialism, is associated (and constitutive) of locality, place and community [Harvey, 1989]. That said, the shift towards entrepreneurial governance required a radical (re)construction of the relationship between central and local governments. The rise in coalitions, specifically public-private partnerships and the role of local authorities in facilitating and attracting capitalist interests are associated to this process [Harvey, 1989].

While most of the scholarship on urban entrepreneurialism have associated the term 'urban governance' to public-private partnership, Harvey [1989] had recognized that local business interests have (for the most part) sought to promote the city in order to boost their particular localities. Nevertheless, he argued that the novelty lies in the manner how local businesses interest in promoting the city are 'integrated' within the local government agendas, aiming at attracting external mobile sources of 'value' in forms of investments and consumers [Wood and Brock, 2017; Harvey, 1989]. In that light, he noted a 'proactive' attitude from local governments in boosting local economies and local business 'mobilizing' local governments in order to secure their interests [Wood and Brock, 2017]. That said, he focused on whose economic interests are being realized within a particular public-private 'coalition' [Harvey, 1989].

> *"It is likewise important to specify who is being entrepreneurial and about what. I want here to insist that urban "governance" means much more than urban 'government'. [..] The power to organise space derives from a whole complex of forces mobilised by diverse social agents. It is a conflictual process, the more so in the ecological spaces of highly variegated social density."*

That said, he has argued that while local governments mobilize *place*-specific policies and projects to improve the economic conditions of a particular jurisdiction, paradoxically, the impacts and effects of place-specific projects and policies, extend across neighboring territories (and globally), bringing about different responses and reactions [Harvey, 1989]. For instance, on the one hand, they might influence the formation of governance arrangements at the metropolitan level, bringing together 'rival' cities while leaping over 'inflexible' administrative regulations, to implement projects and policies that have beneficial effects at a large scale [Harvey, 1989]. On the other hand, cities aiming at becoming more competitive, might develop similar place-specific projects through local-based coalitions of local real-state developers and investors, thus having a lesser beneficial effects at a larger territorial scales.

Furthermore, Harvey [1989] has underlined that while urban entrepreneurialism invokes the notion of 'collective corporation' through which state agents seeks to promote growth through local boosterism, it also invokes the notion of democratic decision-making processes. That is, while urban entrepreneurialism might sustain and enhance uneven patterns of urban development, it also has the potentiality to instigate progressive forms of 'urban corporatism', by activating local actors in forming alliances seeking to mitigate or reverse the 'hegemonic dynamic of capitalism accumulation' [Harvey, 1989, p. 16].

Attractive city

Central to Harvey [1989]'s concept of urban entrepreneurialism is the reflexive impact that the transition of urban managerialism towards urban entrepreneurialism has had on the notion of 'the city', attributing it an 'objectified' feature. That is, rather than a 'space' in which social life unfolds, cities are within a landscape of consumption [Wood and Brock, 2017]. Following this perspective, urban development under a regime of entrepreneurialism and inter-urban competition, reflects a focus on the construction, and/or enhancement of the city's living and working conditions[Harvey, 1989].

> *"[T]he selling of the city as a location for activity depends heavily upon the creation of an attractive urban imagery. [...] Part of what we have seen these last two decades is the attempt to build a physical and social imagery of cities suited for that competitive purpose."*

[Harvey, 1989, p. 13- 14]

The emphasis on tourism through the promotion of ephemeral cultural events and facilities to attract tourists and influence consumption, are some of the strategies adopted by local governments to enhance the competitive position of cities. [Harvey, 1989]. Moreover, such strategies are often coupled with the (re)development of public facilities such as

museum, galleries and aquariums, or through urban regeneration of historic inner cities and requalification of urban heritage [Wood and Brock, 2017; Su, 2015]. The (re)development of 'flagships' projects that involve large financial investments, such as the construction of convention centers or the redevelopment of harbor fronts, are also strategies to attribute cities an 'identity' and a destination for visitors [Wood and Brock, 2017].

While consumption-based model is constitutive of various forms of activities and it is observable around the globe, it is worth noting that within the European context, Barcelona has been attributed a benchmark for urban regeneration. Furthermore, while Harvey [1989] has wrote about urban entrepreneurialism over thirty years ago, it is worth noting a (re)production of the same strategy within our contemporaneity, as exposed by Pinkster and Boterman [2017]. Indeed, as [Harvey, 1989, p. 10] has argued,'the serial reproduction of similar forms of urban redevelopment' is the very evidence of an entrepreneurial turn.

That said, Harvey [1989] has argued that is important to acknowledge the 'relative power' of 'objectification' cities and the underlying truth behind urban regeneration and (re)development projects. For instance, he has reflected how the redevelopment of the waterfront and inner harbor in Baltimore has put the city on the 'map', attributing it a title of 'renaissance city'. Although initially the *imaginary* of prosperity concealed the underlying reality of increased impoverishment and soaring unemployment rates, it was the same imaginary that politically consolidated the 'power of influence' of the governance arrangement that developed the project by giving citizens a sense of local identity. Thus, investments in urban development projects are both social and political attractive, despite having poor economic performance [Harvey, 1989].

Speculative nature and crisis

While speculation has been a fundamental feature of civic boosterism and public-private partnership, Harvey [1989] has noted the *proactive* role of the local public sector in absorbing the risks of entrepreneurial strategies, to ensure a 'good business' environment. That said, local governments encourages urban development projects and policies that have the localized *capacity* to increase value within real-state market, taxes and local revenues. In that light, he alerts us to the importance of acknowledging the tension between the value locked within the immobile material, such as houses, infrastructure, waterfronts, etc, and the mobile investments, required to unlock the value of a particular locality [Wood and Brock, 2017]. It is thus within this tension between fixity and mobility that coalitions are formed and unique localities, history and culture are commodified and commercialised.

Since territories and capitalist relations are dialectically interwoven, the production of the built-environment has become the driving force for promoting economic growth[Mendes and Carmo, 2016]. Thus, urban entrepreneurialism serves to lubricate the global flows of

mobile financial and consumption investments required to unlock fixed value within the immobile (material) and realize profit [Harvey, 1989]. Against a backdrop of of global inter-urban competition, local state agents rely on tourism and real-estate development to foster local economic growth [Lestegás et al., 2019]. However, the configuration of such entrepreneurial activities are highly speculative. For instance, Harvey [1989] has noted that urban investments that emphasize tourism and global events, such as hosting the Olympic games, might not pay off in the long run. Indeed, while such events attract external investments and consumers, salaries from the tourism sector are often low and precarious which affect the consumption capacity of local residents [Lestegás et al., 2019]. That said, it is the visitors consumption capacity that drives new opportunities for real-estate investments rather than the local middle classes. Thus, the economic growth steered by urban entrepreneurialism does not reflect the domestic market, rather it reflects global consumption and financial patterns.

[Harvey, 1989, p. 8] has noted that since urban investments of this sort aim at economic development and growth rather than *"[...] amelioration of conditions within a particular territory [...]"*, urban entrepreneurialism has fomented urban systems that are highly vulnerable towards uncertainties of rapid change. Indeed, by not tackling issues of socio-economic inequalities while fostering tourism and real-state development, urban entrepreneurial governance enhances socio-spatial polarization [Branco and Alves, 2018]. Within a global context of economic instability and volatility, it is not hard to understand the upward and downward spikes of urban growth and recession under a regime of global inter-urban competition, urban entrepreneurialism and highly speculative urban investments [Harvey, 1989].

Indeed, the implications of the proliferation of urban entrepreneurialism in which local governments have encouraged highly speculative urban investment through financial incentives such as property-tax abatement, long-term financialization, etc. have been laid bare in the financial crisis of 2008 [Wood and Brock, 2017]. Since urban (re)development processes mobilize large amounts of mobile investments in forms of long-term loans, the (re)production of the built environment has become an important component within the capitalist system [Mendes and Carmo, 2016]. However, the financialization of the economy, and specially the financialization of the *mortgage markets* has increased the instability of the system as it is constitutive of both the local consumer markets and the global investment markets. After the collapse of the global financial system, a global recession has followed suit with the implementation of austerity measurements, and the debates about the regulation of the financial system have been forgotten [Seixas et al., 2015b]. Following this perspective, scholars have argued that austerity are the (re)production of this global financial system as governments favor the same type of strategies that lead to the crisis. Indeed, today it s possible to observe the manner in which governments aim at attracting external investments and increase local economies through urban entrepreneurial

strategies such as urban regeneration, emphasis on tourism and real-market development.

That said, recently scholars have noted a 'new' speculative dynamic within inner cities that have been 'commodified', related to the real-state market form: short-term rental market Lestegás et al. [2019]. Against a backdrop of post-crisis, global touristification and the proliferation of peer-to-peer digital platforms (such as Airbnb), dwellings located in attractive touristic areas in historical centers have been transformed into short-term rentals. However, the expansion of the short-term rental market has been affecting the availability of long-term rentals dwellings within these areas, pressuring working and middle-class local residents into competing within tourists for the limit housing stocks. Scholars have underlined that such tourism-driven transformation has lead to 'tourism gentrification' [Pinkster and Boterman, 2017]. However, local residents within Southern European contexts are more vulnerable to the expansion of the short-term rental market due to a fragile domestic market that is highly dependent upon tourism and real-estate development [Lestegás et al., 2019]. In that light, contemporary urban entrepreneurialism against a backdrop of global touristification and post-crisis, has had a remarkable global dimension, leading to a process of 'hyper-commodification' of housing and turning dwellings into an instrument for financial accumulation.

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3.2   A Portuguese 'Bizarre' Urban Genealogy

As argued before in the aforementioned section 3.1, while Harvey [1989] has conceptualized his concept of urban entrepreneurialism within a linear evolution that follows a shift in the regime and mode of accumulation from Fordist to post-Fordist, within EuroAmerican capitalist cities, Portuguese does not 'fit' into this genealogy. That said, it was not a coincidence that the democratic revolution of 1974 took place within a global context of economic crisis associated to the first oil shock in 1973 which exacerbated the economic and political challenges of the authoritarian regime[Drago, 2017]. Portugal has been undergoing an accelerated process of uneven urbanization, mainly in the metropolitan areas of Porto and Lisbon, due to an industrialization boom, driven by the mobilization of mild modernization policies implemented by the authoritarian regime since the mid-1950s and a mild attempt at liberalization in 1969. However, the economic, political and social configuration of Portugal in 1974 should not be interpreted as a 'pre-capitalist social and economic structure' [Drago, 2017, p. 432]. Rather, it reflected an arrangement of an almost monopolist mode of capitalist accumulation and a specific mode of integration to the global capitalist economy.

The Portuguese urban political-economic genealogy compared to the 'neatly constructed' historical evolution of governance shifts in European capitalist societies may seem 'bizarre'

[Drago, 2017]. Indeed, scholarly literature throughout the second half of the 20th century has positioned Portugal as a highly centralized form of territorial governance, with absence of public policies such as housing and infra-structure [Drago, 2017]. However, this articulation within Portuguese literature has been articulated as a 'weakness', thus creating an image of Portugal as an 'unplanned' European country. According to [Baptista, 2012], this continuous articulation has resulted in an intellectual construct that has reduced the Portuguese urban experience and condition into a matter of state building and planning policy. That is, if a western European model cannot be found, then there is a need for 'modernization'. In addition, it has also contributed in part to the legitimization of 'authoritarian' discourses from planning practitioners and urban technicians [Baptista, 2012]. Thus, the narrative of Portugal as 'unplanned' has had profound effects not only on how politicians, public workers and academics view Portugal but also how the Portuguese society reflects on the Portuguese urban experience in relation to other European countries [Baptista, 2019].Addressing the complex intersection of these dynamics is crucial to render the Portuguese urban experience as a 'product' of its own historical contingencies and geographical contexts.

In that sense, this section will focus on examining what forms of urban entrepreneurialism are in Portugal by firstly examining its own urban history. Tulumello [2016] has argued that two crucial moments to understand the contemporary condition of Portugal are the Revolution of 1974 and the adhesion of Portugal to the European Community in 1986, which has followed a boom within the real-estate and retail markets due to the international investments. This section will examine the implications of this conjunctures on the evolution of the contemporary Portuguese institutional arrangements, urban governance and urban politics by analysing scholarly literature focused on the this genealogy. That said, the aim of this section is not to provide a detailed account of the evolution of urban governance and planning since the revolution of 1974, but rather to reflect on how Portugal has responded and reacted to the pressures of forms of a political-economic regime that favors capitalist accumulation, advanced by capitalist societies.

The Revolution of 1974 - Local governments

The shift from an authoritarian regime towards a democratic one has instigated profound changes that re-structure Portuguese public administration [Mourato, 2019]. The period that followed the Revolution of 1974 in which a political dispute to decide which 'model' of democracy should the country follow (a European-styled liberal democracy or a socialist-inspired popular democracy) took place in parallel with a rise in popular organizations [Drago, 2017]. Against this backdrop, the consequences of the political-economic governance model of the authoritarian regime has fomented severe challenges to Portugal, leading to a high level of housing deficit and rapid uneven urbanization. Indeed, the housing shortage was so severe that it has instigated the formation of local

neighborhood organizations and housing cooperatives that have taken their own initiatives in lowering rents within shanty towns, creating urban facilities such as kindergartens, occupying empty houses and repairing or constructing basic infra-structures[Drago, 2019, 2017]. Meanwhile the provisional national government in place has implemented a self-building programme aimed at supporting low-income residents living in degraded urban areas, often within the inner city (SAAL - Serviço Ambulatório de Apoio Local) [Drago, 2017; Cordeiro et al., 2014].

That said, the period that followed the revolutionary coup until the ascension to the EEC (1974-1986), fomented the polarization between the central and local governments [Campos and Ferrão, 2015]. On the one hand, as a result of the political disputes mentioned above, the Portuguese Constitution approved in 1976 legitimized a local democratic and administrative government based on municipal bodies elected by democratically by direct and universal suffrage. In that light, Portuguese municipalities have been directly associated to democracy and emancipation, bearing a high level of administrative autonomy [Tulumello, 2019]. Nevertheless, the centralist culture of the central state, mobilized the control over urban policies and policy-making processes, as well as its mobilization at the local level [Drago, 2017].

Although local governments are the cornerstone of the Portuguese democratic regime, they have been given a secondary role within urban governance and planning since its consolidation. In the mid-1970s while they were restricted to administering land-use regulations and complementary social policies, in practice these were also being regulated by the central state [Drago, 2017; Campos and Ferrão, 2015]. It was only in 1982 through the mobilization of a national law, which secured the master plan (PDM - Plano Diretor Municipal) as a planning instrument at a local level, that municipalities came to have higher autonomy in urban governance and planning [Campos and Ferrão, 2015]. By the early 1990s, while the PDM became a mandatory instrument for municipalities to apply for EU funds, it has also contributed to the fragmentation of the Portuguese spatial planning since it *"[...] introduced a clear-cut distinction between the statutory and developmental arms of the planning system [...]"* [Tulumello et al., 2018, p. 37].

However, without an integrated national territorial policy associated to a financial 'package', urban planning in Portugal has become an instrument for land-regulation that private agents seek to influence to realize their own interests [Mourato, 2019]. Indeed, over the years, urban governance has become virtually dependent upon local planning cultures, political traditions, and institutional arrangements [Tulumello et al., 2018]. As a result, although there is a generalized tendency by academics and politicians to perceive municipalities as homogeneous, they are in fact highly heterogeneous, and contingently dependent upon the evolution of their own institutional arrangements [Mourato, 2019; Tulumello, 2019].

In that sense, the revolutionary coup of 1974, and the emergence of local governments have fomented a *"dialectic with the centralism of the national government"* in which the central government has been delegating administrative duties and responsibilities to local governments[Tulumello et al., 2018, p. 36]. However, this decentralization process has been accompanied without the transference of political competences and resources. As a result, Portuguese urban governance and urban condition are extremely heterogeneous and fragmented, often being a result of 'timely' conjunctures rather than a result of a coherent political strategy [Mourato, 2019; Gomes, 2019].

The adhesion to the EEC in 1986 - Dependence on urban (re)development

> *"You have a young democracy that, at its technical dimension, the
> dimension of its own working logic, had old habits but with new ideas
> and principles [...] There is a deep chock because the challenges that
> Portugal was dealing at the end of the 1970's, were extremely
> complicated due to decades of an authoritarian regime that had an
> economic development model based in a very enclosed circuit [...] Thus,
> it was a country that when finds itself free, its free within a world
> moving at a high speed."*

<div align="right">Mourato [2019]</div>

Indeed, after the revolutionary coup in 1974, the recently legitimized municipalities found themselves within a domestic context of massive housing deficit, lack of basic and adequate infrastructure and uneven urbanization, while being within a global context of economic crisis [Drago, 2017; Campos and Ferrão, 2015]. As mentioned before, the shortage of housing was at the core of the institutional debates. However, since neighborhood organizations were slowly dismantled as they had no legitimate role within municipalities, housing policies became a responsibility of municipalities with the state providing financial support [Drago, 2017; Tulumello et al., 2018]. According to Drago [2017], this has been a result of a 'political exchange' in which social rights, mainly 'housing rights' have been cemented within the Democratic Constitution of 1976, thus allowing social emancipation through access to property, in exchange for a participation rights. This has resulted in mix of housing policies and solutions which have been reflected through the Portuguese economic model based on the financialization of homeownership.

For the next 30 years, with the accession to the EEC in 1986 and the liberalization of the building sector, homeownership have steered the financialization of Portuguese cities through public support, as the housing deficit has has been considered by the central state as an 'issue of financing and public works' [Drago, 2017; Tulumello et al., 2018]. Moreover, as Portugal aimed at 'modernizing' itself towards an 'European idealized city' urban rehabilitation and real-estate refurbishing have become cornerstones of Portuguese

urban policy [Branco and Alves, 2018; Baptista, 2013a]. Indeed, while in the 1960s and 1970s real-estate refurbishing and urban rehabilitation policies were mainly focused on the conservation of heritage and slum clearance, since the 1980s and 1990s, such strategies have been integrated to housing [Branco and Alves, 2015]. According to Baptista [2013a], state agents have hoped that by rehabilitating the built environment, new business and employment opportunities would flourish, attracting more investments and further rehabilitation, thus leading to economic growth. However, since the Portuguese economy has been built upon a model that depends on external mobile investments from the global tourism and the real-estate markets, the impacts of the crisis on 2007/2008 have been significantly due the collapse of the real-estate market that has been already fragile [Mendes, 2017].

It is worth mentioning that rent controls that congealed all private sector rents was implemented in Lisbon and Porto since 1948. However, as mentioned before, within the revolutionary coup, this rule was extended throughout the whole country due to the shortage of housing and economic recession [Branco and Alves, 2015]. On the one hand, this rule can be read as a social strategy deployed by the government to ensure that sitting tenants remained within dwellings. On the other hand, landlords did not invest in the maintenance of these dwellings and throughout the years, these housing stocks have suffered dilapidation. That said, while the congeal of rents has been revised and only old rental contracts remained frozen (before 1975) this rule has been generally attributed to the main driver of decay in historical inner cities in Portugal. However, Seixas et al. [2019] have provided an alternative interpretation by arguing that this rule has contributed to an incentive to homeownership and suburbanization. Indeed, by 2001 homeownership represented 75% of the total dwellings in Portugal, while in 1981 this number was around 57% [Cordeiro et al., 2014]. In addition, it has also contributed to the justification of urban rehabilitation iniciatives within inner cities, through public-private partnerships [Branco and Alves, 2018].

In that sense, while Portugal has followed since 1986, an European and global mainstream agendas, its historical urban past is reflected today through the contingent polarization between central and local governments, highly fragmented public sectors, a 'weak' planning system and a socio-economic model highly dependent upon the real-estate market and tourism. [Campos and Ferrão, 2015; Mourato, 2019; Tulumello et al., 2018]. Indeed, according to Mourato [2019], at the discursive level, Portugal has integrated European mainstream agendas, to the point of being innovative within its urban plans, instruments and public policies. However, the resistance towards the implementation of these 'state apparatuses' and the accelerated patters of urban (re)development steered by local governments against a backdrop of financial crisis, reflects the historical tensions that have been fomenting since the revolutionary coup [Campos and Ferrão, 2015]. The lack of financial and institutional capacity within some municipalities and the growing prominence

of the real-estate market in realizing their interests through the management of the built space, instigated financial and political tensions that increase and decrease in proportion, according to the channeled resources from the central state [Guerra, 2004].

3.3 A 'Portuguese' Urban Entrepreneurialism

As argued in the aforementioned section 3.2, the genealogy of the Portuguese urban governance has to be conceptualized in association with a process of modernization (Europeanization), democratization and an idealized notion of the welfare state. Thus, rather than a shift from a managerial form of governance towards an entrepreneurial one, the Portuguese governance has been shaped by political disputes over the very question of the 'urban' within a democracy - what it is constitutive of, who should govern over it and how to govern it within a democratic regime [Drago, 2017]. Indeed, it was within the constitutional debate that the politicization of the urban has mobilized institutional arrangements and a 'new' governmental structure. In addition, it is also within this disputes that the dialectic relationship between central and local governments came to be, resulting in a polarization. As a result, while municipalities have a high level of administrative autonomy, they are not accompanied with political and financial resources. Such dynamics has led to a multiple and variegated forms of urban governance, that vary according to the political orientations and ideologies of local state agents as well as the institutional structures within municipalities [Mourato, 2019].

That said, this section will provide a meta-analytical framework exposing the 'nature' of the Portuguese urban entrepreneurialism by examining how Portugal reflects Harvey [1989]'s generalized view on urban entrepreneurialism.

Heterogeneous and contradicting governance arrangements

While urban governance in Portugal is highly heterogeneous, the proactive attitude of municipalities in boosting local economies through urban (re)development can be observed within Portugal, specially after 1986 when Portugal became a member of the EEC [Branco and Alves, 2018]. In the mid-1990s European urban policies reflected ideas of inter-urban competition and the involvement of the private sector within urban rehabilitation initiatives [Harvey, 1989]. Indeed, since the mid-1990s, Portugal has mobilized several EU funded programmes that either had explicit governance agendas, which included public-private partnerships (such as the URBAN and IBC), while others promoted 'special structures', that facilitated partnerships through the promotion of incentives (such as EXPO'98, POLIS and SRU) [Breda-Vázquez et al., 2009].

However, the reasons behind these proactive attitudes have not been necessarily to promote

speculation as exposed by Baptista [2013a] through her analysis of the POLIS programme, a state-led urban rehabilitation initiative. According to her, rather than instigating urban speculation, local agents wanted to avoid it by proposing a public-public partnership rather than a public-private partnership. In that light, while the governance within urban rehabilitation light reflect a proactive entrepreneurial state of local state agents and public-private partnerships, it is important to emphasize what Harvey [1989] has noted - *who* is being entrepreneurial and about*what*. In addition, the relative 'representational' power of the intellectual construct of Portugal as an 'unplanned' country, should not be neglected.

That said, municipalities over the years have also launched their own urban rehabilitation programmes at the local level, often aimed at real-estate refurbishing of private housing [Breda-Vázquez et al., 2009]. Since the municipalities are dependent upon financial resources coming from the central state, this programmes often involve partnerships with private agents. In that sense, these programmes often are innovative in creating manners to finance urban rehabilitation initiatives, in which local authorities are often acting as mediators to private agents' operations. Indeed, within a constricted context with limited possibilities for state intervention, the narrative towards the superiority of the market solutions, often facilitates the adoption of new institutional arrangements within urban (re)development initiatives to create 'a good business environment' and attract external investments [Branco and Alves, 2018].

In that light, urban rehabilitation programmes and initiatives are often fragmented in the sense that they do not address the whole city or even a group of cities [Breda-Vázquez et al., 2009]. Thus, while some programmes have emphasized urban competitiveness, other have emphasized urban cohesion. This can be attributed to the sectorial fragmentation of Portugal. That is, each programme has been developed by a particular central government department, and thus have been shaped by their own political relations, governance cultures and urban agendas.

It is also worth mentioned that such diversity in the Portuguese urban governance arrangements reflects paradoxes of a 'centralized' country. While EU funded programme, such as the one mentioned by Baptista [2013a] have been crucial to stimulate socio-economic and urban development, and improve the life of the Portuguese people, they have instigated tensions between municipalities themselves as they engaged within 'inter-urban' competition to be able to access the funds [Mourato, 2019].

> *"The [EU] financial funds has exposed in various dimensions that it has*
> *also instigated an interesting rationality space at the local*
> *administration levels. Namely within the replication of facilities."*

Mourato [2019]

In that sense, the EU funds also instigate similar dynamics as described by Harvey [1989] in which municipalities bid for the same EU funds programmes. On the other hand, aiming

at securing EU funds, municipalities might also form coalitions by aligning their interests within one common agenda and implementing projects and policies that are beneficial at a larger scale. Nevertheless, this dynamics has contributed to an uneven territory, since municipalities that have been within coalitions for a longer time, have a higher institutional capacity than municipalities that have not been able to built its capacity for historical and various reasons [Mourato, 2019].

Attracting investments and consumers: urban (re)development and homeownership

As argued in section 3.2, for the past years, the Portuguese economy has been highly dependent upon external forms of mobile financial investments and consumers from global tourism and real-estate industries [Mendes, 2017]. The financialization of homeownership in Portugal has driven a rapid expansion of the real-estate market that has been reflected through the accelerated patterns of urban (re)development within the suburbs as well as in inner cities in forms of urban rehabilitation and real-estate refurbishing. According to Mendes and Carmo [2016], the intensive emphasis on homeownership has led to a massive production of housing stock in which by 1981, the amount of dwellings surpassed the number of families by 16% and in 2012 that number reached to 45%. In addition, this urban development pattern has enhanced the already existing uneven pattern of urban development, by instigating suburbanization, leading to the decline of the inner city [Branco and Alves, 2015]. However, Branco and Alves [2018] notes that these strategies have aimed at promoting growth, through the creation of jobs, economic activities, rather than ensuring housing affordability, which eventually enhanced the socio-spatial polarization.

Tulumello [2016] has exposed the paradox of this model that on the one hand, drives away middle-class households from inner cities towards the suburbs through incentives towards homeownership, and on the other hand, a decade or so later, emphasises a 'need' to rehabilitate the inner cities that have lost inhabitants partially due to suburbanization. Indeed, to counteract the rapid decay of inner historical centers, the Portuguese national government has launched over the years a series of urban rehabilitation programmes that are variegated in terms of goals and governance models [Branco and Alves, 2015]. With the access to EU funds, Portugal was able to channel a large amount of financial investments towards the rehabilitation of its built environments. In 1985, the Urban Rehabilitation Programme (PRU - Programa de Reabilitação Urbana) was estabilished, supplying local governments with institutional and financial support to refurbish private rented dwellings within historical cities [Mendes, 2017].

A series of programmes were thus created aimed at the refurbishing of housing in poor conditions such as RECRIA and REHABITA, in which funds would be provided for

landlords (for the maintenance and upgrading of dwellings) and for sitting tenants (to cover rent raises due to the real-estate refurbishing) [Branco and Alves, 2017]. While in the 1990s, urban rehabilitation polices and programmes have been more focused on the provision of infra-structure and the rehabilitation of public spaces, in the 2000s Branco and Alves [2017] have noted a shift towards a more entrepreneurial approach, allowing the involvement of private actors in urban rehabilitation programmes aimed mainly at public spaces, such as the URBAN programme discussed before.

It is important to note that this variety of urban governance and urban rehabilitation programmes should not be read as a manifestation of profound transformative changes within local and national institutional and cultural structures [Breda-Vázquez et al., 2009]. Rather, they have been a reflection of contingent tensions between central and local governments, a 'weak' territorial policy, political ideologies of state agents and a socio-economic model that is highly dependent upon the real-estate market and tourism. In that light, since these programmes have followed policy agendas designed by EU authorities, they have not been able to address the specific issues of the Portuguese urban conditions [Branco and Alves, 2018]. Indeed, as argued by Baptista [2013a], the articulation of Portugal as an 'unplanned' country has been detrimental for the problematization of its own urban conditions.

With the increasing pressure of real-estate developers, business elites and investors, local state agents have gradually taken a more entrepreneurial approach towards urban rehabilitation, supporting tourism and real-estate development, rather than ensuring housing affordability [Branco and Alves, 2018]. As a result, the Portuguese domestic market and local economies became increasingly fragile, being highly dependent upon external financial investments. In that sense the Portuguese urban entrepreneurialism does follow Harvey [1989]'s argument that while the 'imagery of prosperity' conceals the underlying reality of soaring unemployment rates and high mortgage debts, it also legitimizes and consolidates such entrepreneurial governance arrangements, in the case of Portugal, by allowing a social mobility of citizens and deploying a sense of emancipation and modernization.

Overall, the commodification of Portuguese cities has been noticed by scholars specially in the last decades with the collapse of the global financial economy [Lestegás et al., 2019; Seixas et al., 2015a; Mendes and Carmo, 2016]. In Lisbon such entrepreneurial attitude can be traced back to the 1990s with the mobilization of flagship urban rehabilitation programme for the world fair EXPO'98, that later inspired the POLIS programme [Baptista, 2013a]. It is worth mentioning that the municipality of Lisbon has often compared the city with Barcelona to the point of using Barcelona's urban rehabilitation projects as representative imagery to legitimize urban rehabilitation within Lisbon's historical centers Mourato [2019]. Thus, while local state agents have indeed adopted an entrepreneurial attitudes to enhance the city's competitive position and attract financial

investments and consumers, they did so to ensure the modernization of an 'unplanned' country that had severe challenges due to decades of an authoritative regime [Baptista, 2012].

Dangerous liaisons: Speculation and crisis in Portugal

At the heart of Harvey [1989]'s urban entrepreneurialism concept and city- commodification, lies the notion that infra-structures, housing, public spaces, etc, are constitutive of fixed forms of values that can be 'unlocked' through mobile forms of values. Thus, local governments seeking economic growth of a particular locality, will 'commodify' areas that have the localized capacity to enhance revenue streams over time. Indeed, the (re)production of the built environment hand urbanization have been reflecting the manner in which territorial and capitalist relations are dialectically interwoven [Mendes and Carmo, 2016]. However, this processes is highly speculative as there are no guarantees that such activities will result in economic growth.

Indeed, this has been precisely what has brought the crisis of 2007/2008 into bare. While the issue over the Portuguese housing deficit has consolidated a the 'right of hosing' within the Constitution of 1976, guarantying the emancipation and autonomy of millions of Portuguese through a socio-economic model that allowed the financialization of homeownership, it has also consolidate its dependence upon a highly volatile global financial system [Seixas et al., 2015b]. Cordeiro et al. [2014] note that the association of the financialization of the Portuguese economy and social progress was possible due to the accelerated influx of external investments that by the end of the 1990s contributed economic growth and low unemployment rates. Moreover, since the 2000s, Portugal has been undergoing a series of economic shocks associated to the adoption of the euro in 2002, the liberalization of the global market and the oil crisis in the beginning of the millennium. In that sense, while the persistence of crisis within Portugal has been associated to the excessive public spending in unsustainable 'welfare systems' and historical high debts, it was the very fragility of the Portuguese economic model built upon tourism and real-state development that have been deeply affected within the collapse of the global financial system [ibid.].

That said, the intervention of the central state in promoting housing in the form of homeownership has happened gradually with the mobilization of various policies and financial and tax incentives throughout the years [Cordeiro et al., 2014]. Curiously, the real-estate market 'boom' occurred in parallel with a 'static' rental market and a high level of empty dwellings in inner cities, several in advanced state of decay [Mendes and Carmo, 2016]. According to Mendes [2017] spatial displacement of local residents due to urban rehabilitation processes within inner cities has been limited in Portugal due to strict rental regulations mentioned in the aforementioned section 3.2. Thus, while the freezing of old

rents are associated to housing dilapidation, the decay of historical inner cities as well as suburbanization and urban development, it has 'stabilized' the rental market until 2012 when a new regulation (NRAU - Nova Lei das Rendas) liberalized all rental contracts that added with other complex dynamics, resulted in massive displacements of residents from inner city centers [ibid.].

As argued by Branco and Alves [2018], while de-regulation of real-state markets can lead to an overproduction of housing, and high demands of housing can push prices up, in the rental market, the lack of regulation can lead to an over-investment in real-state refurbishing, thus tending to displace long-term tenants. In that sense, by facilitating contract termination and eviction processes in 2012, while simultaneously readjusting urban rehabilitation policies, the government has paved the way for a 'hyper-commodification' process of housing, in which housing become ever more an instrument for financial accumulation [Lestegás et al., 2019, p. 5]. It is within this context that the short-term rental market starts to proliferate, removing long-term rental dwellings from the housing stock.

It is worth mentioned that both the liberalization of the rental market and the flexibilization of urban rehabilitation policies, have been steered by the austerity policies in 2011 when Portugal requested a bailout agreement with the Troika [Mendes and Carmo, 2016]. Indeed, scholars have underlined the economic and social impacts of the austerity measurements that have been implemented in Portugal without taking into consideration the Portuguese economic, social and political particularities [Seixas et al., 2015b]. By drastically cutting public spending in all public administrative sectors, and setting a privatization programme of various strategic economic sectors such as public transportation, utilities, communication, etc, the country underwent a turbulent period of recession. In that light, the already fragile domestic market, characterized by low-wages and high inequalities, have been deeply affected, undermining even further the consumption capacity of local households [Lestegás et al., 2019]. Indeed, currently Portugal is one of the most unequal European countries according to the OECD (Organization for Economic Coopperation and Development) in which the top 20% of the population accounts for 41.5% of the share of total income [Leilani Fahra, 2017]. In addition, the national poverty rate increased from 18% in 2009 to 22% in 2012.

Apart from the liberalization of the rental market, other policies aimed at attracting external financial investments and consumers by emphasizing tourism-related activities have been implemented [Mendes, 2017]. Indeed, tourism has been viewed and legitimized as a panacea for the economic recession in Portugal. It is within this context that state agents from the national and local governments have adopted urban entrepreneurial attitudes to promote growth. While exogenous trends have contributed to a boom in tourism in Portugal since 2009 (for instance, due to the decline of tourism in Egypt and Morocco due to international security reasons) policies steaming from the national state has ensured its acceleration. In addition, the implementation of the Golden Visa programme and a new

tax regime for non-habitual residents (RNH - Residentes Não Habituais), have attracted both national and international private investment funds into the urban rehabilitation [ibid.].

Nevertheless, the negative impacts of the mobilization of urban entrepreneurialism in Portugal has not been unnoticed. According to Seixas et al. [2019], in 2018 the the national Portuguese bank has reveled in a formal report concerning the country's financial stability, the vulnerability of the domestic market and the role of external financial investments in pushing housing prices beyond the economic capacity of local residents. The national bank has also alerted to the dangers of a new economic crisis due to new speculative housing bubbles. In addition, in 2017 the UN for Adequate Housing Rights has published a report denouncing the Portuguese severe housing crisis concerning a massive housing deficit (more than 25 thousand families live in informal housing), the dreadful conditions of public housing stock and the lack of affordable housing for low-and middle income households[Leilani Fahra, 2017; Seixas et al., 2019]. That said, since 2017 the Portuguese national state finally has included housing as a 'political priority' and a new housing law (Lei de Bases de Habitação) is currently being debatable within the Parliament [Seixas et al., 2019].

However, while there are no plans for the 'immobilization' of the entrepreneurial policies that have been implemented (such as the Golden Visa, the financial incentives and the liberalization of the rental market), it is important to remember that Portugal is within an European context that in part, constrains their own policy-making processes. As argued by Tulumello [2019]:

> *"In a sense the machine cannot stop, you need to attract investments*
> *that are fundamental to make a redistribution policy [...] Nobody wants*
> *to stop the tourism boom, the real-estate boom, because they are*
> *economic resources that allow [the national state] to say that the*
> *austerity is over. [...] the only manner to end austerity is to have*
> *economic growth."*

That said, while the the justification for the mobilization of austerity measurements within Portugal have been built upon a narrative that underlined the incapacity of state agents in administering public spending within a period of recession, the fragility of the Portuguese financial, social and political structures has not been addressed [Seixas et al., 2019]. Indeed, although Portugal is current undergoing a dynamic period of economic growth, its dependence upon external financial investments is still very much present, leading some scholars and economic experts to suggest that it is a matter of time for the emergence of a 'new' economic crisis.

3.4   Summary

This chapter has aimed at de-parochializing the 'sites' of epistemological production of urban entrepreneurialism by providing a meta-analytical perspective on the 'forms' of urban entrepreneurialism within Portugal. While Harvey [1989] has conceptualized a 'shift' in governance regimes from managerialism towards entrepreneurialism and the dismantling of the welfare state in the mid-1970s, the Portuguese governance has shifted from an authoritative regime towards a democratic one within the same period. That said, urban entrepreneurialism in Portugal did not originated exclusively from the liberalization of the financial market and state de-regulation, rather it resulted from complex dynamics associated to the constitutional debates that took place after the revolutionary coup in 1974 [Cordeiro et al., 2014].

Indeed, in the mid-1970s there was no welfare state or 'regulations' for Portugal to dismantle [Baptista, 2013a]. Rather, the opposite occurred as Portuguese state agents aimed at 'building up a democratic state' that was aligned, ideologically and technically, with the EU [Mourato, 2019]. In that light, while urban entrepreneurialism was adopted by local authorities, such approaches should not be viewed as a reflection of profound transformative changes within local and national institutional and cultural structures. Rather they have been a reflection of contingent tensions between central and local governments, a 'weak' territorial policy, political ideologies of state agents and a socioeconomic model that is highly dependent upon the real-estate market and tourism.

That said, while there is a tendency to perceive local governments as homogeneous, Portuguese municipalities are highly heterogeneous and highly dependent upon the political ideologies of state agents and contingently dependent upon the evolution of their own institutional arrangements. In addition, while municipalities are associated to democracy as they have been consolidated within the revolutionary coup of 1974, the centralist nature of the central state has been fomenting dialectical tensions between local and national governments, in which the central government has been delegating administrative responsibilities to local governments, but without the transference of political competences and resources. Thus, while Portugal is characterized by being a centralized country, this polarization does reflects some paradoxes in which the local governments resist implementing policies at the local level, or experiment with alternative forms of governance, fomenting new institutional arrangements as well as new policies.

That said, while municipalities have been adopting urban entrepreneurial approaches by mobilizing a myriad of urban rehabilitation and real-estate refurbishing programmes that have been funded by the EU, these programmes have often been fragmented in the sense that they do not address the city in a holistic manner. It is worth mentioning that the polarization between central and local governments also has contributed to a

'weak' territorial planning system. By not having an integrated national territorial policy associated to a financial 'package' urban planning in Portugal is viewed as an instrument for land-regulation that private agents seek to influence it, to realize their own interests. In that light, urban governance in Portugal is often a result of 'timely' opportunity rather than a cohesive and integrated political strategy encompassing several dimensions such as social, economic territorial cohesion.

In addition, while the issue over the Portuguese housing deficit has consolidated the emancipation and autonomy of Portuguese citizens within the Constitution of 1976, through a socio-economic model that allowed the financialization of homeownership, it has also consolidate its dependence upon a highly volatile global financial system. Indeed, since Portugal has been highly dependent upon external financial investments and consumers, it has been vulnerable to a series of financial shocks that have occurred since the beginning of the 2000s, which have been deeply affecting its economy. That said, Portugal has turned towards the tourism and real-estate markets to secure economic growth. However, both the construction and tourism sectors are characterized by low-wages.

While the congeal of rents have been often associated to housing dilapidation and the decay of historical inner city centers in Portugal, it should be also associated to the the the intensive emphasis on homeownership and urban development. In that sense, the financial model of Portugal, that is based upon on homeownership and urban development, has contributed to the rapid decay of historical city centers as it has driven away middle-class households towards suburbs. In addition, it contributed to a surplus of housing in Portugal as rather than focusing of housing affordability, these strategies have focused on promoting growth. Thus, when the global financial economy collapsed in 2008, Portuguese households had extraordinary debts, leaving the country in a very vulnerable state. Moreover, the implementation of austerity measurements within such a fragile economic system without considering the particularities of Portugal, have had severe consequences to its social, economic and territorial structures.

Over the last decades, the implementation of austerity policies have instigated local governments into being innovative and adopting alternative forms of governance and policies. As a result, these cities have been reflecting accelerated and aggressive forms of spatial displacement within its inner city centers, driven by global pressures of tourism and real-estate industries. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that while Lisbon has been mobilizing urban entrepreneurial policies and strategies, such as urban rehabilitation, since its membership to the EU in 1986, it was only recently that the city has reflected such aggressive patters of displacement. This is associated to the particularity of the Portuguese urban governance. In addition, it is worth mentioning that the real-estate boom in Portugal occurred in parallel with a static rental market. While the mobilization of restricted rule have congeal rental contracts until 2012, securing sitting tenants to remain within these dwellings, despite socio-economic challenges, in 2012, the Troika coerced Portugal to

liberalize these rents, which has been associated to the transformation of long-term rentals properties to short-term rentals, and a massive displacement and eviction of long-term siting tenants.

That said, while the congeal of rents have been often associated to housing dilapidation and the decay of historical inner city centers in Portugal, it should be also associated to the the intensive emphasis on homeownership and urban development. In that sense, the financial model of Portugal, that is based upon on homeownership and urban development, has contributed to the rapid decay of historical city centers as it has driven away middle-class households towards suburbs. In addition, it contributed to a surplus of housing in Portugal as rather than focusing of housing affordability, these strategies have focused on promoting growth. Thus, when the global financial economy collapsed in 2008, Portuguese households had extraordinary debts, leaving the country in a very vulnerable state. Moreover, the implementation of austerity measurements within such a fragile economic system without considering the particularities of Portugal, have had severe consequences to its social, economic and territorial structures.

Although Portugal is current undergoing a dynamic period of economic growth, its dependence upon external financial investments is still very much present, leading some scholars and economic experts to suggest that it is a matter of time for the emergence of a 'new' economic crisis. This has led many scholars to argued that urban entrepreneurialism and austerity policies are forms of neoliberalism, since rather than regulating the market, state agents 're-boot the system' by mobilizing the same policies and strategies that have led to crisis Mendes [2017]. However, it is important to remember that the manner how these will be implemented and the responses to it, are highly dependent upon the historical and geographical contexts.

4 Conceptual Issue

While Harvey [1989] has elucidated the complex logic of 'city commodification', urban entrepreneurialism has often been theorized as 'effects' of neoliberalism/globalism as well as responses of crisis, rather than an (political) exercise aimed at the articulation of mobile financial investments and consumers within particular places and the realization of profit. Indeed, as argued in the introduction, over the years scholars have grown increasingly wary over the 'status' of universal theorizations that render concepts such as neoliberalism/entrepreneurialism as universal [Jacobs, 2017]. That said while the former chapter focused on de-parochializing the 'sites' of theoretical production of urban entrepreneurialism by providing a meta-analytical perspective on the urban entrepreneurialism within Portugal, this chapter seeks to 'de-parochialize' the normative *status* of the concept of urban entrepreneurialism.

Central to Harvey [1989]'s conceptualization of urban entrepreneurialism, has been the notion that cities have been attributed 'objectified' qualities. In that sense, since capitalism is always dynamic, deriving from a whole of complex forces mobilized by several social actors existing in multiple scales, the very conception of 'the city' is problematic as it fails to reflect the perpetual tensions between city being mobile and immobile. Indeed, as cities become evermore embedded within global flows, being subject to the caprices of an unstable global financial economy, its very nature and logic comes into question. Over the years, scholars seeking to understand the complex relationship between the (re)production of spatial processes and global processes have turned towards relational thinking to understand the dialectical (political) social construction of spaces [Lefebvre, 1991].

Over the years the metaphor of 'mobility' has been used and celebrated by scholars within the field of social sciences and humanities to allude the increasingly 'mobility' of things, information, people, capital, policies, etc [Franquesa, 2011]. Contemporary policy mobility literature has also focused on understanding the dynamics in which particulars policies, ideas and 'best practices' travel from one place and are mobilized throughout the world [Temenos and McCann, 2013; McCann and Ward, 2019]. However, scholars have noted methodological shortcomings of viewing mobilities as a 'driving force', claiming that mobility as a 'social reality', in which ideas, people and policies flow across 'abstract' spaces, (re)produces the very same 'old positivism' that the concept of 'mobility' set out to overcome. The problem with such a perspective is as Lefebvre [1991] has pointed out,

that it excludes *immobility*. That is, it views 'what is not in motion' as an 'effect' of mobility, thus relegating immobility to a passive role.

> "[...] a social relationship cannot exist without an underpinning [it]
> qualifies as a 'thing/not thing', for it is neither a substantial reality nor
> a mental reality, it cannot be resolved into abstractions, and it consists
> neither in a collection of things in space nor in an aggregate of occupied
> places. [...] Their underpinning [social relationship] is spatial, In each
> particular case, the connection between this underpinning and the
> relations supports calls for analysis."

[Lefebvre, 1991, p. 402-404]

That said, it is the very dialectical interplay between mobility and immobility that social reality is (re)produced [Franquesa, 2011]. Thus, while a 'mobility turn' alludes to an epistemological turn in the understanding of reality, it also calls a distinct methodological approach that views mobility/immobility as mutually constitutive [Franquesa, 2011]. Following this perspective, the association of mobility with the concept of 'local dependency' developed by Kevin Cox and Andrew Mair is productive as it allows the understanding of why certain social practices and activities tend to assume a localised character and what is the role of social relations of *dependence* in the local politics of policy-making [MacLeod, 1999]. Curiously, although the concept of local dependence has been formulated over 30 years ago, is has been surprisingly absent from contemporary literature of policy mobility. Nevertheless, as argued by Jacobs [2017], the lack of perspective that views policy beyond 'mobility' is itself a methodological problem, as it results in studies and practices that seek to 'follow' a (successful) policy [Peck and Theodore, 2010b, see for instance]. Such approach is problematic as it (re)produces normative views and theories such as neoliberalism.

In that light, seeking to de-parochialize the normative 'status' of urban entrepreneurialism, this chapter will provide a conceptual framework that associates policy mobility and the concept of local dependence, to understand the the 'practice' of urban entrepreneurialism empirically. Such framework allows the understanding of the the politics of places-ness. In other words, why and how particular places are (im)mobilized in order to allow the articulation of capital and the realization of profits [McCann and Ward, 2019; Franquesa, 2011]. That said, this chapter is divided into three sections. First, section 4.1 will discuss the 'mobility turn' and provide an overview of the contemporary concept of policy mobility. Second, section 4.2 will present the concept of local dependence developed by Kevin Cox and Andrew Mair and the concept of spaces of dependence and spaces of dependence later developed by Cox [1998]. Finally, section 4.3 will conclude with conceptual framework and a discussion on how the concept of urban entrepreneurialism, in association with the conceptual framework developed within this section is pertinent to understand the dynamics of the socio-political transformations undergoing in Lisbon.

4.1 'Mobility Turn' and Policy Mobility

While 'mobility' exists within a variety of scholarly literature (such as post-modernity, liquid modernity and globalization), it has been used to illustrate the fluidity of our contemporary world, in which the (apparently) fixed boundaries between public and private, process and product are being conflated [Franquesa, 2011]. That said, the 'mobility turn' represents an epistemological and methodological shift in social sciences. The difficulty in overcoming the cleavage between mobility and immobility has epitomize immobility as a 'passive' status, that is, as an absence of 'mobility'. However, such conceptualization, conflates the very dialectical understanding contradictory processes that produces mobility/immobility [ibid.].

For instance, if one seeking to understand global processes of tourism gentrification, in which 'locals' are displaced by a 'cosmopolitan elite', due to an increasingly global mobility steered by touristification, one might conceptualize 'things' and those who are moving (the cosmopolitans) as displacing those who are *not* in motion (the locals). However, this conceptualization conflates the dialectal power configuration into the 'process' of 'mobility'. That is, power is equated to mobility and those who are 'immobile' are passive subjects [ibid.]. In addition, locals are attributed an objectified quality as they are associated to the place in which they have come to be immobile.

That said, an interesting contribution for the scholarly of mobility, has been the work of McCann and Ward [2019] in which they have analyzed the manner in which ideas, concepts and policies are 'made mobile' and are mobilized throughout the globe. By conceptualizing 'the city' as assemblages, they have argued that cities are co-produced by policy-making actors (scholars, politicians, urban planners, technicians, etc) who act as 'transfer agents' by bringing certain cities together into 'conversations with each other', while pushing others apart [McCann and Ward, 2019, p. 175]. By doing that, they (re)produce 'mental maps' of 'best cities' that inform future strategies and policy agendas. In that light, cities are (re)produced in relation to each other, while reflecting an 'imaginary identity'. For instance, there is a 'Barcelona model' of urban regeneration. Despite being entirely contingent to the city and its institutional, geographical, political and social contexts, other cities adopt it, not as a 'model', but as a strategy [ibid.].

Franquesa [2011] has noted that the locals and the cosmopolitans are not traversed by mobility and immobility, rather they are constructed as being mobile and immobile *in relation* to each other. It is precisely the clash between the construction of mobility and immobility that the politics of place-ness emerges. Indeed, if we invoke the notion that place-ness are always 'in the making' and are assembled incrementally, across multiple (and overlapping) scales and fields of governance, then tensions that emerge within these dialectical processes cannot be overlooked [Prince, 2017]. In addition, one cannot overlook

that rather than 'isolated learners', policy actors are embedded within the global circuits of knowledge/expertise and practice communities [Peck and Theodore, 2010a, 2012]. Thus, their beliefs and behaviors are constitutive of the political and organizational fields of practice in which they operate.

Following that perspective, Robinson [2015] has suggested an approach that focuses on the manner in which social actors compose policies and ideas amidst a myriad of influences. She has noted that while policy, ideas, theories and concepts might have broader circulations, histories and process, the manner in which they become relevant for policy-maker actors is localized. Moreover, in a context in which policy 'models' of 'good practice' circulate with an increased velocity, understanding how social actors engage with (re)production of cities by for instance, promoting their own cities or 'downloading' a policy model from the 'global circuits of policy knowledge' [ibid., 41] allows a better understanding of the politics of place-ness and the role of social actors [Jacobs, 2017].

4.2   Local Dependence

The concept of *local dependence* was developed by Kevin Cox and Andrew Mair to expose why certain social practices and activities tend to assume a localised character [MacLeod, 1999]. Originally they have defined local dependence as:

> *"[...] dependence of various actors-capitalist firms, politicians, people*
> *on the reproduction of certain social relations within a particular*
> *territory."*

[Cox and Mair, 1988, p. 307]

In that light local dependence derives from three aspects of social (spatial) relations [MacLeod, 1999]. First, a *tendency for certain activities to be constrained within localities.* For instance, a firm that sells local newspapers is locally dependent within that particular locality as they might find difficulty in selling their local newspaper in far distant places. For people this this territorial constrain might appear due to the time it takes to commute from work to home. For state agents such constrain might appears through jurisdiction regulations. Second, a *tendency for immobility.* Such immobility emerges in form of fixed value in the material (homeownership and infra-structures) or through 'tied' social relations. For instance, for people, through close ties with family members and neighbours or through investments on local knowledge structures [Cox, 1998]. For local business, and for state agents, such immobility might appear in forms of coalitions or institutional arrangements. Third, *wider geographical instability.* Due to the instability of the financial global economy, there are no guarantees that the value locked within immobile material (such as housing) will be realized through their productive use over time. In that light,

local social actors (limited of geographical built environment) are dependent upon the health of the local economy, thus being locally dependent [Cox, 1998].

In that light, the challenge for the locally dependent is that, on the one hand, they need to secure a healthy local economy, by ensuring the channeling of mobile forms of capital through their social relations. On the other hand, mobile forms of capital undermine their very own existence as they (re)structure their own local economy and social relations [Cox, 1998]. Indeed, this is the paradox that Harvey [1989] has conceptualized mentioned in section 3.1. The impacts of place-specific projects are policies extend across the jurisdiction of that particular area, bringing abut different responses and reactions from all over the globe. Furthermore, locally dependent actors have locally dependent interests [Cox, 1998]. By harnessing local state agents to secure an 'attractive business landscape', they inevitable threaten the structures of their social relations. Thus, the tensions between immobility and mobility are often internalized within the locally dependent as they have *local interests*.

Spaces of dependence and Spaces of engagement

Ten years later, seeking to conceptualize the politics of 'place', MacLeod [1999] termed *spaces of dependence* the spaces that the locally dependent attempt to immobilize to secure the conditions for the continued existence of social relations which they depend for the realization of interests. When such spaces are threatened, they engage with other actors, organizations, agencies, etc., within *spaces of engagement*. [Cox, 1998, p. 7] has further noted that since the *"ability to exercise power over territory"* lies (not always) within state agents, the locally dependent pursue to influence local governments to realize their interests, by engaging with other actors or organization that can have an influence over local state agents. That said, in some occasion, they might also engage with local state agents themselves. In that light, the politics of *place-ness* unfolds within spaces of engagement, in which the locally dependent attempt to secure their space of dependence.

While local politics might indeed be concerned with *localized* interests, they might take place within another jurisdiction (for instance, at the metropolitan or the national level) as well within international agencies [Cox, 1998]. For instance, the locally dependent seeking to realize their interests of enhancing local economies, might engage within inter-local coalitions that seek local growth. This is illustrated by two 'rival' cities forming a coalition at the metropolitan scale to enhance their competitiveness. Moreover, while the decision making 'capabilities with territorial implications' might rest within local governments, organizations outside the state agency might exercise power over local governments [ibid., p.16]. This is the case for instance, of utilities agencies, which are locally dependent and have monopoly over territories, that for the most part, surpass the jurisdiction of the local government. Following this perspective [Cox, 1998, p. 20] claims that *"[...] in order to have a local politics, you do not need local states."*

That said, local state agents might be part of coalitions whose spaces of dependence surpass their own jurisdiction, as the case of utility agencies [Cox, 1998]. Thus, their purpose might be less about defending the local interests of the locally dependent, and more about advancing the interests of agencies within other scales. In that sense, this shifting of spaces of engagement might mislead the 'local' nature of interests and identities that are being negotiated and realized. That said, the underpinning geography of those interests are defined by the spaces of dependence. Furthermore, the political capacity of the locally dependent to intervene in dynamics that threaten their spaces of dependence, will be entirely dependent upon the local attachment and identity of the *locally allied* members within the space of engagement. Thus, it is difficult to predict precisely, which coalitions will act collectively at different time and places [Cox, 1998].

> *"Local interests and related spaces of dependence are the necessary precondition for a local politics but the space of engagement for it is entirely contingent."*

[Cox, 1998, p. 307]

4.3 Conceptualizing (im)mobilities: Politics of place-ness

This chapter aimed at de-parochializing the normative status of the concept of urban entrepreneurialism by developing a conceptual framework associating policy mobility to the concept of local dependence to understand the politics of place-ness, that is, how places become (im)mobilized allowing the realization of profit. Within a global context of increasingly global touristification and massive gentrification within European inner city centers, an approach that allows the understanding of the complex process of urban entrepreneurialism beyond normative theories is crucial to ensure that more progressive forms of urban politics come into play [Jacobs, 2017].

That said, mobility and immobility are not reflection of capitalism, rather they reflect the dialectical social construction that have rendered capital dynamics as necessary for progress, social change and development [Franquesa, 2011]. As argued by Lefebvre [1991], the 'world market' should not be viewed as a 'sovereignty' as it is a social construct. In that light rather than emphasizing 'what' is mobile and what has remained immobile, the very dialectical processes that produces immobility/mobility is what set cities to be transformed and commercialized. Such perspective allows us to move beyond the idea that local residents are passive actors of the 'effects' of neoliberalization or commodification of cities. It also allow us to view that although local state agents have been attributed power over territory, their political capacity in realizing 'this power' is dependent upon social

relations. Thus, the idea that governments have the main role in mobilizing entrepreneurial policies is dubious.

Indeed, as the exemplified within the conceptual model (see 4.1), urban entrepreneurialism aims at realizing profit by articulating mobile forms of capital and unlocking the immobile value within the material. However, as Harvey [1989] has noted, it is important to note *who* is being entrepreneurial and about *what*. The locally dependent, (in this model the local business) actively participate in the development of its spaces of dependence since they need to realize their interests and secure their own social relations. It is within these social relations that mobile forms of values are channeled and made immobile/mobile. For instance, a local business owners might immobilize half of the capital within mortgage loans, while mobilize the other half within other social relations. However, by doing that, they inevitable disturb their own spaces of dependence by engaging with other social actors and coalitions, for instance within governance arrangements (public-private partnerships) or within informal coalitions (neighbourhoods organizations, NGOs, etc). Moreover, while social actors within governance or institutional arrangements might have conflicting values, political views and ideologies, they align their various interests within one agenda to ensure its realization. That said, while their spaces of engagement might be located within multiple and variegated jurisdictions, their interests are always located within spaces of dependence.

In addition, while local governments have been attributed 'power' over territory, other actors might influence local state agents in realizing their own interests by engaging with actors or agencies that have influence over these agents. For instance, local businesses within a community seeking to enhance the local economy of their spaces of dependence, might harness local state agents into mobilizing an urban rehabilitation policy for that place. In this case, both local state agents and businesses form a space of engagement in which the politics of that place-ness take place. That said, local state agents lacking resources, might engage other actors and agencies within the policy-making process, thus expanding this space of engagement. However, by doing that, they disturb the space of dependence that they have seek to rehabilitate. If the locally dependent of that space of dependence do not participate within the politics of that place-ness, their interests might become dis-aligned with the interests of the policy-making actors and the local state agents. As a result they might immobilize the policy-making process by engaging with agencies and actors that can pressure local state agents. That said, while from the perspective of the locally dependent, they have immobilized their space of dependence, they have actually turned this space very 'mobile' as they engage within other actors and agencies beyond these spaces, thus constructing new social relations.
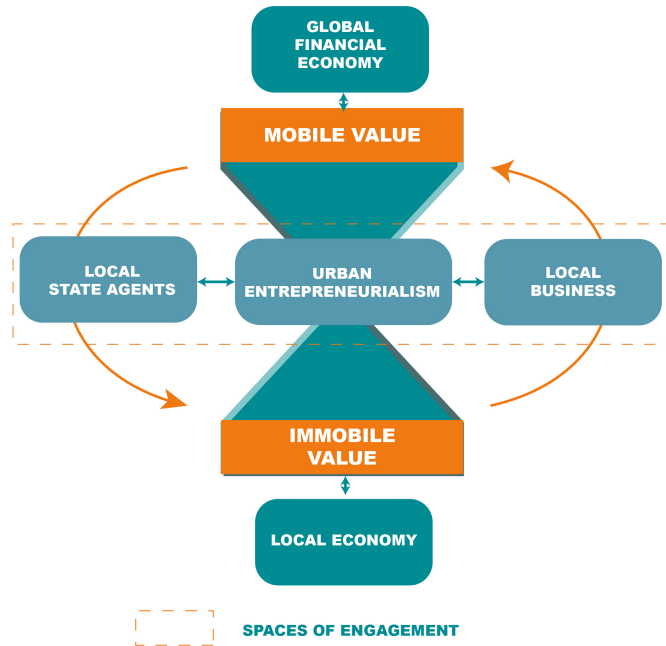
Figure 4.1: Conceptual Framework: Politics of Place-ness

As Cox [1998] has argued, while it is difficult to predict which coalitions will act collectively at different times and places, it is equality difficult to predict what are the effects of (im)mobilizing entrepreneurial policies and strategies within places. Indeed, while there is a tendency of policy-makers into predicting 'future growth' through urban (re)development, such predictions are highly speculative as it is impossible to predict the complexities of the politics of place-ness. In addition, it is important to note that the political capacity of social actors or governance arrangements, does not lie within state apparatuses (rules and regulations), or within a specific actors, rather it lies within their own social relations and their own attachment to the locally allied members and their spaces of dependence.

That said, viewing urban entrepreneurialism through the lenses of politics of placeness s crucial to understand that the (im)mobilization of entrepreneurial strategies, policies and ideas are (politically) exercised and articulated by multi-scaled social actors seeking to realize the interests of their spaces of dependence. Thus, while urban entrepreneurialism might enhance uneven patters of urban development and lead to socio-economic inequalities, it might also instigate progressive forms of urban politics, as social actors seeking to reverse the hegemony of neoliberal(-ism-ization), as it is their own social relations that render their political capacity in realizing those interests.

5 Entrepreneurial Lisbon: Between (Im)mobilities

"Lisbon is a unique city with a great potential as an entrepreneur city, a real Start Up-City. This has been a priority for the Municipality of Lisbon, which has launched various articulated projects and programs with this objective.[...] Today, Lisbon is internationally recognized as a privileged destination for entrepreneurs, and has been highlighted as one of the best cities in the world for entrepreneurship, by the magazine Entrepreneur"

[Camara Municipal de Lisboa, 2014, António Costa]

The discourse above was given in 2014 by António Costa, the former mayor of Lisbon, when the city has received the European Entrepreneurial Region (EER) award [Camara Municipal de Lisboa, 2014]. A year later (2015), Antóno Costa would leave Lisbon's municipality to become the Prime Minister of Portugal and mobilize a governmental experience (geringonça) almost unique in Europe, by merging different left parties into one informal coalition, in order to revert the impacts that the austerity measurements have brought into the country [Seixas et al., 2019]. From that point the country has been experiencing a new economic dynamism, driven by a 'boom' in the tourism and real-estate markets, which are mainly taking place in Porto and Lisbon, while simultaneously undergoing political transformations in which the issue of housing is once more at the core of political disputes (see section 3.3).

That said, while the city of Lisbon is currently undergoing profound transformations in its social, economic, political and territorial dimensions, being instigated by accelerated patterns of urban and economic development, the city still portrays deep contingent social-economic and territorial inequalities [Tulumello, 2016]. In that sense, Lisbon is a city of paradoxes and contradictions [Seixas et al., 2019]. Since the financial crash, Lisbon has been actively (re)shaping its local administrative structures as well as its local policies and policy-making processes which have instigated a series of new governance arrangements as well as policy innovation and experimentation [Gomes, 2019; Seixas et al., 2015b].

On the one hand, the mobilization of these policies and programmes have contributed to an economic growth and the alleviation of austerity. By providing support and funds towards a series of local programmes aimed at the rehabilitation of neighborhoods and housing, the municipality has been activating a series of local actors into a myriad of

partnerships and civic participation processes [Tulumello, 2019]. This processes have engendered local development and created a sense of 'identity' within neighborhoods and communities, leading to the formation of grassroots organizations and civic movements. On the other hand, by promoting the city as a touristic destiny and attracting external financial investments and consumers, these policies have contributed to the enhancement of the existing (historical) challenges concerning social polarization, housing affordability and displacement of local residents from its inner historical centers [Seixas et al., 2015b].

If one reads these contradictions through urban entrepreneurialism, one might interpret that since spaces and capitalist relations are dialectally interwoven, the (re)production of such socio-economic and territorial inequalities are 'effects' of the increasingly mobilization entrepreneurial policies by Lisbon's municipality, since its consolidation in the mid-1970s. In that sense, by mobilizing urban entrepreneurialism within Lisbon through tourism and real-estate development throughout the years, the municipality has (re)produced a (global) financial economic system that reflects global patterns of consumption and investments rather than its own domestic market.

However, the reading of Lisbon as an 'effect' of urban entrepreneurialism relegates the city and local citizens into a passive role. Although the mobilization of urban entrepreneurialism by the municipality and a global financial economic system have contributed to this phenomena, local actors are not 'immobile' nor they are passive actors. On the contrary, the economic growth of Lisbon was only possible since local actors have been *engaging* with urban entrepreneurialism. Indeed, the liberalization of the rental market has allowed landlords to evict long-term sitting tenants and transform dwellings into short-term rentals. Moreover, with the boom of tourism, local businesses have been enjoying a large influx of capital by either selling their properties to the real-estate market, or by engaging with 'the cosmopolitans' that have a higher consumption capacity than local actors. Furthermore, since the municipality has mobilized a myriad of financial incentives such as tax reductions, to ensure a 'good business' environment, local businesses and locally dependent actors have been able to refurbish their property, thus enhancing the local economy of neighborhoods, while creating a sense of identity and attachment to the city.

Indeed, the politics of place-ness within Lisbon, are much more complex and requires a perspective that moves beyond a normative view on urban entrepreneurialism. As Robinson [2015] has argued, when policies are mobilized, they are not mobilized within 'empty spaces'. Rather, it is social actors that make policies and places (im)mobile in order to realize their interests within territories. While locally dependent actors have a tendency towards immobility, by engaging with other social actors and fomenting new social relations to secure their local interests, social actors inevitable re-structure their own spaces of dependence. The tensions between mobility and immobility are internalized within locally dependent actors. That said, in order to understand how places become

(im)mobilized allowing the realization of profit through urban entrepreneurial policies and strategies, one has to focus on who is being entrepreneurial and about what. Thus, this chapter aim is to examine how has local dependence affected the (im)mobilization of urban entrepreneurialism in Lisbon by scrutinizing the manner in which tourism and urban rehabilitation have been (im)mobilized due to local dependence.

5.1   Local Dependence and Tourism

Since 2009, the tourism is Lisbon has been growing in part due to the city-branding strategies implemented by the local government, and also due to tendencies of the global touristic market [Seixas et al., 2019]. For the past years, Lisbon has been awarded as 'Europe's Leading City Break Destination' (for the past 3 consecutive years) and 'Europe's Leading City Tourist Board' in 2019 by the World Travels Awards. Although these awards are symbolic, they have reflected accelerated patterns of growth of the touristic market within the city and its negatives impacts concerning housing affordability [ibid.].

Due the liberalization of the rental market with the mobilization of the NRAU (see section 3.3), 20% of old rental contracts have been terminated in Lisbon in 2018 Lusa [2019]. In addition, the mobilization of entrepreneurial policies to attract external financial investments and consumers (such as the Golden Visa and a new tax regime for non-habitual residents) has attracted young professionals, start-ups, pensioners and international students, thus transforming Lisbon's urban conditions concerning housing. According to AirDNA, currently there are more than 18 thousand active short-term rental properties in Lisbon, in which 78% are entire home rentals and only 20% are shared rentals (see figure 5.1). Such numbers reflect the institutionalization of this type of market as well as a 'hyper-commodification' of housing, in which housing has been viewed as an instrument for financial accumulation [Lestegás et al., 2019]. It is worth noting that while Seixas et al. [2019] have registered in their study more than 14 thousand short-term rental properties in 2017, this number has spiked 20% in only 2 years.
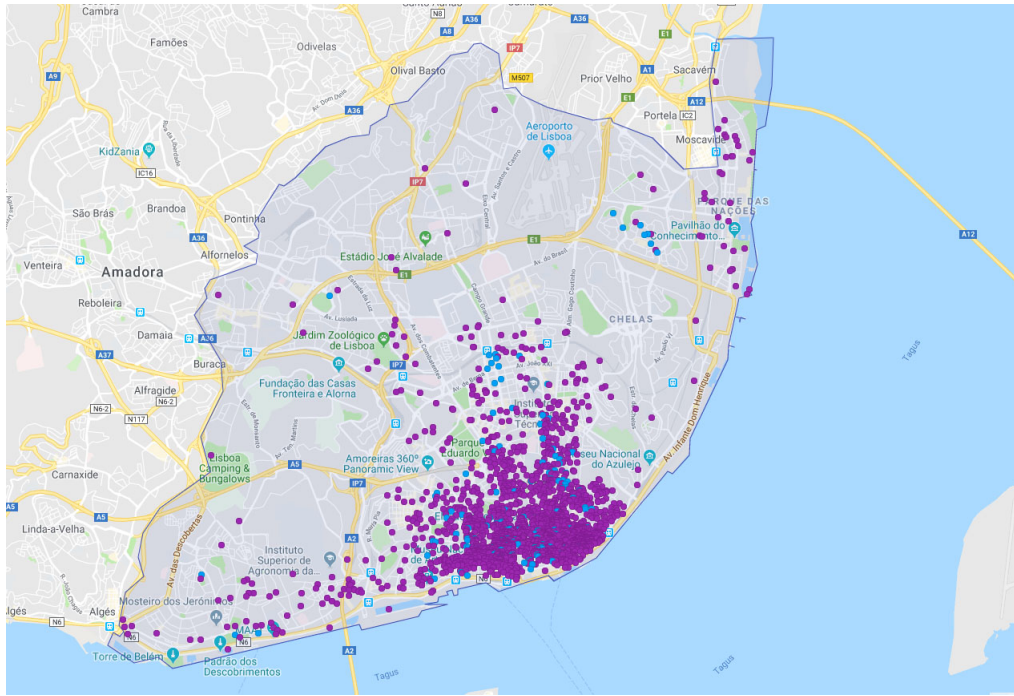
Figure 5.1: Short-rental dwellings: in purple single house rentals and in blue shared rentals (map collected from AirDNA: www.airdna.co.)

Indeed, the city of Lisbon has more short-term rentals than Barcelona, Paris, Rome and Amsterdam [O Jornal Económico, 2019]. While the price of housing has increased up to 50% between the period of 2012 and 2018, the domestic salaries have only increased 10%. According to Seixas et al. [2019], in 2018 the the national Portuguese bank has reveled in a formal report concerning the country's financial stability, the vulnerability of the domestic market and the role of external financial investments in pushing housing prices beyond the economic capacity of local residents. Moreover, the national bank has also alerted to the dangers of a new economic crisis due to new speculative housing bubbles.

Lisbon's challenges concerning the the physical, economic and social decay of its historical inner city has been more than often associated to the congeal of rents and the lack of incentives to landlords to rehabilitate and maintain their property [Branco and Alves, 2018]. In 2009, Lisbon had 4.689 vacant dwellings and more than 30% were private owned properties [Tretas, n.d.]. Since the Portuguese financial economic system has been built upon the financialization of homeownership, the impacts of financial crash has spiked unemployment rates and taxes, increasing the debts of many households, leading many families to turn towards the tourism and real-estate markets, turning dwellings into short-term rentals [Mendes, 2017]. It is thus against this backdrop that tourism emerges as a 'win-win' strategy to 'fix' the social, economic and urban issues of the city.

That said, while the unemployment rates have dropped from 17% in 2013 to 8% in 2018, the touristic and the construction markets are sectors characterised by paying low wages to workers [Seixas et al., 2019]. Furthermore, while young adults (between 24 and 30

years old) have been living the city between 2011-2016, one must be careful in associating this 'displacement' solely to housing affordability. According to Seixas et al. [2019], many young adults have invested in homeownership during the crisis since the prices were low, and have now transformed them into short-term rentals or sold them into the real-estate market due to an increase in prices. They have thus moved towards the suburbs since they could afford higher quality housing as they have also enjoyed a change in wealth and social status. Although there are many local residents that have 'been displaced' as they could not afford buying a property, or have had their rental contracts terminated, the displacement dynamics within Lisbon is complex and signal a phenomena of 'tourism gentrification' and 'hyper-commodification' of housing [Lestegás et al., 2019].

In that sense, while local state agents have mobilized tourism-related activities in the city in order to promote growth and alleviate the impacts of the financial crisis, so did many locally dependent actors seeking to realize their own interests. In addition, the liberalization of the market was a 'top-down' strategy that has been negotiated with the EU during the austerity [Seixas et al., 2019].Thus, the municipality has been pressured by local, national and global actors in its decision to mobilize tourism as a 'panacea' for a severe economic recession. Nevertheless, it is worth mentioning that social actors seeking to influence the municipality, have localized interests, in this case, Lisbon.

5.2   Local Dependence and Urban Rehabilitation

While urban requalification policies at the national level, have emerged simultaneously within the accession of Portugal to the European Community in 1986, in Lisbon, real-state refurbishing and requalification have been a cornerstone of urban policy since the 1990s [Branco and Alves, 2018]. As argued before, the decline of the inner city building environment has been often associated with the congeal of rental contracts and incentives towards suburbanization. That said, against the backdrop of of economic recession and crisis in 2007/2008, this narrative provided a perfect alibi to justify a new strategy to the city and the revision of its master plan (PDM) that had not been changed since 1994 [ibid.]. The revision of the PDM had started in 2008, following a strategy termed '3 Rs': Reuse, Refurbish, Regenerate (reutilizar, reabilitar, regenerar) [Tulumello, 2016]. It is worth mentioning that since 2007, the political authority related to urban planning has been given to Manuel Salgado when he was democratically elected (not by the citizens) as the 'city councilor'. That said, the PDM has been heavily influenced by him.

The new revised PDM was launched in 2012, establishing 7 objectives that have been oriented towards tourism and urban rehabilitation, which are: (1) Attract more residents. (2) Obtain more jobs and businesses. (3) Instigate urban rehabilitation. (4) Rehabilitate the public space. (5) Give back the harbor (Ribeirinha) to its citizens. (6) Promote

sustainable mobility. (7) Foment environmental efficiency [Camara Municipal de Lisboa, 2012]. In 2011, the municipality established the Urban Rehabilitation Strategy of Lisbon (ERU - Estratégia de Reabilitação Urbana de Lisboa - 2011-2024), that was based on the political objectives mentioned before, as well as economic and urban studies about the conservation status of the built environment and public spaces [Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, n. d.]. Not only the ERU enabled private actors to have a larger role in the negotiation process of urban transformations through the implementation of urban and financial instruments, but it also extended the area in which these transformations happen by re-framing the Urban Rehabilitation Area (ARU - Área de Reabilitação Urbana), encompassing all the consolidated city (see figure 5.2).

Figure 5.2: Urban Rehabilitation Area - ARU (map collected from www.portaldahabitacao.pt)

That said, Lisbon's municipality has been actively working towards the alleviation of housing deficit and the amelioration of its built environment by providing support and financial incentives to stimulate private-led initiatives. It is worth mentioning that while debates have emerged concerning the 'neoliberal' character of these strategies, Manuel Salgado has underlined that it was not the municipality's responsibility to refurbish real-estate. Rather, the municipality's responsibility lied in facilitating real-estate refurbishing by negotiating with private actors and allowing building licences to be approved quickly

[Tulumello, 2016]. A series programmes concerning urban rehabilitation and real-estate refurbishing have been mobilized such as the Rehabilitation for Renting programme (Reabilitar para Arrendar) and the Accessible Rental Programme (PRA - Programa de Renda Acessível) aimed at stimulating landlords into renting dwellings below the market rates in exchange for financial incentives such as tax benefits [Leilani Fahra, 2017]. In addition, the municipality alienated various housing within its public housing stock in 2011 with the mobilization of the Valorization of Municipal Housing Stock Programme (PVP - Programa de Valorização do Património Habitacional Municipal) [Camara Municipal de Lisboa, 2011].

One of Lisbon's most emblematic programmes aimed at urban rehabilitation of neighborhoods undergoing serious social, economic and physical challenges has been the programme BIP/ZIP [Tulumello, 2016]. The programme aimed at allowing direct support and funding towards local organizations (state agencies, private agencies, grassroots organizations etc). In that sense, this programme has 'activated' local actors into civic action, through the promotion of a series of partnership and participatory processes. However, due to the scarcity of the resources, the programme had instigated inter-neighborhood competition and funds have been sprawled across various activities, from micro public services to cultural festivals. Nevertheless, while studying the impacts and the implementation of this programme within the historical neighborhood of Mouraria Tulumello [2016] has exposed that local actors have formed partnerships and coalitions to ensure its 'modernization'. That said, the urban rehabilitation in Mouraria has brought social cohesion, local development and the formation of grassroots organizations. However, while the author has noted that displacement did not occur in Mouraria for 6 years (until 2014), after the boom in tourism (2015-2017), Mouraria is also undergoing a process of 'tourism gentrification' due to its attractive location [Tulumello, 2019].

Indeed, while most of these programmes have enhanced local development and social cohesion within neighborhoods from 2008 until 2015/17, all have changed with the boom in tourism and real-estate markets [Tulumello, 2019]. Although one might interpret that the municipality has 'instrumentalized' narratives of local participation and social cohesion to mobilize entrepreneurial policies, local actors in Mouraria have also been participating in this mobilization. In addition, it is important to remember that when these policies and programmes were implemented, Portugal has been under a severe austerity and economic recession. In that light, since these actors have been locally dependent to these spaces, the have engaged within the coalitions and partnerships to enhance a healthy local economy and realize their own interests.

That said, in an public interview, Helena Roseta, the former housing councilor of Lisbon and one of the policy-makers behind the programmes and policies mentioned above, has argued that the municipality had overlooked the global market when they had mobilized all these urban rehabilitation programmes [Fumaça, 2019].   In particular, the PVP

programme has been highly criticized by scholars, politicians, activists and citizens due to its 'neoliberal' character. One of the most problematic urban rehabilitation policies within this programme has been the Rehabilitate First, Pay Later (Reabilita Primeiro, Paga Depois). This policy allowed dwellings from the public housing stock to be bought by private actors, who would be allowed to extend the payment of the dwelling if they ensured its refurbishment. However, several of these dwellings are currently in the short-term rental market while others had been sold for millions of euros in the real-estate market [ibid.].

> ""It was my mistake not having foresee that the market [real-estate]
> would change so fast [...] If we had been persistent to forecast that, right
> after the collapse of the real-estate crisis in 2008, that we would have a
> sort of a real-estate bubble, we would have developed regulations."

> [Fumaça, 2019, Helena Roseta]

In that light, while it is true that the municipality has the 'ability to exercise power over territories', the politics of place-ness often unfolds outside the jurisdiction of local territories. In addition, locally dependent actors aiming at realizing their interests, might engage within institutional arrangements or coalitions to exert power over the municipality. It is also worth mentioning that agencies of actors that have monopoly over territories, are often able to influence local governments and other social actors. This is the case of private properties and property owners.

5.3 Local Dependence and Lisbon's entrepreneurialism

This chapter has aimed at examining how local dependence has affected the (im)mobilization of urban entrepreneurialism in Lisbon. As mentioned before, while urban entrepreneurialism is (very much) present in Lisbon, it does not emerge due to a 'mobile world'. Rather, it is locally dependent actors that ensure its (im)mobilization. Indeed, local actors have been engaging within the politics of place-ness in Lisbon as they aim at realizing their interests and secure their social relations.

Against a backdrop of economic recession and austerity, the municipality has reshaped its administrative structures while fomented new strategies and policies to ensure economic growth. While Lisbon's challenges concerning the the deterioration of its historical inner city center has been more than often associated to the congeal of rents and the lack of incentives to landlords to rehabilitate and maintain their property, the crisis provided a perfect alibi to legitimize a change in its master plan and consolidate urban rehabilitation and real-estate refurbishing as its main strategies. That said, a myriad of programmes and

policies were implemented, instigating the transformation of the city and fomenting new socio-political dynamics. That said, the municipality, seeking secure a healthy economy and ensure the channelling of mobile forms of capital by fomenting new social relations, have inevitably re-structure the social relations within these spaces of dependence.

That said, local actors seeking to ensure the existence of their own social relations and their interests within their spaces of dependence, have been engaging with other actors and agencies within spaces of engagement. This is illustrated by young adults and other local actors from middle class buying property during the financial crisis and turning them into short-term dwellings. Since high taxes has spiked property mortgage during the crisis, these actors needed to engage within new spaces of engagement to channel new forms of mobile capital. However, by doing that, they have disturbed their own space of dependence and re-restructure the existing social relations within these spaces. That said, local actors that 'share' the same space of dependence with these actors, that is, that are locally dependent within these spaces attempt to immobilize these spaces by engaging with other actors (such as journalists, politicians, academics and activities) in order to pressure or influence the municipality to 'exercise power over' these spaces, through (for instance) new regulations or laws.

That has been the case in Lisbon. While in 2015 the new Portuguese national government has brought about concerns about housing, it has eventually been steered towards supporting the real-estate market [Seixas et al., 2019]. However, in 2017, when the UN for the Adequate Housing reporter has published a report denouncing a housing crisis in Portugal, the national government mobilized housing as a concrete political priority, fomenting the opportunity for a national housing policy to be developed for the first time (see section 3.3). Moreover, the NRAU law has also been changed, protecting seniors over 65 years old and vulnerable people with deficiencies from eviction due to the termination of their rental contracts [ibid.]. Nevertheless, while the national government has partially 'mobilized' the liberalization of rental contracts, the Golden Visas and the new tax regime for non-habitual residents regimes (which have been noticed as the the main drivers behind the boom of the real-estate market in Lisbon [Seixas et al., 2019]), have remained unchangeable.

In that light, it is possible to see that the complex politics of place-ness occur within overlapping territorial and temporal scales, in which multiple actors within various institutional arrangements engage within spaces of engagement to secure the immobilization of their spaces of dependence. Moreover, the 'immobilization' of Golden Visas and the new tax regime for non-habitual residents regimes reflect actors that are located beyond the national territory. That said, while the politics of place-ness which maintain these policies 'immobile' are taking place within spaces of engagement, it is worth remembering that the interests of all actors are *localized* in spaces of dependence that can overreach the city.

In that sense, although the municipality has been attributed 'power over territories', other social actors with locally dependent interest might exert their own influence over the municipality. This has been the case of the PVP policy. According to Helena Roseta, in 2007 the municipality had a massive debt, partially due to a long-term housing policy (PER) [Fumaça, 2019]. In addition, most of the municipality's public housing stock needed to be refurbished as they have not been maintained throughout the years (partially due to lack of resources). Thus, the idea behind the PVP was to solve the municipality debt and the issue of housing decay by alienating most of its housing stock while simultaneously encouraging real-estate refurbishing. Nevertheless, by transferring the housing from public housing stock towards the private housing stock, the municipality has 'lost' its *monopoly* over these immobile forms of value, thus losing some influence. That said, by not having regulations that restricted private owners into selling these dwellings to the real-estate market, the municipality had no influence over the selling or the renting of these dwellings. That is, it had no influence within the politics of these place-ness.

However, it is important to highlight that the municipality has contributed to the fomenting new socio-political dynamics in Lisbon through the mobilization of urban entrepreneurialism. By activating local citizens within a myriad of innovative participatory practices and governance, the municipality has instigated the transformation of the relationship between local actors and local authorities, thus leading to the formation of multiple civic movements, that have been critical towards Lisbon's contemporary politics of place-ness. Over the years, these movements have been building up political capacity as they have been cultivating a sense of attachment and identity with the locally allied. That said, they have been able to intervene and pressure the municipality into adopting alternative urban policies and strategies concerning housing and the articulation of local and global economies [Seixas et al., 2019]. In that sense, by cultivating a sense of 'collective corporation' through these participatory practices and local boosterisms, the municipality has invoked notions of democratic and decision-making processes. As argued by [Harvey, 1989, p.16], urban entrepreneurialism has the potentiality to instigate progressive forms of 'urban corporatism' in which local actors engage within alliances to reverse the 'hegemonic dynamic of capitalism accumulation'. That said, after more than 40 years since the revolutionary coup in 1974, the question over the 'urban' and the issue over housing lies at the core of Lisbon's urban condition once more.

6 (Im)mobilizing Portugalia Square

As previously stated within the introduction of this research, Portugalia Plaza is a private-led urban development initiative that consist of real-estate refurbishing and the development of a square, located within the inner city of Lisbon in the neighborhood (and parish) of Arroios. That said, the initiative involves the refurbishing of a historical brewery and beer factory that are currently in ruins and the development of a 'tower' of 60m and three other buildings, consisting of 85 housing apartments, 180 co-living housing units, offices, co-working spaces, retail and 413 parking spaces or cars and 99 for motorcycles.

Far from uncommon, the initiative in Portugalia square reflects the urban governance and conditions of Lisbon that have been described in section 5.2. Nevertheless, over the years the emergence of 'luxurious towers' within Lisbon has raised concerns regarding the city's 'willingness' into being commodified with no regards towards the impacts on the city and its citizens [Pinto, 2019]. Apart from Portugalia square, the Picoas 'Tower', located within an adjacent neighborhood, has also been highly criticized, and is currently being investigated due to severe violations of the regulations in the PDM, mainly concerning its height. In addition, within the neighborhood of Graça (that has been reflecting high levels of tourism gentrification, see [Lestegás et al., 2019]), a luxurious housing building has also been approved by the municipality, despite resistance from local residents [O Corvo, 2019a].

The increasing 'commodification' of the city through urban rehabilitation and real-estate refurbishing initiatives has not been unnoticed. In 2019, a manifestation organized by groups of residents, neighborhood associations and movements associated to 'the right of housing' such as STOP Despejos and HABITA ,have scrutinized the manner in which the municipality facilitates the approval of real-estate refurbishing initiatives requested by private investors while delaying real-estate refurbishing proposals requested by local residents [O Corvo, 2019b]. Moreover, they have censured the manner how urban rehabilitation and 'heritage preservation' are often framed as political objectives by both private actors and the municipality, while obscuring a speculative system that severely affects the existing social and economic dynamics of neighborhoods.

That said, the refurbishing of Portugalia square 'arrives at' a context of new socio-political dynamics that have been growing since 2007 driven by the mobilization of a myriad

of innovative policy experimentation and governance, fomented by the municipality as exposed in chapter 5. Moreover, Portugalia square is located within an area that Seixas et al. [2019] has termed as a 'hub' for civic activities. Indeed, Portugalia square is located in the avenue Almirante Reis, that traverses the neighborhood of Mouraria that has been a 'testing ground' for innovative and experimental strategies and policies, being part of the programme BIP/ZIP.

In that light, despite private actors having 'monopoly' over the square, local actors were able to immobilize the initiative. Indeed, as argue before in chapter 5, the politics of place-ness is complex and involves a myriad of locally dependent actors within overlapping scales. That said, by scrutinizing Portugalia square, this chapter will explore how have locally dependent actors (im)mobilized Portugalia square. Thus this chapter will focus on the dynamics associated to the politics of place-ness within Portugalia square.

6.1 Mobilizing a 'Rare (speculative) Opportunity'

According to the municipality, Portugalia square has been mostly vacant throughout the years and it has been subject to informal and 'improper' occupation and vandalism. Prior to the current project, the square has been subjected a 'failed' urban development initiative (since 2006) that has also been driven and funded by private actors ARX Portugal Arquitectos [n.d.]. According to Manuel Salgado (city councillor of urbanism) although a lease for the initiative has been signed in 2006, it was only in 2010 that the construction process started [Assembéia Municipal de Lisboa, 2019]. However, due to the financial crisis in 2011, the development of the square stopped, after the demolition of the former buildings located in the square. It was only in 2016 that a new lease was signed with the current private investors. In that light, the square has been in a 'limbo' for 5 years, until Lisbon's boom of real-estate and tourism markets. In that sense, the former urban development project became void and a new proposal had to be issued. It was within this context that the investors partnered with the municipality to propose a tendering competition and spike an innovative project to the area.
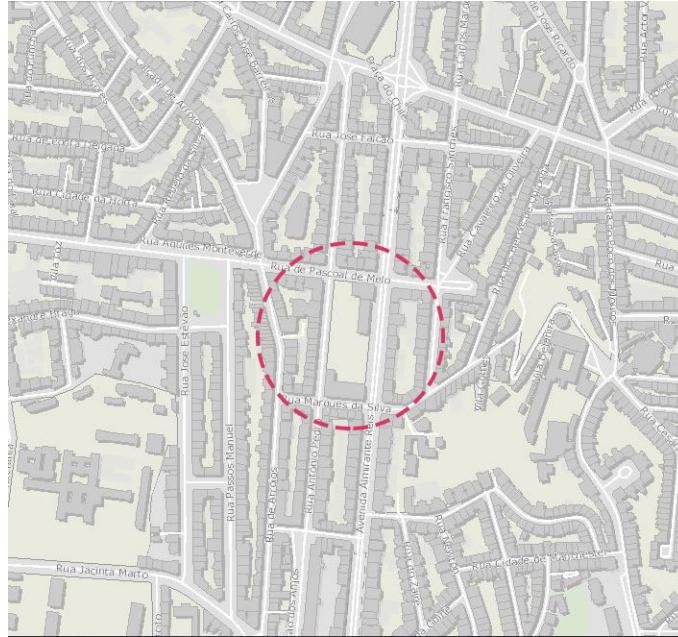
Figure 6.1: Location of Portugalia square

That said, the urban development initiative was developed by the national architectural studio ARX Portugal Arquitectos, the winners of a tendering competition process engendered in 2017 by both the municipality and the private actors - Essentia, a private development company focused on urban requalification and real-estate refurbishing, Fundos Imobiliarios Sete Colinas, a real-estate private investment fund belonging to an international German investor and administrated by SILVIP. Apart from Portugalia square, the leaseholder, Fundos Imobiliarios Sete Colinas, has bought several properties within Lisbon's historical center, transforming then into hotels, offices and housing [Idealista News, n.d.b].

Curiously, the city councillor of urbanism has claimed that the conjuncture of the crisis and the fact that there was a need to create a new project to the area, provided an 'opportunity' for the city, arguing that if the crisis have not happened, Portugalia square would been developed into a supermarket and a private housing building that would not allow the creation of an 'open space'. The opportunity to develop an open space was also corroborated by the architects from ARX Portugal Arquitectos in a formal debate held by the municipal city council in the first semester of 2019 [Assembéia Municipal de Lisboa, 2019].

> *"To speak about Portugalia, is to talk about an opportunity. I say an*
> *opportunity because it is a square that have a strategic location. And*
> *there is a rare coincidence. The investor is entirely open to turn it into*
> *an extensive public space [...] and is a rare opportunity because*
> *throughout the 2 km of the avenue Almirante Reis, there is only 1*
> *square that is 100% available to be completely re-designed and give this*

[Assembéia Municipal de Lisboa, 2019, ARX Portugal Arquitectos]

Moreover, the director of SILVIP also claimed in an interview that the aim of the project was to create a new 'centrality', in which residents and tourists can meet at an open space [Idealista News, n.d.a]. In that light, this open 'plaza' of approximately 3000 m2 has been the cornerstone of the urban development initiative, and its justification, being considered by all private actors and by the city councillor of urbanism as an opportunity to create 'public' spaces, as the city lacks such spaces [Assembéia Municipal de Lisboa, 2019].

Figure 6.2: Portugalia Plaza project (Image provided by ARX Portugal Arquitectos)

Portugalia square reflects the narratives that have been associated to the legitimization of urban rehabilitation and real-estate refurbishing as main strategies for local development and economic growth, and as a 'panacea' for the issue of degradation of the built environment in Lisbon's historical center (see section 5.2). With the new framing of the Urban Rehabilitation Area (ARU), Portugalia square is currently located within an area that allows practices of exception and tax and financial benefits for urban rehabilitation initiatives. One of these financial incentives has been the construction credits (CC - créditos de construção) that allows private investors to build more square meters that are allowed within the PDM if the private investors realize the municipality's 'interests'.

That is, the municipality attributes construction credits to real-estate initiatives of urban rehabilitation or/and real-estate refurbishing. For each contribution the initiative includes, such as the construction of public parking, the conservation of heritage and the implementation of a derange system, the municipality rewards additional square meters that exceed the maximum square meters established within the PDM [Camara Municipal de Lisboa, 2013]. However, while the municipality sheds light to how these credits are

important to attract financial investments, the fact is that they have been working as an 'exchange coin' allowing investors to 'buy' the right to build beyond what has been regulated within the PDM.

That said, the justification for mobilizing Portugalia square is filled with paradoxes. While 'conservation of heritage' has been mentioned within the discourse seeking to legitimize the development initiative, the city councilor of urbanism also underlines the need to create a 'new centrality' to the area. It is also important to note that the reason behind the buildings being in ruins and empty is also partially due to the 'failed' urban development initiative. Moreover, the narrative that frames the financial crisis as a 'opportunity' since it allowed a 'better' project to be developed does raises a few questions. Why haven't the municipality framed the square into being an open area in the PDM and why had a 'not so better' development initiative been approved in the first place. In addition, while the municipality and the private actors emphasize that a 'new centrality' in this area will bring economic growth and development, it is precisely this new economic development that will disturb the already existing social relations of the locally dependent.

This apparently contradictory narratives reflect the very process of the politics of place-ness in Portugalia square. Since it is the aim of the of the municipality to promote local development and growth, as well as to rehabilitate and refurbish its built environment, the city councilor of urbanism has engaged with actors that have the financial capacity to realize their interests. By engaging with the private fund, the city councilor has fomented a new space of engagement. In that light, the city councilor space of dependence now overreaches Portugalia square. Thus, rather than defending the interests of the locally dependent (residents and citizens and local business owners around Portugalia square), he aims at advancing the interest of the private funds that are located in other scales to secure the realization of the interests of urban rehabilitation and real-estate refurbishing of the city's built environment. That said, while this shifting of scales, might mislead the 'local' nature of whose interests are being negotiated and realized, those interests are always located within spaces of dependence. In this case, both the private funds and the municipality have an interest in unlocking the immobile form of value from Portugalia square.

Indeed, while there is a tendency to conceptualize 'local politics' within 'local' jurisdictions, and local state agents being locally dependent upon a particular jurisdiction, the politics of place-ness is much more complex and overreaches these jurisdictions as it involves a myriad of actors located within overlapping scales. In addition, since policy actors are embedded within the political and organizational fields of practice in which they operate, their beliefs and behaviors are also constitutive of these fields. That said, while Portugalia square reflects an entrepreneurial 'activism' from the municipality, it is important to underline who is being entrepreneurial about it.

6.2 Mobilizing Socio-political Dynamics

Although for the city councilor and the private actors, the initiative is an opportunity as it engenders new 'public spaces', several landscape architects, academics, citizens, local politicians, planners and activists have criticized it and an official petition was put in motion by the movement Stop Torre 60m Portugalia. They have highlighted that rather than an opportunity, this project sheds light to much deeper problems concerning the urban development pattern that have been adopted in the last years [Pinto, 2019].

According to the petitioners, the manner in which the initiative has been mobilized by the municipality, seems to be a product of 'opportunistic' tactics and negotiations from both the municipality and the private funds rather than a result of a cohesive plan of the area. Moreover, they have also shed light to the manner in which the initiative has violated several rules within the master plan. For instance, by examining they initiative and the PDM, they have realized that while the PDM allows heights of buildings to be above the average medium in particular places through practice of exceptions [Camara Municipal de Lisboa, 2013, p. 80-84] the placement of the tower does not meet these conditions [Stop Torre 60m Portugalia, 2019].

> "It is a public policy that has never been evaluated, whether it makes
> sense, if it is proportional or if it is calibrated. I understand that it's
> hard to evaluate it in an abstract manner. But with a concrete case it's
> easier. We did not analyze the complete regulation, but rather the parts
> in which the private developer has adopted, which were many."

[Pinto, 2019]

That said, the petition published by Stop Torre 60m sheds light to several shortcomings concerning the methodology of the construction credits (for instance, it allows itself to be calculated) [Stop Torre 60m Portugalia, 2019]. In addition, they have underlined how by using these credits, the private investors were able to more than double the amount of square meters that have been allowed within the PDM [Castro, 2019]. Thus, they have argue that while these incentives are given in exchange for initiatives that 'benefit' the city, such exchange is highly speculative and does not reflect the reality of the area where such initiatives are located. Indeed, according to the leader of the neighborhood association of Arroios, one of the main concerns of the neighborhood is re-opening the Arroios metro that has been closed for the last two years, due to a urban rehabilitation initiative [Castro, 2019].

Moreover, the local actors have also underlined the lack of transparency in the process. Although the municipality is required by law to inform residents about large urban projects that have transformative impacts towards its surroundings, the municipality has not informed the residents of the initiative, nor it has provided the documentation about it on

their website. That said, the documentations were available at the parish office, but local actors were not allowed to copy these documents [Pinto, 2019]. In addition, according to the leader of the neighborhood association of Arroios, the local authorities of the parish have not taken a stand towards this conflict despite the complains and petitions of many local residents.

Nevertheless, the petitioners have been able to make the initiative 'immobile' by engaging with local authorities that have influence over the municipality. As argued in chapter 5, the municipality has contributed to the fomenting of new socio-political dynamics in Lisbon, due to the mobilization of a myriad of innovative policy and policy-making processes since 2007. In that sense they have been activating citizens into forming coalitions, thus forming new spaces of engagement. This is precisely what has happened in Portugalia square. The leader of Portugalia square has participated in another civic movement in 2016, concerning the construction of a public park in an empty square [Pinto, 2019]. At the time, the municipality had planned to transform the square into a parking lot. However, he and his colleagues had engaged within a coalition and pressured the municipality into organizing a participatory planning processes in which they mobilized the creation of a public park (Jardim do Caracol). That said, they have been in contact with several different actors (ranging from academics, politicians, experts, etc) in order to enhance their influence over the municipality.

> *"At the time, the movement has been engendered by people that, like me, were students within the economy field and that allows us to acquire experience within politics and forms of communication and engagement with the community. At the time we had contact with several responsible actors within several dimensions of the society. Thus, it was relatively easy to reactivate this communication network for this new movement"*

> [Pinto, 2019]

Since political capacity is contingently dependent upon the attachment and identity between the locally allied, they were able to make Portugalia square 'immobile' since they have been building their political capacity for the past years. In addition, by fomenting coalitions with multiple actor within multiple field, they have been able to learn how to 'work within the system'.

> *"In this document and the presentation we have made, we sought to maintain an honest tone without manipulating or exaggerating data. Firstly because this is our political stance, and also so that any technical errors do not discredit all the work. There may be mistakes, but they are unintentional, so we have not had any negative reactions so far."*

> [Pinto, 2019]

His argument corroborates with Seixas et al. [2019] argument that Lisbon's civic

movements are within a period of stability or empowerment.By learning how to 'work within the system', Stop Torre Portugalia 60m has been able to make Portugalia square 'immobile'. That said, it is important to note that while the petitioners have formally complained about the urban rehabilitation initiative on Portugalia square, what is at the core of their complains is the very question of the 'urban'.

7 Discussion

The conflicts in Portugalia square have reflected the complexity of understanding urban politics, and more specifically, the politics of place-ness. While there is a tendency to conceptualize local politics within 'local' spaces, the conflict exposed within this chapter has reveled that such politics takes place simultaneously within overlapping scales. That said, it is important to understand who is being entrepreneurial and about what.

The city councilor of urbanism has been pointed out as the main driver for the mobilization of Portugalia square. As argued in section 5.2, since 2007, he has been the city councilor of urbanism and have been influencing the PDM and its mobilization. However, Tulumello [2019] has noted that while until 2015 he has been less vocal and active about Lisbon's urbanization, he has emerged a center character in the last few years. Indeed, he is considered by the interviewees as the 'actual mayor' of the city. In addition, it is worth mentioning that rather than using a technocratic discourse, the city councilor of urbanism has been using a 'mainstream' narrative of economic growth and city modernization. Indeed, he has been very vocal about the 'need' of promoting the city to attract external financial investments to ensure the refurbishing of a 'decay city' [Assembéia Municipal de Lisboa, 2019]. In that light, his discourse reflects a conceptualization of Lisbon as an 'unplanned' city in need to be 'modernized'. It is worth noting that the city councilor of urbanism has had his position for the past 15 years. In that manner, throughout the years, he has fomented strong alliances and and attachments with several actors within the politics of place-ness, extending his space of dependence. That said, his influence over the city has been notorious and is reflected through the PDM.

That said, it is important to note that the politics of place-ness arises when actors aim at immobilizing their spaces of dependence, where social relations to which their a locally dependent towards exist. Since the city councilor has had his position for the past 15 years, throughout the years, he has fomented strong alliances and and attachments with several actors within the politics of place-ness, extending his space of dependence. That said, while he is a local state agent, the interests that he has been influencing are not the ones from the residents but rather from actors who he has fomented alliances. In addition, actors seeking to realize their interests, might seek to engage with him, as he has a 'strong influence' over the territory.

While one might view the actions of the city councilor as 'negative', as he is advancing the

interests of actors located outside Portugalia square, it is is worth remembering that the politics of place-ness is indeed very complex. While the private funds is not necessarily located in Lisbon, it is locally dependent upon the city as it has they have invested on real-estate, having other properties in the city that mainly dwellings oriented towards tourism (short-term rental and hotels). That said, since value within Portugalia square is currently immobile and needs to be unlocked with mobile forms of capital, both the municipality and the private funds views the development of the square as an opportunity, despite impacting and disturbing the existing social relations of the area.

That said, the period that followed the financial crash in 2007/2008 in which the municipality has mobilized a myriad of innovative participatory practices and governance, aiming at engaging local institutions and actors and enhance local economies, has fomented new spaces of engagement throughout the city. This is precisely how the movement Stop Torre 60m came into being. In that light, by engaging within other actors within spaces of engagement, the actors from the movements have been building up their political capacity to the point of being able to influence the city councilor. In addition, it is worth noting that rather than engaging with a social actor or agency that can exert their own influence upon the city councilor of urbanism, they have focused on learning how to work 'within the system'. That is, they have developed the documents necessary to 'immobilize' the initiative.

In that sense, the immobilization of Portugalia square by the petitioners has exposed that the power over territory does not lie in local governments, not in planner practitioners. It also does not lie within actors that have monopoly over territories, such as the private funds or the city councilor. Rather, is is dependent upon the political capacity of actors and agencies within contingent spaces of engagement.Thus, while urban entrepreneurialism has brought about the initiative of Portugalia square, as well as commodified the city through these past years, it is interesting to note that it has instigated what Harvey has termed 'collective corporation' in which actors have been forming alliances seeking to mitigate or reverse the 'hegemonic dynamic of capitalism accumulation'

8 Conclusion

This research has argued that the concept of urban entrepreneurialism associated with the concept of policy mobility and local dependence is relevant as it allows renewed reflections on the logic the politics of place-ness. That is, why and how particular places are (im)mobilized in order to allow the articulation of capital and the realization of profits. That said the research aimed at de-parochializing both the 'sites' of theoretical production of urban entrepreneurialism by providing a meta-analytical perspective on the urban entrepreneurialism within Portugal and the the normative 'status' of the concept of urban entrepreneurialism by exploring empirically the underpinning power-laden dynamics that (im)mobilize Portugalia square. The following question was thus answered:

"How Portugalia square has become (im)mobilized and to what extend is Portugalia square an 'effect' of entrepreneurialism?"

That said, the answer to this question has therefore been supplemented by three additional sub-questions:

1.   How does Portugal reflects back generalized forms of urban entrepreneurialism?

Although the concept of urban entrepreneurialism has been developed over thirty years ago, it still resonates with our contemporary urban condition as cities have become increasingly focusing in attracting external financial investments and consumers to secure local economic growth, specially within a context of post-crisis and austerity. This has been the case of Portugal and its two main cities Porto and Lisbon. The implementation of austerity policies have instigated local governments into being innovative and adopting entrepreneurial forms of governance and policies. As a result, these cities have been reflecting accelerated and aggressive forms of spatial displacement within its inner city centers, driven by global pressures of tourism and real-estate industries. That said, it is worth noting that while urban entrepreneurialism has been adopted by these two cities since 1986, when Portugal has adhere to the EU, allowing the allocation of EU funds and investments towards urban rehabilitation and real-estate refurbishing, it was only recently that these cities have been reflecting the 'negative' effects of urban entrepreneurialism.

That said, by contextualizing urban entrepreneurialism within Portugal, has been

productive as it allowed to understand the particularities of the Portuguese urban governance and conditions that have been heavily influenced by the political dynamics that took place after the revolutionary coup in the mid-1970s, in which the question of the 'urban' has been at the core of a democratization process. Portugal is characterized by having heterogeneous local governments that are highly dependent upon the political ideologies of local state agents and contingently dependent upon the evolution of their own institutional arrangements. In addition, while Portugal is characterized by being a centralized country, the polarization between central and local governments that have been fomenting since the consolidation of its democratic regime, results in a dialectical dynamic between central and local governments, in which the central state has been transferring administrative responsibilities and duties towards local governments, but without being accompanied with resources and competencies.

Furthermore, since Portugal lacks an an integrated national territorial policy associated to a financial 'package', urban planning in Portugal has become an instrument for land-regulation that private agents seek to influence to realize their own interests. In that light, the lack of financial and institutional capacity within some municipalities, coupled with the increasing pressure of real-estate markets in realizing their interests have instigated has resulted in local governance dynamics that are results of 'timely' opportunities and conjunctures rather than a result of an integrated political strategy. That said, while Portugal has followed since 1986, an European and global *mainstream* agendas, its historical urban past is reflected today through the contingent polarization between central and local governments, highly fragmented public sectors, a 'weak' planning system and a socio-economic model highly dependent upon the real-estate market and tourism.

It is also worth mentioning that the Portuguese economy has been highly dependent upon external forms of mobile financial investments and consumers, as it has been emphasizing a financial economic model based on the financialization of homeownership. That said, over the years, this model has driven a rapid expansion of the real-estate market that has been reflected through the accelerated patterns of urban (re)development within the suburbs as well as in inner cities in forms of urban rehabilitation and real-estate refurbishing. That said, the boom of the real-estate market has accompanied a stable rental market due to restrictive regulations that have congealed rents until 2012, when the Troika coerced the Portuguese government to liberalize its market. This has been one of the main drivers for the accelerated patterns of tourism gentrification and hyper-commodification of housing in Portuguese cities. That has led many scholars to underline the capacity of neoliberalism of re-booting itself.

However, it is important to underline that urban entrepreneurialism in Portugal did not originated exclusively from the liberalization of the financial market and state de-regulation, rather it resulted from complex dynamics associated to the constitutional debates that took place after the revolutionary coup in 1974. Indeed, in the mid-

1970s there was no welfare state or 'regulations' for Portugal to dismantle. Rather, the opposite occurred as Portuguese state agents aimed at 'building up a democratic state' that was aligned, ideologically and technically, with the EU. That said, while urban entrepreneurialism is viewed today in Portugal as a 'panacea' for economic recession and austerity, it should be noted that the fragility of the Portuguese financial, social and political structures has not been addressed. In addition, the variety of urban governance and urban entrepreneurial approaches should not be read as a manifestation of profound transformative changes within local and national institutional and cultural structures. Rather, they have been a reflection of contingent tensions between central and local governments, a 'weak' territorial policy, political ideologies of state agents and a socioeconomic model that is highly dependent upon the real-estate market and tourism.

2. How has local dependence affected the (im)mobilization of urban entrepreneurialism in Lisbon?

Against a backdrop of austerity and economic recession, the municipality has been actively (re)shaping its local administrative structures as well as its local policies and policy-making processes, fomenting a myriad of new governance experiments and institutional arrangements as well as policy innovation and experimentation. That said, by mobilizing urban entrepreneurialism, Lisbon has been promoting the city as an 'attractive' city for tourism and for business investments, thus emphasizing both the tourism and real-estate markets. In addition, since the decline of the inner city building environment has been often associated with the congeal of rental contracts and incentives towards suburbanization, the financial crisis provided the perfect alibi to revise the master plan that had been developed in 1994, while focusing of urban rehabilitation and real-estate refurbishing. In that light, has been actively working towards the alleviation of housing deficit and the amelioration of its built environment by providing support and financial incentives to stimulate private-led initiatives.

In order to ensure a healthy local economy, and foment new social relations that allow new channels for mobile forms of capital to unlock immobile value within real-estate, Lisbon's municipality has mobilized a series of programmes and policies aimed at facilitating urban (re)development. Since urban (re)development allows the channeling of large amounts of capital,the (re)production of the built environment has become and important component within the Portuguese economic system. That said, urban entrepreneurialism in Lisbon in highly dependent upon locally dependent actors and how they engage within the politics of place-ness to ensure that their interests are realized while immobilizing their social relations. Locally dependent property owners having their mortgage debts spiked due to the financial crisis, have engaged within tourism and real-estate markets to secure the existence of their own social relations and realize their own interests, by transforming long-term rental properties into short-term rentals to secure new social relations and channel

mobile forms of capital or by selling properties, thus being able to afford better quality housing within the suburbs while enjoying a change in wealth and social status.

However, by doing that, they have re-structured the social relations of their spaces of dependence which are also shared by other locally dependent actors that aim at maintaining these spaces immobilized, to ensure the realization of their interests. In that sense, by attempting to immobilize these spaces of dependence they engage with other actors in other to pressure or influence the municipality to exercise power over these spaces by mobilizing new regulations or immobilizing policies and laws. This has been the case with the mobilization of a new national housing policy (Lei de Bases da Habitação) at a national scale, and also the immobilization of some of the programmes developed by the municipality (in particular the Rehabilitate First, Pay Later).

It is worth noting that the political capacity of these actors have been driven in part by the municipality as it has been activating local social actors within a myriad of innovative participatory practices and governance, thus fomenting new socio-political dynamics in Lisbon through the mobilization of urban entrepreneurialism. That said, it is the very dialectical processes of the (im)mobilization of urban entrepreneurialism in Lisbon by locally dependent actors, by engaging within new spaces of engagements and fomenting new social relations, to realize their interests reflected within territories, that the politics of place-ness in Lisbon occur. That said, urban entrepreneurialism in Portugal has instigated progressive forms of 'urban corporatism' in which local actors engage within alliances to reverse the 'hegemonic dynamic of capitalism accumulation'. After more than 40 years since the revolutionary coup in 1974, the question over the 'urban' and the issue over housing lies at the core of Lisbon's urban condition once more.

How Portugalia square has become (im)mobilized and to what extend is Portugalia square an 'effect' of entrepreneurialism?

It is worth noting that recently, discussion about the need to decentralize Portugal has been fomenting throughout the country. While the the Prime Minister focuses on the decentralization of Portugal and a re-organization of local administrative structures aimed at the devolution of 'local autonomy' to municipalities, there are no debates that truly touch on the sore spots of the existing polarization between central and local governments. Moreover, even though it is generally known that municipalities are heterogeneous and pursue their own interests and agendas, there is a tendency to perceive them as being homogeneous and having the 'same' institutional arrangements and structures. However, as argued in section 3.2, although local governments are dependent and controlled by the central state, they have a high level of administrative autonomy that allow them to mobilize policies and policy-making processes. Indeed, this is observed in Lisbon in which local authorities have experimented with a series of policies and policy-making processes

to overcome the challenges that have been building up throughout its historical evolution, and that have mushroomed with the global crisis of 200/2008 and the deployment austerity measurements. In that light, one can interpreted that within the austerity, to ensure their spaces of dependence, local authorities have engaged with other actors within new spaces of engagement while transforming their former spaces of dependence.

In the case of Portugalia square, a new space of engagement has been formed through the mobilization of a newly revised master plan, new urban rehabilitation policies and financial incentives which have attracted the private investor. By engaging with the private actors within this new spaces, the locally dependent to the Portugalia square, in this case, the residents of this area, the local business and the citizens within the neighboring area, have had their spaces of dependence disturbed. Thus, by engaging with actors and aligning their interests, they have formed a coalition (Stop Torre 60m Portugalia) to ensure the existence of their own social relations and interests within their space of dependence. That said, while the municipality has been attributed power over the territory, and *mobilized* a real-estate refurbishing initiative in Portugalia square, the movement Stop Torre 60m Portugalia have *immobilized* it by engaging with other actors and coalitions, such as journalists, experts and politicians that have influence over the municipality.

In that sense, initially, the municipality and the private actors were the policy-making actors engaged in the urban politics of Portugalia square and local politics was located within the space of engagement formed by them. However, by doing that, they have also instigated other actors to act and ensure their positioning within the local politics.

That said, while Lisbon municipality has had the responsibility in mobilizing policies that have further commodified the city, so did the local actors by evicting long-term tenants and transforming apartments in short-term rentals; business owners through either selling their spaces to external investors or by harnessing local governments in rehabilitating their built environment; tourists by enjoying low prices in the consumption of touristic experiences; investors in real-estate markets by enjoying the opportunity to speculate on the built environment and the central state through the implementation of harsh austerity measurements and by re-enforcing the Portuguese dependence on urban development and tourism. Indeed, the commodification of cities cannot be attributed to one particular actor or one dimension, it precisely the fact that the world is mobile and topologically connected, that the commodification of Lisbon is a global issue that is reflected locally.

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A Appendix

Ana Drago

1. Achas que em portugal existe uma dinamica de construir um modelo institucional e de governanca para facilitar a aplicacao de politicas da EU?
2. Voce acha que em Portugal existe um certo foco em aplicar e implementar politica (top-down) normalente oriunda da europa ao inves de fazer politica (bottom up)? Topp-down vs Bottom up
   a) Achas que em portugal existe uma cultura que procura modelos de governanca e de politicas publicas 'de boas praticas' ?
3. Na sua opniao, Teria a a influencia da EU em Portugal implementado (implicidamente) um mobelo predominantemente neoliberalista de governanca?
   a) Foco desenvolvimento economico
4. Apos a crise e a implementacao de politicas de austeridade, achas que o modelo de reabiliacao urbana pela privatizacao de espacos publicos aumentou em Portugal, devido a falta de financiamento publico seja pelos fundos europeus, seja pela articulacao das financas?)
5. Voce enxerga o processo dessa influencia como um problema no sentido de distorcer o entendimento das particularidades das dinamicas sociais e politicas portuguesas? (ex. a as dinamicas socio-politicas apos a ver. 1974 com a decisao do que e democracia, o que é legal ou informal?
   a. sera um processo positivo no sentido de dirigir Portugal para um desenvolvimento, uma vez que portugal não tinha estrutura?
6. Patricia Silva e Filipe Teles descrevem as autoridades locais como 'the biggest losers' da refoma local resutande da implementacao de politicas de austeriade. Para eles, a ausencia de autonomia fiscal e adminsitrativa é um dos maiores desafios que portugal enfrente em termos de governanca urbana.
   a. Voce concorda?
   b. Na sua opniao, Qual os principais desafios do Planeamento urbano e regional apos a reforma?
7. Me parece que em Portugal o governo local esta ausente em importante debates sobre implementacao de politicas urbanas ou regionais e reformulacao de estruturas instituicional. Isso é correto?
   a) Já ocorreu em portugal do governo Local ter influenciado diretamente a criacao de uma politica urbana ou regional a nivel nacional? Bottom up
8. Já se pensou se no envolvimento das fregesias como organizacao institucional de um planemento participativo? Como articulador entre cidadoes e o estado?
9. Apesar de falar se muito sobre a importancia das freguesias como escala mais proxima dos cidadoes, não há interesse em um envolvimento profundo delas. Porque?
10. Existe um discurso profundo sobre a ausencia de particiacao civica nas transformacoes urbanas. Achas que Discurso de Portugal mal planejado ajuda na implementacao de politicas neoliberalistas e no afastamento da participacao civica
11. Existe um caso da torre no quarteirao da Portugalia, os moradores da freguesia de arroios e posicionaram contra

Idalina Baptista

1. Portuguese Planning scholarship – role of planning scholars (organizacao da racionalizacao do pplaneamento Portugues)
   a. Aparenta-me que em portugal, academicos alem de terem uma funcao na investigacao academica, tambem exercem funcoes politicas em cargos nas estruturas governamentais em portugal. Isso é verdade?
      i. Na sua opniao, essa caracterstica duplifica a infleuncia da dos academicos em na institutonalizacao de um 'modelo' europeu de governanca e territorial em portugal e na sua propia reestruturacao e legitimacao?
      ii. Teriam os academicos constribuido de forma implicida, para a ultima reforma do governo local?
   b. Voce escreveu em seu artigo, que falta um senso critico na maioria dos profissionais e academicos do planemento urbano que enxergam o planeamento como sendo uma funcao do estado.
      i. Achas que existe um receio entre academicos e profissonais em entender o planeamento urbano como um processo fundamentalmente politico?
      ii. Na sua opniao, o receio de politizar o planeamento urbano esta relacionado com uma tentativa de 'administrar a profissao' em uma logica que simultaneamente justifica a necessidade do planeamento urabno e legitimiza em uma disciplina?
      iii. Voce acha que a visao do planeamento como neutro e funcao de estado mudou após da reforma governamental?
   c. A visao de um territorio e governanca portugues fragmentado é uma das ideias e narrativas mais fortes nos estudos de investigacao portugueses para justificar a necessidade de coesao e do próprio ordenamento do territorio. Achas que essa fragmentacao tambem ocorre nos estudos de investigacao?
      i. Existe uma existencia na producao academica multidisciplinar alem de estudos economicos, por exemplo entre direito, artes, sociologia e a geografia?
      ii. Apparenta-me que essa fragmentacao tambem esta relacionada com o fato de que a estruturacao do sistema de ordenameno de territorio esta na area de geografia e o o planeamento urbano – que esta relacionado com projetos de urbanismo involvendo a revitalizacao de espacos publicos e implementacao de habitacao esta na área de arquitetura. Achas que existe uma separacao?
         1. Existe uma separacao entre o entendimento da estrutura de governanca de Portugal e urbanismo – sendo o ultimo relacionado com projetos de carater locais?
2. Europeanization and Portugal (Universalizacao de teorias)
   a. No seu artigo- portugal na unplanned country – voce diz que existe um consenso academico geral que só depois da emersao de Portugal na Uniao Europpéia que a natureza do pplanemaneto urbano portugues mudou. E realmente, mutos artigos e teses de doutorado aludem a necessidade de uma institutonalizacao de um 'planeamento regional e urbano' devido a uma 'cultura' do planeamento ao nivel local muito defasada.
      i. Na sua opniao, voce acha que o planeamento de Portugal mudou ao longo desses anos, apesar das varias forma (ou tentativas) de institutonaliacao?

1. Teria a academia contribuido para uma institutonalizacao sistematica de um modelo europeu territorial e de governanca sem entender a ppropia dinamica spacial a politica?

   ii. Uma das narrativas que permance é a falta da cultura de planeamento estrategico no livel local e o PPDM como sendo um instrumento urbanisco defasado. Porem o PDM permanece como um instrumento decisivo na impplementacao de politicas ao nivel local.

      1. Voce acha que essa resiliencia tem relacao com o fato do PDM ser o único instrumento de articulacao entre politicas supranacionais, nacionais, regionais e locais que as autoridades locais tem mais autonomia?

      2. Achas que as tensoes entre niveis locais e nacional em Portugal tem relacao com o fato que o processo de democratizacao de portugal surgiu em paralelo com um processo de regionalizacao, seguindo um modelo europeu? (Modernizacao?)

3. Escala e Território e Governanca (Portugueses) (Escala – territorio e governanca)

   a. Existe um foco mutio forte na regionalizacao em Portugal e na construcao de um modelo de governanca e territorial em uma escala subnacional - nas regioes e nas areas metropolitanas normalmente associado a narrativa de fragmentacao que falamos.

      i. Achas que esse diagnostico 'de fragmentacao' atrapalha um olhar profundo das particularidades territoriais e politicas nas dinamicas de governanca portuguesa?

         1. Por exemplo, sera que devido a esse problematizacao a analize das dinamicas territoriais assumem um nivel de escala analitica que não condiz com o nivel de escala onde a mobilizacao de politicas e a transformacao do territorio acontece que é local?

         2. Achas que esse foco (regionalizacao) tambem atrapalha a visao da propia escala local?

   b. As juntas de freguesias são expostas como uma escala fundamental para a garantia democrática, já que é a escala mais proxima dos cidadoes.

      i. Na sua opniao, seriam as juntas de freguesias uma escala local mais apropiada ou interessante no caso de Portugal ao invés da escala municipal que alogmera essas freguesias?

João Mourato

1. O PNPOT baseou-se em algum modelo de politica nacional de planeamento territorial especifico? (policy mobility)
2. Achas que a cultura do planeamento spacial em Portugal mudou apos a implementacao do PNPOT? Como?
   a. Porque existe a necessidade de mudar a cultura do planemanto em Portugal?
3. Achas que o PNPOT facilitou o que voce nomeou de 'estrangulamento comunicativo' entre diferentes arenas politicas entre as questoes do meior ambiente, planeamento spacial e o desenvolvimento regional e urbano depois desses anos? (*Europeanizacao e governanca*)?
4. Achas que o PNPOT contribuiu para uma institonalizacao de um 'modelo europeu' de planeamneto urbano urbano e regional e de governanca territorial que facilita a implementacao de politicas da EU em Portugal?
   a. Achas que as tensoes entre as autoridades centrais e locais tem relacao com esse processo?? por exemplo, pela obrigatoriedade do PDM?
5. Achas que a implementacao do PNPOT ao mesmo tempo que justificou e legitimizou uma autonomia do planeamento urbano e regional, recentralizou o planemento para o nivel nacional?
6. Achas que em portugal existe uma dinamica historica de construir um modelos institucionais e de governanca para facilitar a aplicacao de politicas oriundas da EU?
7. Voce acha que em Portugal existe um certo foco em aplicar e implementar politica (top-down) ao inves de fazer politica (bottom up)? Topp-down vs Bottom up
   a. Achas que em portugal existe uma cultura que procura modelos de governanca e de politicas publicas 'de boas praticas'
8. Qual a Impportancia do papel do PNPOT na crise de 2008 e na implementacao das ppoliticas de austeridade em 2011,12,13?
9. Na sua opniao, Teria a europeanizacao em Portugal implementado (implicidamente) um modelo predominantemente neoliberalista?
   a. Com a implementacao de politicas de reabilitcao urbana e politicas que facilitam o turismo nas cidades pportuguesas e devido a diminuiucao dos Fundos de Coesao
      i. O PNPOT consegue facilitar o balanceamento entre comppetitividade e coesao?
10. Voce enxerga o processo de europeanizacao como um problema no sentido de distorcer o entendimento das particularidades das dinamicas sociais e politicas portuguesas?
    a. Tensoes historicas entre governo local e central, ausencia de um nivel regional, centralizacao
11. Me parece que em Portugal o governo local esta ausente em importante debates sobre implementacao de politicas urbanas ou regionais e reformulacao de estruturas instituticional. Isso é correto?
    a. Já ocorreu em portugal do governo Local ter influenciado diretamente a criacao de uma politica urbana ou regional a nivel nacional? Bottom up
12. Já se pensou se no envolvimento das fregesias no planemaneto urbano como organizacao e como instituicao de um planemento participativo?
    a. Como articulador entre cidadoes e o estado?
13. Apesar de falar se muito sobre a importancia das freguesias como escala mais proxima dos cidadoes, não há interesse em um envolvimento profundo delas. Porque?
14. Patricia Silva e Filipe Teles descrevem as autoridades locais como 'the biggest losers' da refoma local resutande da implementacao de politicas de austeriade. Para eles, a ausencia de autonomia

fiscal e adminsitrativa é um dos maiores desafios que portugal enfrente em termos de governanca urbana.

    a. Voce concorda?
    b. Na sua opniao, Qual os principais desafios do Planeamento urbano e regional apos a reforma?

1. A ausencia da escala regional autonoma em portugal é muito debatida academicamente e politicamente.
    a. Achas que portugal necessita de uma escala regional?
    b. Voce acredita que o debate dessa escala se dá ao motivo da influencia global e da EU em Portugal?
    c. Teria sentido a construcao dessa escala na sua opniao?
    d. Achas que esses debates sobre o regionalismo de pportugal redirecionaram o debate sobre a centralizacao de portugal e a falta de autonomia do poder local?

1. No seu papel terriotorio da (i)racionalidade voce fala sobre os "conflitos" inter e intra disciplinas/corporações profissionais sobre a detenção da autoridade científica/profissional sobre certos "sectores de conhecimento". O que voce quis dizer com isso?
    a. Existe uma fragmentacao interdiciplinar e intradisciplinar em Portugal?
    b. Porque existe essa fragmentacao e qual o problema na sua opniao?
2. Em conferencias iternacionais, seja ela INTERREG, ESPON, etc. achas que Portugal acaba absorvendo novas politicas publicas?
    a. Achas que essas conferencias são importantes para o desenvolvimento Portugues?
        i. Por que?
    b. Os planeadores urbanos (privados) e autoriades locais estao presentes nessas conferencias?
    c. Achas importante a presenca deles?
        i. Porque?

Miguel Pinto – Stop Torre 60m Portugalia

1. Apresentacao rápida sua (ocupacao e funcao na organizacao) e apresentacao do movimento stop 60m torre

2. Como e quando souberam do projeto que agora esta em processo?
   a. Antes de iniciarem o projeto, a camara municipal contactou-lhes sobre o que iria ser construido? Contactou-lhes para convida-los para um debate paprticipativo?

3. Vendo o debate na assembleia de lisboa, fiquei surpresa com a apresentacao e com o entendimento profundo do instrumento de creditos de construcao e como esse instrumento e a falta de criterios nele propicia um processo perveco. Como foi feita essa apresentacao?
   a. Qual o processo de investigacao e analise desses dados?
   b. Achas que o nivel de transparencia da camara é sufiente em termos de coletas desses dados?

4. Uma reindivicacao que ficou muito clara sobre este processo foi a falta de participacao nas negociacoes do próprio projecto de rehabilitacao ((quer dizerm o que seria feito, como, quando e se deveria haver ou não uma transofrmacao).
   a. Qual o maior deseafio que encontras no mecanismo de participacao?
   b. Em sua opniao, como esse processo deveria desenrolar?
   c. Há alguma peticao sobre a reindivicacao de um espaco nessas decisoes?

5. Aachas que a implementacao de politicas da Uniao Europeia tem influenciado essa privatizacao?
   a. Na sua opniao, voce encherga que Portugal visa implementar politicas da EU sem avaliar os impactos ao nivel local?
   b. Estas insatisfeito com a Uniao europeia ou achas que a entrada de Portugal na Eu é importante para o desenvolvimento do pais?

6. Nas sua opniao, como avalia a improtancia da participacao civica em projetos de transformacoes urbanisticas como esse? Porque?

7. Como avalia a funcao das juntas de freguesias como orgao governamental sobre reindivicacoes sobre transformacoes urbanas- (que seriam o orgao mais proximo dos cidadoes e tecnicamente talvez ate ao nivel de suporte em reindificacoes urbanas)?
   a. Achas que deveriam ser mais participativas?
   b. Uma ideia utopica – achas que o sistema da democratica do governo local ser repensados?
      i. Por exemplo uma reestruturacao das juntas – escolha democratica por eleicao direta?

8. Achas que falta um processo demoratico mais aberto onde possa-se escolher questoes sobre o que é o planeamento urbano, para que serve e como realiza-lo?

Simone Tulumello

Achas que em portugal existe uma dinamica de construir um modelo institucional e de governanca urbana para facilitar a absorcao de politicas da EU?

1. Achas que a narrativa e discursos sobre a necessidade (ou não) da regionalizacao de Portugal que ocorreu nas decadas de 90 e 2000, contribuiu para um certo re-direcionamento para as regioes e um certo 'esquecimento' das dinamicas sociopolitcas locais?
   a) Achas que esse foco cotribuiu de uma certa forma para a centralizacao do planemanto urbano e regional para o nivel nacional (e para as tensoes entrel local/central)?
   b) Achas ainda existe uma certa orientacao de visao (politico e academica) para o estudo e entendimento das dinamicas socio-politicas em regioes metropolitanas ao inves de uma visao mais local?

2. Voce enxerga o processo da influencia da EU como um problema no sentido de distorcer o entendimento das particularidades das dinamicas sociais e politicas portuguesas 9ao nivel local)?
   a. sera um processo positivo no sentido de dirigir Portugal para um desenvolvimento, uma vez que portugal não tinha estrutura?

3. Me parece que em Portugal o governo local esta ausente em importante debates sobre implementacao de politicas urbanas ou regionais e reformulacao de estruturas instituticional. Isso é correto?
   a) Achas que as tensoes entre as autoridades centrais e local tem relacao com o fato dessa ausencia local nesses debates?

4. Voce acha que em Portugal existe um certo foco em aplicar e implementar politica (top-down) normalente oriunda da europa ao inves de fazer politica (bottom up)? Topp-down vs Bottom up
   a) Achas que em portugal existe uma cultura que procura modelos de governanca e de politicas publicas 'de boas praticas' fora de Portugal?
   b) Já ocorreu em portugal do governo Local ter influenciado diretamente a criacao de uma politica urbana ou regional a nivel nacional? Bottom up

5. Na sua opniao, Teria a a influencia da EU em Portugal implementado (implicidamente) um modelo predominantemente neoliberalista de governanca urbana e regional?

6. Patricia Silva e Filipe Teles descrevem as autoridades locais como 'the biggest losers' da refoma local resutande da implementacao de politicas de austeriade. Para eles, a ausencia de autonomia fiscal e adminsitrativa é um dos maiores desafios que portugal enfrente em termos de governanca urbana.
   a. Voce concorda ?

Seria tambem um problema a 'lideranca' da propia autoridade local, Por exemplo no caso de Lisboa onde o vereador do urbanismo legitimiza politicas de carater liberal na cidade?

7. Já se pensou se no envolvimento das fregesias como organizacao institucional de um planemento participativo?
   a) Como articulador entre cidadoes e o estado?

8. Apesar de falar se muito sobre a importancia das freguesias como escala mais proxima dos cidadoes, não há interesse em um envolvimento profundo delas. Seria essa falta de interesse relacionado com um certo afastamento dela com os cidadoes?
   a) Por exemplo, No caso do Quarteirao da Portugalia, A junta da freguesias de Arroios e a camara municipal já haviam iniciado a negociacao com o promotor imobiliario sobre o projeto. Porem,

claramente não houve participacao dos cidadoes que se pronunciaram muito fortemente contra esse projecto. Mas a junta não se pronunciou contra ou a favor desse processo.

9. Achas que há uma narrativa e uma institutonalizacao muito tecnocrata ao nivel local?

10. Existe um discurso profundo sobre a ausencia de particiacao civica nas transformacoes urbanas. Achas que Discurso de Portugal mal planejado ajuda na implementacao de politicas neoliberalistas e no afastamento da participacao civica

11. No paper "Lisboa em transição profunda e desequilibrada. Habitação, imobiliário e política urbana no sul da Europa e na era digital" falou-se sobre uma fragmentacao interescalar de ambito local, nacional e europeu para enfretar os problemas de habitacao nas principais cidades portuguesas. Achas que tambem existe uma fragmentacao muito forte

12. No caso do Quarteirao da Portugalia, no meu entendimento, fica evidente um desejo dos cidadoes para participar diretemente nos processos de decisoes das transformacoes do tecido urbano da cidade. Sabes se já existe uma politica em andamento que modifique a politica de participacao publica em Portugal?
    a) Achas que esse seria um ponto importante a ser debatido em Portugal como planemento urbano?

Luís Castro - Vizinhos do Arroio

1. Apresentacao ráida quem é voce e quem são os vizinhos do arroio.
2. O que é os vizinhos o arroio?
    a. Organizacao comunidade da freguesia?
    b. Fazem parte da freguesia?
    c. São uma organizacao autonoma?
    d. Como comecou essa organizacao?
3. Como e quando souberam do projeto que agora esta em processo?
4. Antes de iniciarem o projeto, a camara municipal contactou-lhes sobre o que iria ser construido?
    a. Contactou-lhes para convida-los para um debate paprticipativo?
5. Quantos debates já houveram com voces, a camara e os responsaveis elo projeto?
    a. Como avalia esses debates?
6. Porque são aversos a este projeto?
7. Antes desse projecto atual, havia outro que foi rejeitado pela camara, sabes desse projeto?
    a. Sabes porque foi rejeitado?
8. Voces tem outro projeto em mente para essa área?
    a. Qual?
    b. E sobre o desenvolvimento? Como deveria ser desenvolvido?
9. Na sua oppniao, qual o maior problema da freguesia dde arrois que deve ser resolvido?
10. Achas que a junta de freguesia de Arroios é um orgao importante nesse processo?
    a. Porque
    b. Achas que poderia ser um orgao importante para a articulacao do estao, o mercado e a populacao nas transformacoes urbanas?
11. Achas que a participacao civica em pprojetos de transformacoes urbanisticas em Portugal, deixa muito a desejar?
    a. Qual o maior deseafio que encontras no mecanismo de participacao?
    b. Como achas que a participacao civica deveria acontecer?
12. Achas que nos ultimos anos a privatzacao dos espacos publicos em Portugal cresceu muito?
    a. Achas isso u problema para as cidades?
13. Aachas que a implementacao de politicas da Uniao Europeia tem influenciado essa privatizacao?
    a. Na sua opniao, voce encherga que Portugal visa implementar politicas da EU sem avaliar os impactos ao nivel local?
    b. Estas insatisfeito com a Uniao europeia ou achas que a entrada de Portugal na Eu é importante para o desenvolvimento do pais?
14. Nas sua opniao, como avalia a improtancia da participacao civica em projetos de transformacoes urbanisticas como esse?
    a. Porque é importante o envolvimento da populacao nessas transofrmcoes?