Part II

POSTCOLONIAL SPACE, WORK, AND CITIZENSHIP

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Chapter 5

GHOSTS OF COLONIALISM IN THE POSTIMPERIAL
CITY: A HISTORY OF INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN
LISBON, 1970S–2010S

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In the late 1980s, fifteen years after the Portuguese democratic revolution, it was estimated that around 200,000 people lived in informal settlements in the country (AML 1997; Númena 2003: 143; Ascensão 2015a: 52). This was the peak of a long process of internal migration to the Porto and Lisbon metropolitan areas since the 1960s and immigration to Lisbon since the mid-1970s from the newly independent Portuguese-speaking African countries Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, Angola, Mozambique, and São Tomé and Príncipe. The most vulnerable of these populations had been prized out of the housing market and immigrants were left out of the eligible pool for the diminutive public housing system; in effect, they had been "led" to the interstices of the urban fabric to look for or build the accommodation they could not find or afford in the regular city. Informal settlements were then tacitly accepted by the state because of its inability to provide housing for everyone. The state turned a blind eye while the white Portuguese internal migrants and the Black African postcolonial immigrants who constituted the urban poor settled in shanties or similar structures in areas that had become unprofitable for agriculture but were not yet subject to the instruments of urban planning such as surveying or zoning (Salgueiro 1977; Rodrigues 1989; Nunes and Serra 2004; Pinto 2015).

Up to this point, the immigrant populations that had settled in the preexisting settlements had been invisible to the state, in the sense that they were not accurately recorded in the census or other statistics, nor did municipal authority workers such as town surveyors have a precise idea of how many illegal dwellings, or illegal citizens, existed de facto outside of the state's sight. But for those fifteen years, in close contact with the white Portuguese populations who had initially set up the settlements, immigrants from former colonies had moved in, built, and upgraded their dwellings. Choosing the location was an individual event, in the sense that they were often "personally directed" by a Portuguese colleague at the workplace who told them where they could build a shack in which to live without risking its demolition by the authorities, an event repeated many times over. This made

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it a "structural event," in the sense that these immigrants—at first mostly men without their families, who worked in construction and helped build most of the infrastructure of democratic Portugal—settled in whatever available urban space there was, provided it was close enough to jobs. Then, continuing over the years to invest income to upgrade their shanty houses and "bring over" the rest of the family, they set in motion a process that increasingly tied them to the space they had settled in. The largest shantytowns became micro-neighborhoods of their own. As time elapsed, the slum or ghetto stigma was associated with these areas more and more, and a second-class citizen status emerged, one that was especially acute for those who were Black (Fikes 2009), but which extended itself to other ethnic groups, such as the Hindu populations of the Quinta da Holandesa (Figure 5.1) and Quinta da Vitória settlements, which had originated from Goan migration first to Mozambique and then to Lisbon (Trovão 1991; Cachado 2013).

Seen broadly, such urban conditions reproduced the social organization of colonial cities such as Luanda, Lourenço Marques, or Bissau, where, for much of the twentieth century, the large Black majority lived outside the planned city center in areas without municipal infrastructure known as *musseques* in Luanda, the *caniço* in Lourenço Marques, or *bairros indígenas* in Bissau (Silveira 1989; Domingos 2013; Silva 2015). The ghost of urban colonialism—segregation and the lack of infrastructure for populations that were essentially regarded as labor for the

Figure 5.1 The Quinta da Holandesa settlement near the central area of Areeiro, 1999. Photograph by Pedro Letria.

colonial regime—was present in the way Lisbon's peripheries were interspersed with shantytowns after 1974. This is not a specificity exclusive to Portugal's postimperial history. In fact, this type of urban segregation, arising as a reflex of previous colonial structures of domination extending to the housing context of postcolonial migrants immediately after decolonization and becoming integral to the urban growth of a postimperial city, can be compared to Algerian or other Maghreb immigrants settling in the *bidonvilles* of Paris in the 1960s (Cohen 2011). An important difference, however, was that here postcolonial migrants shared their urban condition with the poor white Portuguese populations with whom they lived. The element of class thus needs to be understood—along with race, or better, the migration of poor Black people from a former colonial territory—as forming a dual layer of factors behind the growth of urban informality in Lisbon during the period.

In any case, the way the colonial element was present in the urbanization process of Lisbon's shantytowns is not restricted to a broad reading of their emergence; rather, it took more defined and concrete forms. Some of the people living in these shantytowns had traveled and worked across the colonial landscape or been conscripted to the Portuguese army to fight against the liberation armies before coming to Lisbon. Their condition as subalterns of the Portuguese empire was clearly, if differently, replicated in the postimperial city. Their offspring would then endure a long period of infra-citizenship—born in Portugal, they were not entitled to full citizenship as the *jus sanguis* nationality laws made them foreigners, even if they had never visited their "home country." For many years, they carried blue ID cards instead of the regular yellow ones. Physical and social separation went hand in hand with a process of "othering" of Black people, especially those who "lived in the slums" (*os que vivem nas barracas*). Finally, housing inequalities persisted even as Lisbon started to come to terms with its postcolonial status and, from the mid-1990s onward, moved toward an acceptance and celebration of its multicultural nature. The rehousing of slum dwellers was a protracted process in many settlements, in some cases spanning more than twenty years, one that often involved displacement to public housing estates located in more peripheral areas—once again there are parallels between this last element and the location of postcolonial migrants in the *banlieues* of former imperial centers such as Paris or Brussels and, though differing slightly, in suburban London.

Tracing Colonial Associations in the Postimperial City

This chapter illustrates some of the associations and postcolonial memories King refers to as "affecting the use of space in the postcolonial city" (2009: 326), shown from the viewpoint of the people who were the historical agents in this urbanization process: the residents of these settlements. It proposes that there was a colonial ghost in the process, something that is clear in general terms—the urban poor from former colonies constituted one of the biggest contingencies in these shantytowns[1]—but which deserves to be detailed, as it takes multifaceted forms

and leads to different interrogations. However, unlike authors who approach the historical continuities and discontinuities of the postcolonial and postimperial city from the viewpoint of architectural knowledge or the translation of urban planning techniques and paradigms from colonial to postcolonial contexts (e.g., King 2009; Kusno 2010), I reflect on the colonial nature of the relationship between the residents of informal settlements, so often invisible historiographically, and the rest of the city. I will do so through what I refer to as micro-biographies on migration, work, and the everyday life of residents from one informal settlement in particular, the Quinta da Serra neighborhood in the Loures municipality, in the outskirts of Lisbon, which nevertheless illustrate aspects that occurred in other places within the constellation of informal settlements that existed in the city for three decades.[2]

Internal Migration and Informal Urbanism

The first inhabitants of Lisbon's informal settlements were rural white Portuguese migrants who came to Lisbon in the 1960s and early 1970s. Most informal settlements in the city began either with the illegal use of legally owned agricultural land for housing or with illegal squatting on private or public land—both serving the same purpose, with the latter setting up a twofold illegal status in settlement (Beja-Horta 2006). Many such settlements were located along the different sections of an old military road, by then disused (Gaspar 1989: 91). Historically, the road had encircled the city slightly outside the municipal boundaries, thus providing a set of conditions for settling, namely, a high degree of invisibility from state authorities while in sufficient proximity to jobs (Salgueiro 1977).

Felícia was one of these first inhabitants. Born in 1958 in the north of mainland Portugal, in the Trás-os-Montes region, the eldest of four siblings, she started working from an early age as a cleaner and domestic worker, having not completed formal education beyond the fourth grade. When she was eighteen years old, she married an iron welder, and they moved into a shack built on top of his parents' house, in what was only a provisional solution. One year later, they moved next door to the wooden shack that belonged to his godmother, which they decided to tear down shortly afterward in order to build a brick house on the plot. This was the same house that Felícia was living in in 2008 with two of her four children, after having divorced her husband (interview, 2008; Figure 5.2).

Felícia shared this type of trajectory with many young women from the countryside who were domestic workers in the homes of bourgeois families during the dictatorship (Brasão 2012). They would often live with their employers, sleeping in dedicated inner rooms; emancipation from such arrangements would most of the time mean moving to a rented room or, when that was economically unviable, into shantytowns. Felícia's arrival in Quinta da Serra is an illustration of the housing alternatives for the white Portuguese underclass during the Estado Novo, a condition that extended into the first decade of democracy. Her move also coincided with the first official documents that mention poor housing conditions

Figure 5.2 Felícia and her daughter by their house, 2008. Photograph by the author.

in the area (Sacavém Parish Council 1977), drawing attention to "hundreds of people living in shacks without the hygiene standards to which they are entitled [under article 65 of the Constitution]." Interestingly, her daughter's skin color, the result of an interracial relationship she had after her divorce, illustrates the multicultural life that existed in many informal settlements at the time, when such mixed couples were almost nonexistent in the wider society.

That said, the temptation to see such interracial relationships as evidence of a color-blind Portuguese exceptionalism along lusotropicalist lines should be avoided. Conversely, these relationships, no matter how few they were, should not be dismissed. What was happening was an encounter based on class more than on any other element. Later developments in the public housing estates that these Black and white populations were rehoused in—and where younger generations have greatly overcome race distinctions—suggest precisely that: race divides are trumped by a shared "underclass" identity.

<h2 style="text-align:center">Through the Colonial Landscape to Lisbon: Migration
and Networks of Arrival</h2>

The next group of settlers in Quinta da Serra and other settlements included immigrants who, before 1975, had had a career working across the colonial landscape, including as "indentured laborers" in São Tomé and Príncipe's cocoa and coffee plantations—part of a flow of labor and "a forced migration movement by which Cape Verdeans could choose between death due to malnutrition in Cape Verde or death due to exhaustion in the plantations" (Batalha 2004: 132)—or working for colonial police forces (see Ascensão 2013, 2015b). The majority arrived between 1978/79 and 1985, directly from Cape Verde, Guinea-Bissau, or São Tomé. They came to Lisbon, at first using "boss's containers" for accommodation before moving to a shantytown. The move to a shantytown was not disassociated from the broader social structures of both the country of arrival—such as racist practices in rental accommodation—or the country of origin—for instance, Cape Verdean class and ethnic divisions. Batalha (2004) distinguishes between a first generation of Cape Verdean migrants to Lisbon in the 1960s—a better-educated and middle-class population, who in urban terms settled in a more dispersed way, in regular housing stock and would typically be employed in jobs either in public services or in municipal companies—and a second, shantytown-settling, working-class population, usually employed in construction (men) and fish peddling or domestic cleaning (women) (see also Fikes 2009).

The latter population was the one that contributed to the settlement's growth. Starting with arranging a place to build a shack in the middle of agricultural allotments, over the next decade they oversaw the densification of the settlements to the point where every plot or subplot was being used for a shack or a house. Most of the informal technologies (such as electricity tapping or water wells; see Figure 5.3) were first put in place by them. For many years, too, they taught new residents how to build their shacks, in communal occasions that followed the Cape Verdean tradition of *djunta mon* (joining hands) (see also Weeks 2012).

Cape Verdeans replicated in Lisbon the form of urban settling that poor populations had experienced in their country of origin—which, it must be noted, involved great architectural ingenuity and building ability. Francisco was part of this early cohort, and his personal migratory trajectory was closely tied to Portuguese late colonialism. He was born in the city of Praia, on the island

Figure 5.3 Residents gather by the collective well, before a makeshift water provision was installed, c. 1990. Photograph by Father Valentim Gonçalves.

of Santiago, Cape Verde, in 1929. After working in agriculture, he moved to construction, working first as a bricklayer in 1960 and then as a foreman from 1963 onward. Between 1965 and 1969, he worked in East Timor, building housing estates for the colonial administration. In Dili, he worked first on a residential complex for civil servants, "then, when we were done, they sent us to another side, Suai, to build houses for the chiefs of the outpost" (interview, 2008). He and his coworkers were relocated by military personnel, which shows the strength of being assigned and displaced to different places of work according to colonial needs. Francisco spent the next five years in Angola, still working in construction, but this time having been joined by his wife and children. Following Angolan independence in 1975, and with the political situation tense for Cape Verdeans (who were the target of animosity as they had historically been employed in the lower rungs of the colonial administration), he consequently moved back to Cape Verde:

> We couldn't take it anymore. I sent the wife and children to Cape Verde. I stayed . . . Then, on the eve of Cape Verde's independence, I thought about going back too . . . you couldn't send money, everything was blocked . . . I managed to get a ticket for the boat with a friend, and I went. I took thirty *contos* [thirty thousand escudos] in the coat lining! You couldn't transfer money, nothing. And if I took the money in my pocket, they would keep it. I took it in dollars . . . I arrived with thirty thousand escudos, of small diamonds that I had sold. (Interview, 2008)

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He returned to Cape Verde and used the money to buy a plot of land where he could build a house, pay family debts, and start a business with a friend. They made iron beds and washbasins. From 1975 to 1978, the business flourished before going into rapid decline. In 1983, Francisco moved to Lisbon where he stayed with his eldest son in a cheap apartment in Almada at first, before moving to Quinta da Serra in 1985 as they were unable to pay the rent of the apartment.

In Francisco's case, we see how low-skilled work in civil construction during the colonial period was followed by a move to Lisbon as an escape from the recurrently difficult economic situation in Cape Verde, followed by taking up residence in an informal settlement immediately or sometime after arrival. Together with other older residents of Quinta da Serra mentioned earlier, Francisco's journey through the colonial landscape and move to Portugal to work in civil construction perfectly illustrate the few options for work available to a poor Cape Verdean in the forty years following 1950. At different times in his life, Francisco simply worked on what was available to a *badiu* from Santiago without formal education, work "designed" to a greater or lesser degree by the colonial system. And because the Portuguese empire survived longer than those of the other European colonial powers, one could encounter people who had lived through it in the postimperial city as late as 2008.

Disappointment upon Arrival and Parallels between Former Life in the Colonies and in Lisbon

The possibility of being able to build a shack as one wanted and among fellow countrymen was often nullified by the realization that life in Lisbon had turned out to be far harder than they had envisaged:

> We came to build a better life but, for the majority of us, had we known we would have stayed put instead. But by then we had no way of getting back to our homeland. By then, I didn't have the money for the flight back . . . If I told what I went through during the first years to people back home they would get scared (laughter). And when we go back we don't let them know what we've been through here . . . There was work back then, that was easy, but we had no place to live . . . I went through a lot to have this little shack, which is not much but has provided shelter. It helped raise my children. (Interview, 2008)

Dóia, the woman who expressed these feelings, had at first lived with the father of her four children in a wooden shack, but "he drank and got himself into too much trouble" and so she decided to leave. The house she lived in until 2010 was for the most part built with the help of her mother as well as other residents who helped lay the foundations, erect the walls, and place the roof. Dóia undertook the remaining tasks herself, "after work, every day, slowly, sometimes until three in the morning" (interview, 2008).

The parallels between life in the peripheries of colonial cities and their new settings in Lisbon did not go unnoticed. Another female resident of Quinta da Serra, Utelinda, who was born in Guinea-Bissau, recalled her mother's work washing and ironing clothes for "Portuguese ladies" in Bissau during the colonial war, and described life during her teenage years:

> We didn't have electricity . . . Bissau proper had electricity, where the Portuguese lived . . . All we had were oil lamps . . . so at night we'd listen to stories told by the elders. (Interview, 2009)

This brief excerpt tells us of the social geography of Bissau during the late colonial period. During that period, urban plans were an integral part of a highly segregated society, instituting a complete spatial separation between the white colonialist city center and the suburban ring (Silveira 1989; Silva 2015). There was no infrastructure in Bissau's urban periphery, with the exception of two neighborhoods (Santa Luzia and Bairro da Ajuda) built by the colonial administration for a minority among the urban poor. Such projects were part of the late colonial development plans (*Planos de Fomento*) devised, first, to stabilize the workforce needed for the developing colonial economy and, later, to appease populations as the wars of liberation went on in the rural areas. And yet, while the two neighborhoods amounted to a few hundred dwellings, the whole of Bissau's periphery was estimated to have over thirty thousand inhabitants at the time (Acioly 1992: 16).[3] Housing provision in the "European quarters" was not extended to the rest of the city: the colonial administration regulated housing for natives exclusively through legislation that enforced distances and hygienic principles or that let traditional African typologies be used. Utelinda regarded the lack of infrastructure in Quinta da Serra as a mirror to her early life in Bissau.

Encountering the Structural Forces of Regularization: The Divergent Urban Trajectories of Clandestinos *and* Barracas

Coming back to Lisbon, an explanatory detour is needed to understand why some informal settlements in Lisbon became increasingly dense and dilapidated, in other words "slums," while others were subject to infrastructure upgrade and regularization, eventually becoming acceptable residential environments. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, Lisbon's outskirts were marked by another illegal but tacitly accepted type of housing, the *clandestino*, usually a one-family house erected without planning permission on legally owned lots or on subplots divided by illegal developers and sold to the residents (Salgueiro 1977; Guerra and Matias 1989).[4] Casal de Cambra in the Sintra municipality or Quinta do Conde in Sesimbra are two examples (on the former, see Castela 2011). Crucially, many of those buying or selling plots constituted a significant portion of the local politicians' electorate.

Clandestinos overlapped for many years with informal settlements of shack dwellings (*barraca*s), and public policies did not distinguish between the two until 1993, with the Special Rehousing Program (Plano Especial de Realojamento; hereafter referred to by its abbreviation, PER), and 1995, with dedicated legislation for the land regularization of these areas, from then on referred to by the acronym *AUGI—Áreas Urbanas de Génese Ilegal* (urban areas of illegal genesis) (Raposo and Valente 2010). But even before that, they were already experiencing diverging trajectories. In fact, and to oversimplify, many shantytowns started out as clandestinos; they simply worsened over time while the others gradually improved. The original builders of both types of settlements lacked resources. Yet, whereas some were subsequently legalized and developed infrastructure and municipal services such as rubbish removal (often through political trade-offs with local authorities), others began to deteriorate.

Land tenure was one of the key factors in this division between improving and deteriorating neighborhoods. Where land was owned by its inhabitants and illegally built upon, processes of political trade-offs between local authorities and populations with a view to legalization could occur. Where land was owned neither by inhabitants nor by public, it was subject to urban economics, in the sense of a push for clearance, rehousing of populations to more peripheral sites, and residential development for better-off populations. Quinta da Serra is an example of the latter. The land was initially owned by different individuals until it was bought by a public-listed construction company interested in developing and profiting from it. Tenure insecurity was always a factor in the neighborhood. A second key factor was the working and migration trajectory of populations, or their class position. The less educated and lower class the populations were, the less able they were to engage with political parties or administrations on an equal footing, and the less likely they were to realize all the legal implications of squatting—or they did realize but had no other choice.

Overall, the overwhelming majority of the population of clandestinos was white Portuguese, and those postcolonial Black immigrants who had not settled in regular housing stock had in large part squatted in areas of private property—together with their low-income Portuguese counterparts, as mentioned earlier. This resulted in a separation of the two illegal typologies along racial lines—one typology with access to the instruments for improvement, overwhelmingly inhabited by white people, while the other had very few conditions for improvement or upgrade, in reality threatened by demolition and displacement, inhabited by Black, white, and Roma populations.

A similar trend arises even when clandestinos are taken out of the equation and the focus is exclusively on *bairros de barracas*. Whereas some of the early shantytowns "discovered" after the revolution were either improved by the program SAAL (Ascensão 2016), with residents' participation, or rehoused through other schemes of the then housing institute FFH—Fundo de Fomento à Habitação (Bandeirinha et al. 2018), the remaining ones faced a context of diminishing expenditure on public housing over the next decade and were left to their own devices, growing throughout the early 1980s with new Black postcolonial residents
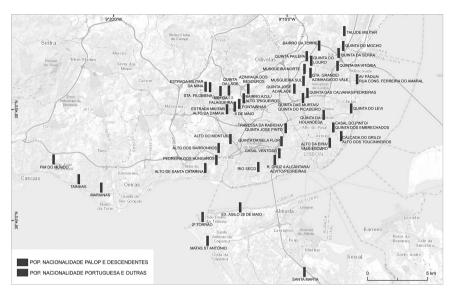
Figure 5.4 Forty-four of the fifty most-populated informal settlements in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area (comprising 58 percent of the total population), by nationality of the head of the household. *Source*: Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana (IHRU). Map by Miguel Leal.

moving in. Then, in the late 1980s, the Lisbon City Council became the first in the metropolitan area to reinitiate rehousing—and shantytowns in the municipality were in the majority inhabited by white Portuguese people. The settlements located in municipalities further away were the ones with larger percentages of Black populations (Figure 5.4).

Those with secure tenure and politically savvy community leaders and those located in municipalities that had land available for development saw swift rehousing by the PER; the others saw protracted processes of clearance and rehousing. The latter were settlements with very high percentages of Black populations.[5] In other words, the whiter and more politicized populations saw their housing problem addressed earlier than the populations who were blacker and less engaged with local party politics. It was as if the settlements with Black populations were left until last. This has not been sufficiently studied in part because census methodologies do not allow for ethno-racial data gathering, but it is a key research gap that deserves investigation.

Racialized Outcomes from "Non-racist" Practices

As life went on, shack dwellers experienced recurrent instances of racism in everyday life. Perpetrated by Portuguese society at large, they were more deeply felt when they resulted from the decisions and procedures of official institutions,

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which seemed to be continually detrimental to slum dwellers, in particular Black residents, despite official claims to the contrary.

Take the following two examples. In 1993, the first collective relocations in Quinta da Serra were carried out. As the highway's toll booths had to be relocated further north, the Portuguese Roma population who lived alongside it had to move. The relocation was carried out by JAE—Junta Autónoma das Estradas, the government's roads department. Rehousing, land clearance, and ad hoc compensations were carried out swiftly by the construction company involved in the works—sometimes this was just an envelope with cash to convince a reluctant family to move out. Two years later, in 1995, a larger relocation scheme was put in place to allow for the highway connection to the new bridge and the new ring road (the CRIL), both due to be ready by 1998, the year of the Lisbon World Exposition, Expo '98. This time, the remaining Roma and a large number of white Portuguese as well as Cape Verdeans were relocated to the large housing estate of Quinta da Fonte (also known as Apelação). Following these relocations, the remaining population of Quinta da Serra was overwhelmingly Black. Over the years, this would foster a recurring question among residents:

> Down here there used to be a lot of whites. The whites all got their house, we [got] nothing. Everyone went away, only the black man stayed. It's always like that . . . I sometimes wonder if they think we are stupid. (Interview, 2007)

Although the population who was rehoused had approximately equal numbers of Portuguese Roma, white Portuguese, and Cape Verdeans, the area necessary for the CRIL access way was where the majority of individuals belonging to the first two groups resided, resulting in Black Cape Verdean and Bissau-Guineans forming the overwhelming majority of those who remained. Over the next fifteen years, nothing was done in terms of resettlement for the latter two groups, leading many to refer to this period as introducing a kind of "de facto racism" in the relocation process (see, in detail, Ascensão 2015a).[6] Their perception is that this was just one of several "racialized-results-not-caused-by-racist-practices" that they would suffer during the rehousing process. To an extent, the complaint concerns structural forms of racism, albeit exemplified by focalized (but repeated) racialized results.

The second example is also of an individualized nature, though repeated many times over, and it involves difficulties in accessing public services and navigating state bureaucracies. Seen from the eyes of an NGO worker who often accompanied teenagers when they needed official certificates:

> I've witnessed, yes, I've witnessed acts of non-acceptance [or *não-aceitação*]. I can't say it's racism because racism is not a very concrete thing and I don't have facts to say that. Yet common procedures that are easy to do for a Portuguese person become impressive[ly hard] for the population. For example to have the *cartão de utente* [national health card] or to ask for a simple residence certificate . . . Suspicion, too many obstacles, obstacles that are difficult to overcome. That I saw, yes. (Interview, 2008)

Living in an informal settlement and being Black became a mark people bore in social interactions. It was as if the racist ghost of colonialism came back as a shadow that fell on social interactions and which framed almost everything. Surraia, one of the first people in Quinta da Serra to enter higher education, recalls how during her time at university she was never very willing to reveal exactly where she lived to her colleagues:

> I remained in . . . It's not shame . . . Well, perhaps it's shame, yes. You get afraid people will look down on you, "Oh, she lives in . . .," or that a strange situation happens where something is stolen and you are the first one accused. (Interview, 2008)

The feeling of shame described stems from the social image of informal settlements, which arose from years or decades of negative portrayal in media and policy, often deliberate. For instance, Crozat (2003) analyzed the case of the Pedreira dos Húngaros neighborhood and revealed how these representations "performed" to make policy decisions regarding clearance easier, in a multistaged and complex sequence of events that he summarized into the different steps of "indifference," "compassion," the "dangerous" theme, and "indifference" again. This social image was then internalized by residents, in the form of shame such as Surraia's. This element took on intense relevance when people engaged with the rest of the city, for instance, in the assumption that for a job application "it's just better not to put your address and instead put a friend's" (field notes, 2008), or in the use of the parish council designations that corresponded to your slum "pocket"—Prior Velho for Quinta da Serra, Buraca for Cova da Moura, Miraflores for Pedreira do Húngaros, and so on.[7]

Collectively, the urban existence of these populations in postimperial Lisbon was still not postcolonialized; and the link between racism, periphery, and social stigma was eventually extended beyond the informal settlement and into the public housing estate where these populations were rehoused (Alves 2016; Raposo et al. 2019). This tells us that the long shadow cast by colonialism has not yet dissipated.

Communal Organization and the Intermittent Nature of Associational Life

In the face of such stigma, collective organization was key to fight for improvements in the settlements. In Quinta da Serra, the Residents' Association was at the center of activities that sought to improve life for the population. Electoral information campaigns (Figure 5.5), assemblies to discuss issues related to rehousing or citizenship status and illegal immigrants' rights, and, at a later stage, a tentative childcare center that was abandoned and eventually resumed, as well as parties or cultural events, were organized in cooperation with different organizations, from the local parish to immigrants' associations.

The Residents' Association in particular went through different periods of intense activity followed by passivity and decline, becoming more
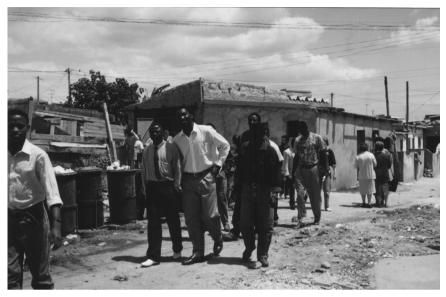
Figure 5.5 The day of an initiative for an electoral information campaign, c. 1991. Photograph by Father Valentim Gonçalves.

formalized in its later years as an intermediary with the High Commission for Immigration for youth activities through the Escolhas project to be funded in the neighborhood.[8]

> I was one of the founders of the association. We started it in order to have someone to represent us. The need for that kept appearing so that's how the association started. Then it fell, then it rose again, then it fell once again. It used to be stronger, have more life. Nowadays I am not so up to date. I've retired myself from it. But the teaching support they have now is a great step. But soon enough, those disgraceful people couldn't leave it alone, they took the computers, they took everything [refers to the burglary and the theft of computers by a youth gang from the neighborhood]. And now the activity is in danger. (Interview, 2008)

The first part of this citation portrays a stop-go struggle for insurgent citizenship (Holston 2009) and typifies what Bachmann (2005: 43) calls the episodic and discontinued nature of social organizations in developing urban metropolises; these tend to be centered around specific goals (such as infrastructure improvements or funds for education projects), but once these are achieved, they recede. Central governments often grant specific concessions in order to appease pressures for structural overall demands such as securing land tenure, or in this case solutions for swift in situ rehousing. The second part points to episodes of sabotage from some inhabitants, who might not have an interest in areas becoming open to the

rest of the city because such openness could jeopardize the drug dealing they are involved in in these areas.

Governmentality Descends on the Settlements

Finally, when the PER was introduced, a new element started to emerge in the relationship between the state and informal settlers, that of the instruments and mechanisms of governmentality, surveillance, and social control instituted in the settlements.

Previously, the process of settlement itself had shifted between the "invisibility" that enabled people to build their shacks hidden from authorities—sometimes over a short period of time such as a weekend, erecting a precarious dwelling they would then upgrade from the inside over a longer period of time, what I refer to as "indoor bricklaying" (Ascensão 2015b: 958)—and a "minimum possible visibility" that permitted access, in stages and over time, to different levels of citizenship. Inhabitants had to develop some sort of legal relationship with those authorities in order to get documentation to work, get children into school, or access health services. This relationship was fraught with uncertainties, leading residents to delay visits to health centers for fear of being repatriated.[9]

It was as if the previous politics of invisibility necessary for the urban poor in colonial cities to deal with authorities had been transported to postimperial Lisbon. Colonial authorities continually counted native populations according to needs related to instituting "spaces of calculation" for the economy or the urban area (Rabinow 1989; Mitchell 2002) but left many uncounted if that would entail providing health, infrastructure, or better housing; and native populations had to navigate such shifting realities.

The PER too, enacted to eradicate slum dwellings, had first to count them. Technologies of control were increasingly applied to the areas, first with simple counting and census-like registration (which were a prerequisite for councils to enter the program and in some cases were outsourced to university research centers, e.g., CET 1992); then with corrections and updates to such quantification; and finally with the development of social surveys (e.g., CML 2005) as a way to manage the populations. All these instruments of measurement applied to the neighborhoods were an important part of the process of a population being rendered increasingly visible to the state. What we saw from pre-1993 to the 2000s was the transformation of poor urban populations from unknown, unmonitored quantities into subjects of a modern state.

However, not all were properly counted. Despite a methodology that sought to minimize data variation, the combination of how it was put into practice, scarce human resources, and context left the surveys prone to error:

The original PER survey was done with a margin of error, so to speak. If we think of this "floating population" that circulated to where construction work existed, in the Algarve, Porto . . . They eventually settled here, but when the survey

was carried out they were either working away, or spending time back home . . . Sometimes they are easy cases to establish [that they resided in Quinta da Serra in 1993] . . . The survey was done in the best possible way, but there were thousands and thousands of shanties, 5,000 in Loures alone. (Interview, 2007)

One of the most important problems concerned the individuals who had arrived after 1993 and were thus not eligible for the PER. This was because the program had instituted a fixed matrix regarding the number of "households-by-municipality," with reference to the date of the original survey, so as to prevent the indefinite building of shacks by poor people with a view to rehousing. As an example, this meant that the 4,298 households surveyed in 1993 in the municipality of Loures were a "locked" figure—and changes (called "extensions" [*desdobramentos*]) were seldom allowed.

This led to cases such as Armindo's. Part of the neighborhood's early cohort— he was one of those who had worked in São Tomé's plantations in the 1960s and had been a policeman in Angola in the early 1970s—he had settled in Quinta da Serra in 1977. His wife and eldest son had joined him in the 1980s, though his two youngest sons only came in 1994. As they grew and became independent, each child built a separate area around their father's house, as if a separate home for their nuclear family, each one accessed from a kind of inner courtyard. Eleven people were living in Armindo's extended family house in 2008. The household corresponding to this house had been surveyed in 1993, but only Armindo, his wife, his eldest son, and his nuclear family were eligible for rehousing. Armindo's two others sons, their wives, and their children were considered "non-PER." Besides the atomization of households of extended families, the numerical atomization of the PER survey delineated residents' rehousing possibilities. This led to his refusal to comply with the rehousing options he been offered:

I will only move out once my two sons' situation is resolved. What do they think? I would sign [the compensation agreement] on a Tuesday, on Wednesday they would say "the money is in your account," by Thursday or Friday the shacks would go down. That I don't want . . . I will go back home, but only after their situation is secured. [My sons] are not going from here to another piece of rubbish. (Field notes, 2008)

In the penultimate sentence, he is referring to an option some municipal schemes had of straight compensation for the shack and relocation to the country of origin. Armindo preferred this option as, his working career over, he thought that rehousing in Apelação would be a nightmare and a move under the PER-Famílias scheme (a subsidy for home-ownership instead of council housing tenancy) did not suit his wishes. The overall reasoning concerning his sons' predicament, however, applies to all three options. Whatever he did would have an immediate impact on them, who would then be left without a home. In addition, Armindo mentioned the implicit value in the choice of compensation over the other options: this way he would "cost less" to the state—15 percent of the average price of a new dwelling,

or indeed nothing given it was to be funded by the land owner (who was working with the city council to facilitate clearance)—so he would have liked that goodwill to be, in principle if not in exact value, to go to his sons. He knew the logic behind this argument was too individualized to be taken on board by the authorities, yet he used it nonetheless. It was a "family logic": he was willing to move back to Cape Verde if that meant his sons could "collect" some of his housing entitlement. Armindo's refusal to leave is a personalized illustration of what Scott (1990) terms as the silent resistance to numerical forms of governmentality, using the only power he had left—to not go away.

Such forms of resistance took on different shapes (see other "hidden transcripts" in Cachado 2013), but by way of the different "counting methodologies" and their various ways of trying to deal with fluidity, on the one hand, and the PER's fixed matrix of cases, on the other, parts of the population disappeared in "official" terms. They remained non-PER despite living in the settlements for years—indeed, many of them would move from one settlement to another as they were cleared. It also led to cases where people "sold" their shack to others with the implicit promise that they too would be rehoused. When that proved not to be true, evictions ensued that could have simply followed the correct administrative procedures but instead were violent life events for those whose only shelter were the demolished shacks, leaving them with nowhere to go. These demolitions occurred individually (Figure 5.6) or collectively (Pozzi 2017).

Zooming out, the way rational and numerical governmentality was applied to the settlements had a considerable element of what Foucault (2003, or 1977; see also Graham 2012) termed the boomerang effect, that is, the way colonial techniques of control related to military strategy and, crucially, urban planning, were imported to the imperial space, in a process resembling internal colonialism:

> New ideas for *controlling troublesome neighborhoods or classes*; of monitoring, disciplining, or imprisoning subjects; of dealing with disease, hygiene and education; and for *governing, counting and registering populations* were all shaped heavily by imported colonial experience. (Graham 2012: 38; emphasis added)

Figures 5.6 A policeman looks over a contested demolition and the resulting space, 2008. Photographs by the author.

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In the Portuguese colonial landscape, military techniques of control had included the clearance and realignment of native villages (Henriques and Vieira 2013; Curto et al. 2016), while urban planning ones had included the masterplans that established a clear intra-urban segregation between Africans and Europeans (Domingos 2013; Silva 2015). Yet here segregation, clearance, and absence of formal housing alternatives were part of a context that was no longer a colonial one. "Lisbon 1975-to-2010" was a postimperial context, but at least as regards these urban poor populations it was not a "postcolonialized" or "decolonized" one, in the sense that long-standing structures of oppression had not been sufficiently dismantled. They subsisted in small but, due to their cumulative nature, forceful ways. When seen as part of *longue durée* historical processes, that previous colonial subjects were still treated as such in the postimperial city is not surprising—it can be attributed to the tail end of colonialism, if you will. But seen from the life trajectory of these people, the injustices were clear: some of them had experienced the forces of colonialism firsthand, but even after migrating to the postimperial city their place in society and their subjectivity were still traceable back to the colonial past.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have attempted to show some of the different associations between colonial and postcolonial histories and the emergence of informal settlements in Lisbon, a process that in part carried traces of urban colonialism. This was particularly clear in the period from 1975 to the enactment of the PER in 1993, with invisibility and an unequal relationship with the state shaping a subjectivity closer to that of the colonial subject than of the postcolonial citizen. But even after that date, and despite the considerable public expenditure to address the housing predicament of these populations, the PER (as an indirect means of the Portuguese state) instituted a top-down relationship with slum dwellers resulting in incredibly complex patterns of displacement to public housing estates located in more peripheral areas. It involved the break-up of established communities and their splitting into different locations, a movement of dispersal that came after counting and numbering. Such an analysis is beyond the scope of this chapter, but research based on official data recently made available provides clear evidence of a phenomenon of splintered displacement (Ascensão et al. forthcoming; see Figure 5.7).[10]

In the face of such a complex social process of migration, informal urbanism, and the construction of a modern democratic society, my final words are to celebrate the people who helped build contemporary Portugal under conditions of great economic and housing hardship discussed in this chapter. They deserve recognition for their initiative, architectural ingenuity, collective resistance in the face of unequal relationships with the state, and for their part in building a multicultural Portuguese society.
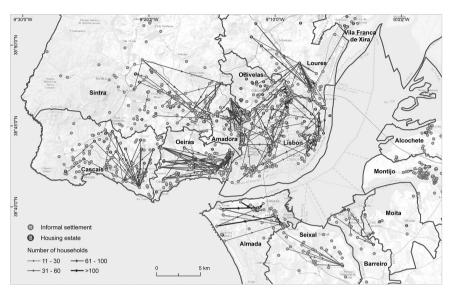
Figure 5.7 GIS representation of the PER's population fluxes (green lines) between informal settlements (red dots) and housing estates (blue dots). *Source*: IHRU. Digital atlas by "exPERts" research project.

Notes

1 When the state enacted the Special Rehousing Program (Plano Especial de Realojamento, hereafter referred to by its abbreviation, PER) in 1993, there were 984 informal settlements in the Lisbon Metropolitan Area, comprising 32,333 households. Of these, those with a head-of-household with nationality from one of the five PALOPs (Portuguese-speaking African countries) constituted 34 percent of all households. Compared with the percentage of immigrants relative to the overall population which ranged from 3 to 9 percent (depending on the different municipalities), this meant that postcolonial migrants were significantly overrepresented among the residents of informal settlements. The same overrepresentation persisted in 2001 (Malheiros and Vala 2004: 1084).

2 This chapter is based on ethnographic research conducted in Quinta da Serra between late 2006 and 2008, with follow-up visits until 2012. It draws on fifteen in-depth interviews with informal settlers and twenty-seven with institutional actors. Writing was financed by Portuguese national funds through FCT—Foundation for Science and Technology (DL57/CT/11960/2018).

3 See more: https://www.technoscienceslumintervention.org/bissau (last accessed August 18, 2021).

4 In the Mediterranean basin, *clandestino*s share many features with *viviendas marginales* in Spain, *borghetti* in Italy, or *aftheteta* in Greece.

5 There are too many examples to list. Some large settlements with protracted and/ or unjust processes were Quinta da Vitória (Cachado 2013), Quinta da Serra (Ascensão 2015a), Santa Filomena (Pozzi 2017), Bairro 6 de Maio (Sampaio 2018),

among others. Indeed, as late as 2020, settlements such as Jamaika or Santa Marta de Corroios in Seixal, 2º Torrão in Almada, Barruncho in Odivelas, Bairro da Torre in Loures or Quinta da Lage in Amadora had not yet seen their rehousing scheme fully implemented.

6 A process mired in gross neglect from the upper hierarchy of the Loures City Council. This neglect existed alongside the honest efforts of workers from different departments in the city council, who faced the daily implementation of rehousing without having real solutions to the situation. Both the recommendations of the municipal master plan prepared by the Department of Planning and Urbanism and work at the local level were rendered useless by a lack of decisions from the municipal executive—the key one being the lack of acquisition or expropriation of land to rehouse the population. See CML (1994) and CML/DPU (1997).

7 This sophisticated use of language was common in many settlements. For instance, the rap collective TWA—Third World Answer, originally from Pedreira dos Húngaros, chose to title their debut album using the Cape Verdean Creole word for Miraflores, Miraflôr. For them, it was something more than merely trying to escape the slum stigma: through their conscious decision to use Creole while not circumscribing it to "Pedreira," they avoided ethnicization of the "slum" part; asserted that Miraflores was by then more than the white middle-class residential part; and underlined that they were a part of it.

8 The Escolhas (Choices) program was initiated after a media-induced moral panic about "dangerous neighborhoods" took off in the aftermath of the car-jacking of a famous actress by a gang from a housing estate in Setúbal. The dangerous label then became associated to other housing estates and informal settlements. The silver lining was that the program turned out to be an important instrument for youth in these areas to have small community centers that provided different training and artistic education modules, such as studios for young musicians.

9 Bentes et al. (2004) and Gonçalves et al. (2003) revealed the use of hospitals or local health units by African communities in general was strongly dependent on their visa/residence status.

10 Based on data from the Instituto da Habitação e da Reabilitação Urbana (IHRU), the website PER Atlas maps the entirety of the fluxes from informal settlement to public housing estate and provides evidence in support of this statement. See http://exp ertsproject.ics.ulisboa.pt/ and http://expertsproject.ics.ulisboa.pt/analise.html (last accessed August 18, 2021).

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